



THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

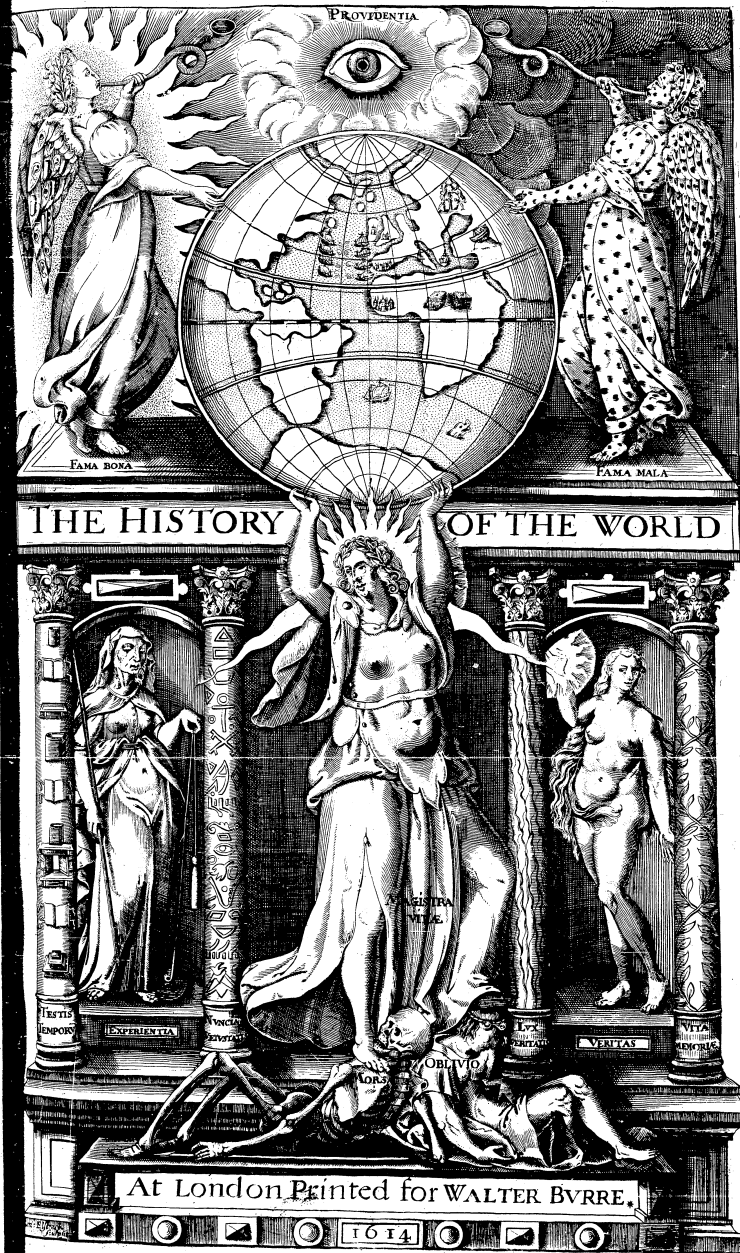
From Death and darke Oblivion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Mans life, grave HISTORIE,
Raising the VVorld to good, or evill FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITIE.

*High PROVIDENCE would so: that nor the Good
Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd,
But both might know their waies are understood,
And the reward and punishment assur'd.*

*This makes, that lighted by the beemie band
Of TRUTH, which searcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by EXPERIENCE, whose straight VV and,
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things;*

*Shee cheerefully supporteth what she reares:
Asisted by no strengths, but are her owne.
Some note of which each varied Pillar beares,
By which, as proper Titles, she is knowne.*

Times Witnesse, Herald of Antiquity,
The Light of Truth, & Life of Memory.



THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

- 1 **N**treating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto Abraham.
- 2 Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.
- 3 From the destruction of Jerusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.
- 4 From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdom, in the Race of Antigonus.
- 5 From the settled rule of Alexanders Successors in the East, untill the Romans (prevailing over all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.



The true and lively portraiture
of the Honourable and learned Knight
S. Walter Raleigh.



THE PREFACE.

How unfit and how unworthy a choice I have made of my selfe, to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resolved mee. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it selfe to my younger yeares, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet wel have doubted that the darkness of Age & Death would have covered over both It and Mee, long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned Island of Great Brittain. I confesse that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travailes, to have set together (as I could) the unjoynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the universall: in whom, had there beene no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawn out to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soule-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I have tryed by the fire of Adversity, the former enforcing, the later perswading; have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the subject of every opinion, wise or weake.

To this world I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have I shorn of here, (Fortune changing) I find much better in any age. For Prosperity and Adversity have evermore tyed and untied vulgar affections. And as we see by experience, That dogs doe alwayes barke at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude, who wanting that vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especial gift of G O D which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without bearing, and condemn without offence given: led thereunto by uncertaine report onely, which the Majority truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all tyes. ^{Democritus} Blame no man (saith Siracides) before thou have enquired the matter: time ^{Eccl. ii. v. 11} derstand first, and then reforme righteously. Rumor, res sine teste, sine iudice, maligna, fallax; Rumor is without witnesse, without judge, malicious and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave Saint Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the evill. And herein no man hath given a better rule, than this of Seneca; Conscientia satisfaciamus; nihil in famam laboremus; Equator vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let us satisfie our owne consciences, and not

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not trouble our selves with fame: bee it never so ill, it is to be despised so we deserve well

For my selfe, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prized it before my private: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack; & the contrary no other harm, than an outrageous tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honour in the dust; though further than the defence of her excellent person, I never persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the world, hath taken the accompt: so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parva, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of pbenzie, not of hope, seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travaile the World without a pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility to perswade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying & extensive vertue of dead Earth, & of that breath-giving life which God hath cast upon flame & dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and heare, & among those that are, whom we see & converse with, every one hath received a severall picture of face, and every one a divers picture of minde; every one a forme apart, every one a fancy & cogitation differing there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh that there is found so great diversity of opinions, so strong a contrariety of inclinations, so many natural & unnatural; wise, foolish, manly, & childish affections and passions in mortall men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased God to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to ghesse at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neere the life, did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and make over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behavioure: the things that are forced for pretences having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures. Neither can any man (saith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may bee sometimes seene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selves to the Multitude; Omnis honesta rei malus iudex est vulgus: The common people are evill Judges of honest things, and whose Wisdome (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised: if to the better sort, every understanding

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bath a peculiar judgement, by which it both censureth other men, & valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthlesse papers torn with Rats: seeing the slothfull Censurers of all ages have not shamed to tace the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition, the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie, the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glory. But of these natures which lie in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into evill, seeing Solomon complained long since; and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the professors to their easie wayes of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

Ecclesiastes
Nihil scilicet
quam reprehendere
re alium.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common & approved custome of those, who have left the memories of time past to after ages; to give, as neere as I can, the same right to History which they have done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words, I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledge, That it hath given us life in our understanding, since the world it selfe had life and beginning, even to this day: yea, it hath triumphed over time, which besides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of many thousands of yeares, and given so faire and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei sapiens opus. The wise work (saith Hermes) of a great God, as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it (I say) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and againe repopled: How Kings and Kingdomes have flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darknesse of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our owne like errors & ill deserving. But it is neither of Examples the most lively instruction, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupidified mindes, as to make us remember, That the infinite eye and wisdom of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make us remember, That the justice of God doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, cover from his knowledge. And so much did that beateen wisdomesse confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides) having in his life committed wickednesse, thinke hee can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinkes not well.

To repeat GODS judgements in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sea of examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeed, and have not seene the fall of others,

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doe not feare their owne faults. GODS judgements upon the greater and greatest have beene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point farre off, and to speake of the conversion of Angels into Divells, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawne the grasse of the earth with beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wise working of Pharaoh, when hee sue the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their cradles: Or of the policy of Jezebel, in covering the murder of Naboth by a triall of the Elders, according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: What were it other, than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practice, perill, bloodshed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, & the rest, no fruit, no flower, grasse nor leaf springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots and ruines doe hardly remain. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando & durando deficient: All that the hand of man can make, is eyther overturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forraign force, or by inward negligence & dissention, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk downe under their owne weight; of which Livie hath a touch: eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the divine providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of every Estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my selfe a day over to resolve.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, have undertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to travaile after, and overtake farre-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, & their Neighbour Princes: who having beheld, both in divine & humane letters, the successe of infidelity, injustice, and cruelty; have (notwithstanding) planted after the same patternne.

True it is, that the judgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up a-like with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne private; Or otherwise best suiteth with his apprehension. But the judgements of GOD are for ever unchangeable: neither is hee wearied by the long processe of time, and won't to give his blessing more age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded, will be able to discern the bitter fruites of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that if may no lesse appeare

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appeare by evident proofe, than by asseveration, That ill doing hath alwayes beene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of Preface, run over some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Justice, upon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had dispossest, overreacht, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Nieces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with above a hundred and fifty others: that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloved.

To passe over the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the murder of that King, the issue of blood then made, though it had some time of stay and stopping, did againe breake out, and that so often and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious; yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Uncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be treason in his Uncle, which was indeed treason in himself, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and misearchable judgement of GOD revenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fell out, even to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent blood. For Richard the Second, who saw both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwayes tooke himselfe for over-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntingdon and Kent, Montagu & Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those dates as others have done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves, by the murder of Gloucester; died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himselfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents): Hee was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cousen Germane and vassall, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weak, & his obtaining the Crowne traitorous: who brake faith with the Lords at his Landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should live. After that hee had enjoyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from

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conspiracies & rebellions: he saw (if soules immortall see & discern any things after the bodies death) his Grand-child Henry the sixth, & his Son the Prince, suddenly and without mercy, murdered, the possession of the Crowne (for which hee had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race, and by the Issues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd enemies, whom by his own practice he supposed that he had left no lesse power-lesse, than the succession of the Kingdom questionlesse, by entailing the same upon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the father, seconded by the valour & signall victories of his son Henry the fifth, had braved the hopes of every Competitor, under the despair of all reconquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might so have judged, were not this passage of Causation also true; Dies, hora, momentum, evetendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ: A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to overturne the things, that seemed to have beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the sixth, upon whom the great storm of his Grand-fathers grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard the Grand-child of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as he refused the daughter of Armagnac, of the House of Navarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in France) & married the daughter of Anjou, (by which he lost all that he had in France) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of Gloucester, the maine and strong Pillar of the house of Lancaster, He drew on himselfe & this kingdom the greatest joynt-losse & dishonour, that ever it sustained since the Norman conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, *Quil estoit une fort gentille Prince; mais son reigne est advenu en une fort mauvais temps*: That hee was a very gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a verie unfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham and Suffolk were the practisers and contrivers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolk, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queene had been absolute, the Queene in respect of her personall wound, *spretæque injuria formæ*, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed, the success to the Counsell. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his right both by arguments and armes, in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet his son the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, deposed Henry the Father, and Edward the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other than this, That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she lived to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her only son the Prince, were bewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it? Shee lived to see her selfe deposed of her Estate, and of her moveables: and lastly, her father, by rendering up to the Crowne of France the Earldome of Provence and other places for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to be

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come a starke Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides calleth fine but unrighteous: for other fruit hath it never yeelded since the world was.

And now it came to Edward the fourths turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of Lancaster were rooted up, one only Earle of Richmond excepted: whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward (such a Plantation, as could any way promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than any of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragickall Actors, there was not one that escaped the judgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himselfe had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the sixth, his Predecessour, taught him also by the same Art to kill his own sons and successors, Edward and Richard. For those Kings which have sold the blood of others at a low rate, have but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the Fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, than all the rest; yet he so well fitted every affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as he easily allured them to condescend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternal Uncle and halfe brother, should (for the first) be severed from him: secondly, hee wrought their consent to have them imprisoned: and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their heads severed from their bodies. And having now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept which the Devill hath written on every post, namely, To depresse those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee urged that argument so far and so forcibly, as nothing but the death of the young King himselfe, & of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, whensoever the King or his Brother, should have able yeares to exercise their power, they would take a most severe revenge of that curlesse wrong, offered to their Uncle and Brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Divell, who never dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when he found by Catesby, who founded him, that he was not for dable, He first resolved to kill him sitting in councill: wherein having failed with his sword, He set the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his appetite, He caused his head to be stricken off, before he ate his dinner. A greater judgement of God, than this upon Hastings, I have never observed in any storie. For the selfe same day that the Earle Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without trial of law, or offence given) by Hastings advice executed at Pomfret: I say Hastings himselfe in the same day, and (as I take it) in the same houre, in the same law-lesse manner had his head stricken off in the Tower of London.

But

Sirach. 19.

Scedera fecerit:
bus tunc de-
Scende clem.

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But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their King. And having received the Earldome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant, Hee had his head severed from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what successe had Richard himself after all these mischiefs & murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion: and after such time as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephewes & Natural Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke over and discern it? the great out-cry of innocent blood, obtained at GODS hands the effusion of his, who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the 7. cut off, and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods Justice. A politick Prince he was if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom, beat downe and overturned as many strong oppositions both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of England did: I say by his wisdom, because as he ever left the reins of his affectiōs in the hands of his profit, so he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the 11. whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like, but he was far more just, & began not their processe whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wise; for whatsoever himselfe gave, he himselfe received back the thanks & the love, knowing it well that the affectiōs of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great kings, than great subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever the taking off of Stanleys head, who seer the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, son to George D. of Clarence, shews, as the successe also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancestors; for his possession in the first line ended in his grand-children, as that of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many servants did he advance in haste (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fume it ruined againe: no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather bony, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Hives? How many wives did he cut off, & cast off, as his fancy & affection chaged? How many Princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the blocke) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the account) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to have given his account to GOD for the abundance of blood already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolkke the Father, & executed the Earle of Surrey the son; the one, whose desertings hee knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his owne ho-

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now, & the Kings service; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other no lesse valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which he heaped upon the Fatherlesse and Widowes at home: and besides the vaine enterprizes abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more treasure, than all our glorious Kings did in their severall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell wars did he make upon his own Nephew King James the first? What Lawes and Wils did he devise to establish this Kingdome in his owne Issues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut downe those branches, which sprang from the same root that himselfe did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions) it pleased God to take away all his owne, without increase, though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, have beene verified upon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that blood which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen up in the North, God hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace; from whence His Majesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the world were infused into one eye: yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foule spots, by which the consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) have bin defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the sword of his justice, with which the most that fore-went him have stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of England, it may truly be avowed: That he hath received it even from the hand of God, and hath staied the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it: That he never tooke revenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it: That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princeesse did: That his Majesty entred not by a breach, nor by blood; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open; and into which, by a generall love and obedience, He was received. And howsoever His Majesties preceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the yeare 1559) yet he never pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long reigne.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulness to GOD for the uniting of the Northern parts of Brittain to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which though they were severed but by small brookes and bankes, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised upon each other, in the affliction of the Nations, they were infinitely severed. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Majesty hath brought with him unto this Land: No, put all our petty grievances together, & heap them up to their hight, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since then have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdome received from GOD, certainly the peace betwene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our british blood, heretofore and during the difference, so often and abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more enabled

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enabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, & conquests. It is true that hereof we doe not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588. joyned the army which he commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; & had his Majesty at the same time declared himselfe against us in the North: it is easie to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur have brought this union a farre greater praise than it hath since cost us. It is true, that there was never any Comon weale or Kingdom in the world, wherein noman had cause to lament. Kings live in the world, and not above it. They are not infinit to examine every mans cause, or to relieve every mans wants. And yet in the latter, (though to his owne prejudice) His Majesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his owne Offers. Of whom it may be said, as of Solomon, Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis: Which if other men doe not understand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitudo of knowledge; yet may it be better spoken of His Majesty, than of any King that ever England had; who as well in divine, as humane understanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

*Pine. commentum in
Sila. 2. 4.*

I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, & withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unskilfull and common Painters, which by her owne commandement were knockt in pieces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall, and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leave to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely mindes, a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpose I have inserted this brieft discourse) with His Majesties temperate, revengelesse and liberall disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them justly, and with an even hand: and withall but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so just cause to complaine, as the King himselfe hath. Now as wee have told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is every where the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the usurpation, & unnaturall cruelty of Henry the first, & of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt Hee with the sons of Loys Debonaire, the son of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the son of Pepin the eldest son of Charlemaine, and heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poisoning imprisonments, and civill war; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his nephew by a violent death; and of his bastard brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure guard, all the daies of their lives, within a Monastery) held himselfe secure from all opposition: Yet God raised up against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him: his own sons, with whom (to satisfy their ambition)

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he had shared his estate, and given them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to governe, during his owne life. Yea his eldest son Lothaire (for he had foure, three by his first wife, and one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, that hee had used violence towards his brothers and kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be slaine. Eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus, & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit. Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slaine whom he might have delivered.

*Step. Stephani
rector. 15. 4. 1.*

Yet did he that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which hee performed in the Generall Assembly of the States, it follows: Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, pœnitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat: After this hee did openly confesse himselfe to have erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodosius, hee underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his owne Nephew.

This he did; and it was praise-worthy. But the Bloud that is unjustly spilt, is not againe gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

This King, as I have said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gave the Kingdom of Italy; as Charlemaine, his father, had done to Pepin the father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second son hee gave the Kingdom of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdom of Bavier: and to Charles, whom he had by a second wife called Judith, the remainder of the Kingdom of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his son Pepin out of Aquitaine, thereby to greaten Charles, which, after the death of his sonne Pepin, he prosecuted to effect, against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his son Loys of Bavier, he dies for griefe.

Debonaire dead, Loys of Bavier, and Charles afterwards called the bald, & their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, joyne in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight neere to Auxerre the most bloody battaile that ever was stroken in France: in which, the marvellous losse of Nobility, & men of war, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italy; to the Hunnes to fall upon Almaine; & the Danes to enter upon Normandy. Charles the bald by treason seizeth upon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster: Carloman rebels against his Father Charles the bald, the Father burns out the eyes of his son Carloman, Bavier invades the Emperour Lothaire his brother, Lothaire quits the Empire, Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. Charles the bald, the Uncle oppresseth his Nephewes the Sonnes of Lothaire, hee usurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of Loys of Bavier his elder Brother; Baviens armies and his Sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of griefe, & the Usurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Jew his Physician, his Son Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque had Charles the simple

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and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is slain by a wild Bore; the son of Baviere had the same ill destiny, and brake his Neck by a fall out of a window in sporting with his companions. Charles the grosse becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire held in Germany; where with not contented, he invades Charles the simple: but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, he dies a distracted beggar. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes: and lastly, being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to dye in the prison of Peron. Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of Orleans, after whom Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French, makes himselfe King.

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire, who after he had once apparelled injustice with authority, his sonnes and successours tooke up the fashion, and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable & naked beggars. The wretched successie they had, (saith a learned French-man) shewes, que en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of Bernard the son of Pepin, the true heir of Charlemaine, men had more meddling than either God, or Justice had.

But to come neerer home, it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fault) that ever the French-men had, did never enjoy himselfe, after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol & Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Provence, which poore people were thereupon burnt and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true that the said King Francis repented himselfe of the fault, and gave charge to Henry his sonne, to doe justice upon the Murderers, threatening his sonne with GODS judgements, if he neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry himselfe was slaine in sport by Montgomery, wee all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the religion, and great effusion of blood, the Crowne was set on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolve; the Protestants remaine more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong cities than ever they had.

Let us now see if God be not the same God in Spaine, as in England & France. Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicily, our Richard the third, and the great Evan Vasilowick of Moscovia, were but petty ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, having bene the most mercilesse. For, besides those of his own Blood and Nobility, which he caused to be slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis, the great Master of Calatrava, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom hee cut in pieces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian burial: I say, besides these, and the slaughterer of

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of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile; He made away the two Infants of Arragon his Cosin-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquerque, Nuges de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Gurtiere his great Treasurer, and all his kindred, & a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years, and the other fourteen, he murdered them there. Nay he spared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of Toledo, & the Dean to be killed of purpose to enjoy their treasures: so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar King of Barbary, with 37. of his Nobility, that came unto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to levy (by his favour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needs assist the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of Altramara, who dispossessed all his Children of their inheritance, which, but for the Fathers injustice and cruelty, had never benee in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke John of Burgoigne, who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Coſtance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earle of gran Pré, Hector of Chartres, and in effect all the officers of justice, of the Chamber of Accounts, Treasury, and request, (with sixteen hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to governe, and to have mastered France: He was soon after stricken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine. These were the Lovers of other mens miseries: and misery found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which lived both with Henry the seventh, Henry the eighth, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragoni was the first: and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himselfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; & to fasten thereunto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his wife held by strong band, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Navarre, and, contrary to faith, and the promise that hee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne blood, and by double alliance tyed unto him; sold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour under Gonſalvo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdome with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wise and politique King, who sold Heaven and his owne Honour, to make

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his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with childe, with her untimely birth, at once & together buried. His eldest daughter married unto Don Alphoso Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his necke in her presence; and being with childe by her second, died with it. A just judgement of God upon the race of John, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutchesse of Visco. The second daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eighth, He saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a daughter, that in her unhappy zeale shed a world of innocent blood; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand have masters of a new name, and by a strange family are governed and possesst.

Charles the fifth, son to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whose vaine enterprises upon the French, upon the Almanes, and other Princes and States; so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines were consumed: who gave the while a most perillous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendom, to be taken, was in conclusion chased out of France, and in a sort out of Germany, and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from Insprug, and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice, having hoped to swallow up all those dominions where-in hee concocted nothing save his owne disgraces. And having, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare, to his sonne Philip from whom hee very slowly received his meane and ordinary maintenance.

His Son againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zealand, (wrested by his ancestors from Jaqueline their lawfull Princeesse) & to possesse in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischievous Cardinall of Granvile, and other Romish Tyrants, not onely forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobilitie of those countries, not onely forgot the Present made him upon his entry, of forty millions of Florens, called the Novaille aide; nor onely forgot that hee had twice most solemnly sworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preserve their ancient rights, priviledges, and customes, which they had enjoyed under their thirtie and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constraime them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intolerable impositions; hee lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make himselfe not onely an absolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Sovereignes of England and France, but Turke-like, to tread under his feet all their Naturall and fundamentall Lawes, Priviledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oathes (which dispensation was the true cause of the war and bloodshed since then;) & after he had tried what he could performe, by dividing of their owne Nobility, under the govern-

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ment of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, & the Cardinall Granvile, He employed that most merciles Spaniard Don Ferdinand Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom hee first slaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gavarc: & Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, & the Marquis of Bergues, and cut off in those six yeares (that Alva governed of Gentlemen & others, eightene thousand and sixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders & massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished ends, having it in his hope to worke that by subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: He sent for Governour his bastard brother Don John of Austria, a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he, using the same Papall advantage that his predecessors had done, made no scruple to take Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to observe the treaty made with the Generall States; and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, & other strangers therein garrison'd: Towards whose Pay & Passport, the Netherlands strained themselves to make payment of 600. thousand pounds. Which monies received, He suddenly surpris'd the Citadels of Antwerpe & Nemures: not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to have possesst himselfe of all the mastering places of those Provinces. For whatsoever he overtly pretended, Hee held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secretary Escovedo, Rhodus, Barlemon, and others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny, formerly practis'd, and now againe intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this perjury, & of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for himselfe; after he had murdered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six yeares, and most cruelly slain Man, woman, and Child, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden, and other places: and after he had consumed sixe and thirty millions of treasure in six yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish want, That he would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milk-tubbes: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving his Masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arrivall. For Don John, whose haughty conceit of himselfe overcame the greatest difficulties; though his judgement were over-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers jealousie and distrust, with the untimely death that seized him, even in the flower of his youth? And for Escovedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Master both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine upon some new project, Hee was at the first arrivall, and before any access to the King, by certain Russians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsell and successe in this businesse, there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, & the lives of above foure hundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gave place to none, and for revenue did equall his West Indies: for the losse of a nation which most willingly obeyed him, and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in desight of all his forces become a free Estate, and far more rich and powerfull than they were, when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

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Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of State, and politique subtlety, have these forenamed Kings, both Strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their own counsels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever been made. GOD hath said it and performed it ever. Perdam sapientiam sapientum; I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times wee have, wee hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selves; or perswade our selves, that GOD hath given us letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: so we neither looke behinde us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: wee are by it joynd to the earth: wee are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farre off, and unsearchable: we have sense and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by revelation. No marvaile then that our thoughts are also earthly: and it is lesse to be wondered at, that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them: seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For as the Prophet Esay cryed out long agoe, Lord, who hath beleevd our reports? And out of doubt, as Esay complained then for himselfe and others: so are they lesse beleevd, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof be in every mans mouth, yea, in the discourse of every woman, who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanity: what is it other than an universall dissimulation? Wee professe that we know GOD: but by workes wee deny him. For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life: for the Devils know them better than men. Beatitudo non est divinum cognitio, sed vita divina. And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personall battred, and the perpetuall war, massacres, and murders for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well neere driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soone resolve, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute; that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heaven; and that the World it selfe were but used as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our celestially habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comedians in religion: and while wee act in gesture and voyce, divine vertues, in all the course of our lives wee renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For Charity, Justice, and Truth,

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have but their being in termes, like the Philosophers: Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Solomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God; that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we give it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which wee purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed bee the markes, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability that ever man had, hath told us that this is the use: When goods increase (saith Solomon) they also increase that eate them; and what good commeth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in faire weather: they againe forsake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Master Danner, and use his owne words: Whilest the Emperour Charles the fifth, after the resignation of his estates, staid at Uloshing for winde, to carry him his last journey into Spaine, He conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his servants, and no body answering him, (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleepe) the Emperour tooke up the candle himselfe, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when He was come to the staires foote, Hee said thus unto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of fouldiers, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea even of his owne domestically servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will say, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their justice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded, the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever been despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune herselfe rides the Man. Who when he is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base groomme beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall liberty.

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The second is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behinde us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may be truly said of them, which Lactantius spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortall bodies, and disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other joy of their posterity which succeed, than their doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than their doth of shame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interfunt: The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conversant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of Job; who tels us, That wee know not if our sonnes shall bee honourable: neither shall wee understand concerning them, whether they shall bee of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselve in vaine: hee heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The living (saith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew unto man, what shall be after him under the Sun? Hee therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and travaile in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enjoy the fruits thereof: which made mee (saith hee) endeavour even to abhorre mine own labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death God hath reserved? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet Esay confesseth of the elect, That Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knowes us not. But hereof we are assured, that the long and darke night of death, (of whose following day wee shall never behold the dawne till his returne that hath triumphed over it) shall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse joy; nor any returne of forgone and mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can assure us; & the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so divide the joyes of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their estates greater than ever the World gave, we shall (by the difference knowne unto us) even detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that Piety, Justice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall wee therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unnecessary and vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisdom of God, which hath distinguished his Angels by degrees: which hath given greater and lesse light and beauty, to Heavenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beasts and birds: crea-

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ted the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among stones, given the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posterity, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and understanding of their Ancestors: so (seeing Siracides preferreth Death before Beggary: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pity;) I account it foolishnesse to condemne such a care. Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly, Divitias nulla fraude quæsitæ: so Jeremy cries, Woe unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equity: and Esay the same, Woe to those that spoile and were not spoiled. And it was out of the true wisdom of Solomon, that he commandeth us, not to drinke the wine of violence, not to lie in wait for blood, and not to swallow them up alive, whose riches we covet: for such are the wayes (saith hee) of every one that is greedy of gaine.

And if we could afford our selves but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever: I say, if both, so wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing: it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coveting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves after the world were but mortall.

But let every man value his owne wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Revenger esteeme all negligent, that have not trodden down their opposites; the Politician, all grosse that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all winde drive us, & when by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed againe, the Navigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad & severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty to others: and it is only then, that we are stricken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That God will not be mockt. For if according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saved: and that God spared not his Angels: where shall those appeare, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandements of the All-powerfull God were given but in sport, and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amend) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reverend Father, cum hac spe ad æternos & bella descendunt! I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have us said, that we ended well for we all

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desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a disesteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God: if those men doe not oppose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but say unto God as followeth? We beseech thee, O God, that all the falsehoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall prejudice my sonne (which I am resolved not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to have beene unjust, (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly, these wise worldlings have either found out a new God; or made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleventh wore in his Cappe; which when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one evill act more, and to should be the last, which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a Cardinal and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnac to be stabbed to death: mockeries indeed fit to be used towards a Leaden, but not towards the ever-living God. But of this composition are all devout lovers of the World, that they feare all that is drelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men, which beate but upon shadowes: they flatter and forsake the prosperous and unprosperous; be they friends or Kings: yea they dive under water, like Duckes, at every pebble stone, that is but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour, against the terrible judgements of the All-powerfull God: yea they shew themselves gods against God, and slaves towards men, towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poore & oppressed, whom we account wretched; wee shall finde the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to enterchange (witness the sudden downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy uprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of eyther, or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vespere vch, incertum est, What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertaine. And yet ye cannot tell (saith S. James) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set up, and to morrow he shall not be found; for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth adversity, be very obscure; yet therein we better discern God, than in that shining light which envioureth worldly glory; through which, for the cleernesse thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let adversity seem what it will, to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those under the crosse, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For bee it that wee

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have lived many yeares, and (according to Solomon) in them all wee have rejoyced, or be it that we have measured the same length of dayes and therein have evermore sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being, wee finde both the one and the other, to wit, the joy and the woe, staled out of sight; and death, which doth pursue us and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet: Whatsoever of our age is past, death holds it. So as whosoever hee bee, to whom Fortune hath bene a servant; and the Time a friend: let him but take the account of his memory (for wee have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserved eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath saved, that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and hee shall finde that all the Art which his elder yeares have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavie, secret, and sad sighes. He shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes, which grow up after our fast-springing youth; overtake it, when it is at a stand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither: in so much as looking back from the very instant time, & from our now being the poore, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and paines, as bee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-past pleasure and delights. For whatsoever is cast behinde us, is just nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ eventura sunt, in incerto jacent. Onely those few blasse Swannes I must except: who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first we complaine to GOD against our selves, for our offences against him; and confesse, Et tu justus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art just in all that hath befallen us. In the second wee complaine to our selves against GOD: as if hee had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites; or for taking them againe from us having had them; forgetting that humble & just acknowledgement of Job, the Lord hath given, & the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse, to the second, death. And out of doubt he is either a foole, or ungratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meanesover his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe soever his afflictions bee, that the same are yet far lesse, than those which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wife man call the adversities of the world but tributa vivendi, the tributes of living: a wise Christian man ought to know them, & heare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare the manlike, & resolvedly, & not as those whining souldiers doe, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us, & appointed us all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, bene partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world. That gave unto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable beggar,

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a beggar begging water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of death; The appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning; & in the same day the Footstool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also plaid, being taken by Sapores:) that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Captaine, & lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least wormes, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, every man weares but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now if any man out of weaknes prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the brames of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversity work all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinks but the Sorrow, to save it. That were, as Seneca saith, *Fortuna succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato*: To fall under Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retreat; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and wishall, that the good intent, which hath moved mee to draw the picture of time past (which we call History) in so large a Table, may also bee accepted in place of a better reason.

The examples of divine providence, every where found (the first divine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neere, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: (Creation inferring Providence (for what father forsaketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation: Yet many of those that have seemed to excell in worldly wisdom, have gone about to dis-joyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by Faith we understand, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Aristotles rotten ground to beare up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresse of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary even in the judgement of Naturall reason, wherein he beleeved, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than termes in the rest) have so retrencht their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they have condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers are undoubted grounds and principles

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indeed, because so called? Or that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in every question of Nature, and infinite power; may be approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith Charron in his booke of *Charon de Sagesse* wisdom, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'autorite quel'autre, si la raison n'en fait la difference; Every humane proposition hath equall authority, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the upright and unpartiall judgement of man give a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine ullo iudicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdom, who without any judgement approve the invention of those that fore-went them; & suffer themselves after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which (loth and dulnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath set true Philosophy, Physick, and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the first, Contranegantem Principia; over the second, Virtus specifica; and over the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall never be perswaded, that God hath shut up all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles braines: or that it was ever said unto him, as unto Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: that God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same Nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these bee the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught us; and not reason: and so hath experience without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that soure Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sourenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grasse under his feet, why it should be greene rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are far lesse noble creatures than himselfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heavens themselves: Man (saith Solomon) that can hardly discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before us; that hath so short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his understanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be he) could never so much as define, but by the Action & Effect, telling us what it works (which all men knew as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he nor any else, doth know, but GOD that created it; (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, saith Job.) Man, I say, that is but an idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith Job) is so excellent as we know him not; and

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and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Mankinde had a beginning of being. He will disable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the mores of the Aire for a cause; cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, have it Eternall: which latter opinion Aristotle, to make himselfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectators have maintained it; parati ac conjurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis invictis opinionibus tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or soon after Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessity of invincible reason, One eternall and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the universall. Horum omnium sententia quamvis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, ut Providetiam unam esse consentiant: five enim Natura, five Æther, five Ratio, five mens, five fatalis necessitas, five divina Lex; idem est quod à nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (saith Laëtantius) though uncertain, come to this, That they agree upon one Providence, whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or understanding, or destinie, or divine ordinance, that it is the same which we call G O D. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the world, though they have divers risings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under ground, and seem to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; doe at last find, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philosphicall contemplation and curiosity; in the necessity of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolves it selfe.

As for others; and first touching those which conceive the matter of the World to have beene eternall, and that God did not create the World ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistente: the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annexere, They seeme unto me, which affirme this, to give part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: in so much as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither beene Author, nor father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Universall. For were the Matter or Chaos eternall: it then follows, That either this supposed Matter did fit it selfe to God, or God accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first, it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans will. For the second, it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion of matter which he lighted upon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wise; and no more, nor no lesse, than served to receive the form of the Universall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to finish the worke of the World. Or had there bin more of this matter, than sufficed, then God did dissolve & annihilate whatsoever remained and was superfluous. And this must every reasonable

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sonable soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing. And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall matter, be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Againe, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest Idiotisme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it selfe; nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neq; seipsum componit corpus: There is nothing that doth precede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest, Those that saine this matter to be eternall, must of necessity confesse, that Infinite cannot bee separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part, who soever will make choice, rather to believe in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madnesse of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it selfe, either for matter or form; yea for as many worlds (if such had beene Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reason it selfe finds it more easie for infinite power, to deliver from it selfe a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a soule and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius his words, Deus in una existentia omnia præhabet: and againe, Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; to wit, causaliter, or in better tearmes, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis. Neither hath the world universall closed up all of G O D: For the most part of his workes (saith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wisdom be opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded and made finite. And hereof it comes, That wee seldom esteeme G O D the all-shewing, or the all-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the world (nothing) be taken in the affirmative, and the making, imposed upon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor Aristotle himselfe confesse, quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumque infinitum: That all the Ancient decreed a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite: and a little after, more largely and plainly, Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude fallily; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if we compare the world Universall, & all the

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immeasurable Orbes of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moone, and Stars, with ipsum Infinitum: it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirms of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum, and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportionē) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore Anaximander, Melissus, & Empedocles, call the world universall, but particular Universitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the universality and the infinity itself, & Plato, but a shadow of God. But the other to prove the worlds eternity, argueth this Maxime, That, A sufficient & effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect therof is also granted. Inferring that God being for ever a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also have bin for ever, to wit, the world universall. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confesse a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent, & the same God to be a God restrained in his conclusion, to make God free in power, & bound in will, able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of naturall necessity, which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but worke matter being present: as fire, to burne things combustible. Again he thus disputeth, That every Agent which can worke, and doth not worke, if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moved by it selfe, or by somewhat else: and so it passeth from power to Act. But God (saith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by him selfe, nor by any other: but being alwayes the same, doth alwayes worke. Whence he concludeth, If the world were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof: and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie, For that Gods performing indue time that, which he ever determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for ever, did also withhold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient, others add further, that the Patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the Platonicks call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this sort distinguish the Idea and Creation in time. *Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali est Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, cecedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit semper: retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus: That representative, or the intentionall world (say they) the sampler of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever shall bee. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of GOD, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from everlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come. The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confesse: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the consumation of this world, there shall be a new Heaven and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this consideration, of an eternall and unchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth,*

That

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That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissippable) is continued, & knit to the Divine Being, by an individual & inseparable power, flowing from Divine unity, & that the Worlds naturall appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good and understanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued & knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little, even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning; withall deny that ever it shall have any end, and to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never seene, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the elder by continuance; or in any sort other wise than they were; which had they been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newnesse, and that they have not continued so long, than that they wil continue for ever as they are. And if conjecturall arguments may receive answer by conjectures: it then seemeth that some alteration may bee found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossly mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Suns heate, neither were the Seas, under the Equinoctiall, navigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sea, over which we Navigate, passable enough. We reade also many Histories of deluges; and how that in the time of Phaeton, divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Suns violent heate.

But in a Word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things have beene digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to have beene buried by the generall flood; without any alteration either of substance or figure: yea it is beleevied, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mines, and Rockes, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should we looke for in Celestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet we have reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose help all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We have neither Giants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of proofe, as that this world shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can be made to this objection: if the World

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were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisdom, but that every Nature had bene alike eternall; and Man more ratiōnall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equal, why not equall conditions to all? why should heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Men rot and dye?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should travaile betwene the Tropicks, and never exceed those bounds, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in every yeare: the Moon to live by borrowed light: the fixed Stars (according to common opinion) to be fastned like Nails in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power over other: was it out of Charity and Love, that the Sunne by his perpetuall travaile within those two Circles, hath visited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne have of his owne accord kept this course in all eternity: He may justly be called eternall Charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and beggar; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleve againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than ever Hesiodus dream'd of. But instead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discerne it better; That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they have not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit: Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errors unto us, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles Physicks, or primo de Cælo, or out of the fift of his Metaphysicks; I say that the best is but nominall, and serving onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the Academics open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who give the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Providentia (by which they understand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is answerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam: He only can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest ubiq; Natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materiis, diversa facere: sublata vero mediocū materiārumq; diversitate, vel unicū, vel simi-

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limum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diversity of meanes, or out of diversity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diversity of meanes, and the diversity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diversity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heaven and Earth, it had then both understanding and will; it had counsell to beginne; reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish, and power to governe: Without which all things had been but one and the same: all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And if wee grant Nature this will, and this understanding, this counsell, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to Divine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; summum locum divino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and arise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest, I doe also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his own will, & maketh of one Earth, Vessels of honour & dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himselfe: Nature, nothing in it self. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth: for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavie things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Seas? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things worke as they doe, (call it by Forme, or Nature, or by what you please) yet because they worke by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doe yet worke all things to their last and uttermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquitie, and by all men truly learned (that ever the world had; so wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the helpe of Faith, and Reason, without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which have bin delivered by divine letters, as the waters

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Laetitia de
A.C.10.

Afflictus de
Cælo, 3. T. 2.

Waters

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Waters of a running river do successively pursue each other from the first fountains.

This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught us: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum scire, consequens colere, Sapience goes before, Religion follows: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience Plato calleth absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum, For Faith (saith Isidore) is not extorted by violence, but by reason and examples perswaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to enquire further, as of the essence of God, of his power, of his Art, & by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret judgement, & the causes, is not an effect of Reason. Sed cum ratione insaniant, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it: For as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a French Author) de faire arret au but qu'on naescu surpasser, For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so, as understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason & Necessity teach us (Reason, which is pars divini spiritus in corpus humanum merfi) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite power is every where in the world; and yet how every where, it cannot inform us: our believe hereof is not weakened, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

I have been already over-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the grossest, the unsutable division of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not bene directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part finished. All men know that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suites well enough with a great many Bookes of this Age, which speake too much, and yet say little; Ipse nobis furto subducimur, We are stolen away from our selves, getting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on mee, because I believe as hee doth; That who so thinks himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwayes keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves; from selfe love, selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the Worke, I have onely taken counsell from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the downe-fall of Babel take up the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of posterity: some few enterprizes, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis, excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that overcame the consuming disease of time, and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning

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ginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (so which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which wee may say with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto;

They appeare here and there floating in the great gulf of time.

To the same first Ages doe belong the report of many Inventions therein found; and from them derived to us; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes; they had diversity of Government; they had Kingly rule, Nobility, Policy in war; Navigation, and all, or the most of needfull Trades. To speak therefore of these (seeing in a generall History we should have left a great deal of Nakednesse, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have made also many others: which if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For seeing we digresse in all the waies of our lives: yea, seeing the life of man is nothing else but digression, I may the better be excused, in writing their lives & actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of History, and of the Kindes.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles; and every day preacht unto us. But we still make large digressions: yea, the Teachers themselves doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raised a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire, whilst it so flourished, that the affaires of the nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground upon the Persians; as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was knowne of them from their severall beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers: who seldom give names to those small brookes, whereof many joyned together, make great Rivers, till such time as they become united, and run in maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, & the stile not every where like it self; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili avena, used stronger pipes, when he sounded the wars of Æneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers Hebrew words in my first booke, and elsewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my selfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that some of them I find in Montanus, others in latin Character in S. Senensis; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say I had bin beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondered at, having had

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an eleven yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, having been permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that whosoever in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the heels it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself; and he that walkes after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kinde of course, Temper, or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens opinions, when I might have made the best use of them: and I have now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardise, or both, doe yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and take the vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead, and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with mee for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely.

For I protest before the Majesty of God, That I malice no man under the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions; but that they seem divers persons in one & the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I: Unus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Homo non multis sed tibi; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est unus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Master: from which all that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks: Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo lites secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably: so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present adversities hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already, & therefore have not far to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Naturall privation there is no recession to habit; so it is seldom seen in the privation politike. I do therefore forbear to file my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much: and it is certaine, let us claw the Reader with never so many courteous phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall doe againe. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly have had this leasure, to have made my selfe a foole in print.

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FINIS



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING, AND

first Ages of the same, from the Creation,

unto ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

§. I.

That the invisible God is scene in his Creatures.



OD, who in the wisest men acknowledge to bee a Power ineffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie invisible; and Understanding which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Essence eternall and spiritall, of absolute purenesse and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which He imbraceth, filleth and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that glory, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet universall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a shadow of his divine Countenance; in his mercifull provision for all that live, his manifold goodnesse: and lastly, in creating and making existent the World universall, by the absolute Art of his owne Word, his Power and Almightynesse, which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdome, and Goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestiall and Terrestrial bodies: Terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestiall, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the Omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Mover.

In these more than wonderfull workes, God (saith * *Hugo*) speaketh unto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that live, witness in themselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: he according to S. * *GREGORY*, *Omnis homo eo ipso quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Job*): which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominacionem illius conspicere in creaturis*, To discern him in his providence by his Creatures. That God hath bene otherwise scene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding,

* *Hugo Super
Ecclesiasticum. l. 1.
* Gregorius in
Hieremiam. c. 1.*

*Talis est, unus
vero ingenuus,
& non apparens
& non manifestus,
omnis autem
tem manifestus
paret, & ita
omnis homo
generacionem est,
quoniam generabilis.*

Job 5.3.
1. Tim. 6. 16.
Orig. 12. med.
de gen. 1. 12.
Cyril & Chrys.
de Job. 14.
Greg. Nac. 1. 2.
Theod. Philon.
Elianus. Aug. 1.
de Trime. 12.
13. Greg. Mag.
1. 18. Mor. Eccl.
epist. 1. Deu. 1.
Alcin. 12. de
Tim. 1. 6. 1. 4.
Vulgar. 4. 6. 1.
Hierat. Thom. p.
2. 4. 1. 2. 1. 1.
et alii. Deu. 1.
qui natura 2.
visibili est. ut
a visibili bon
posse sciri. equi
fieri. quod Opi
fieri. fua visibi
lium manifeste
ra. super con
tinent inuicem
fieri. et ille
Deu. omnia
esse creator.
amb. in epist.
ad Rom. 1.
Cyprian. de gen.
1. 1. 2. 1. 2. 1. 2.

ding, grounded on these places of S. John and S. Paul, Tee have not heard his voice as any time, neither have ye seen his shape. And againe, Whom never man saw nor can see.

And this, I am sure, agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicity, of which S. Augustine, *Ipse enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatsoever that be, the same cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyril, Chrysostome, Gregory Nazianzenus, Hierome, Augustine, Gregory the great, Evagrius, Alcuinus, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authority. But by his owne Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the unnumbered Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living Creatures, and Plants, which inhabit and reside therein. Therefore said that learned Cusanus, *Mundus universus nihil aliud est, quam Deus explicatus*; The World universall, is nothing else but God exprest. And the invisible things of God (saith S. Paul) are scene by creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, than his owne Will, no other matter than his owne Power, no other workman than his owne Word, no other consideration than his owne infinite Goodnesse. The example and pattern of these his Creatures, as hee beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his owne love, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wisdome disposed, and by his almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: *Neq; enim qui causaret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognoscique potest, sed vel ex rerum, quae factae sunt, quaeque sunt & gubernantur observatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*. For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith *Montanus*) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and governe, or else by the Word of God himselfe.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heavens, whose authority is not to be dispised, have acknowledged the world to have beene created by God.

Hier. in Poen.
mon. & in
sermone sacro.

Psalm. 134.
Ecclesi. 1. 17.

His worke and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by divers termes, and in a different manner exprest, I meane all those who are intitled by S. AUGUSTINE, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest judgement and understanding. *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium universum*; The original of the universall: to whom he giveth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Aënis, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio*. And wherein he truly, with S. Paul, casteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus*. *Zoroaster* (whom *Heracitus* followed in opinion) tooke the word *Fire*, to expresse God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. Paul it is used) *Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt*; All things (saith he) are caused, or produced, out of one fire.

So did *Orpheus* plainly teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the most High God; whose remarkable words are thus converted: *Cum descendisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this sense; *When great Jupiter had hidden all thing in himselfe, working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth into grateful light, the admirable workes which he had fore-thought*.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator summus*. *PLATO* calleth God the cause and originally, the nature and reason of the universall; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus*. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiosity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture

hath not want of any forraine testimonie) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so S. Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull and profitable, to remember whatsoever hee found agreeable to the Word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendering vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epistle to *Titus* he cyeth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seventeenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus &c.* For, Truth (saith S. Ambrose, by whomsoever uttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocumque dicatur, à Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule; *Quae sacra servant, prophana non sunt*; Nothing is prophane that serveth to the use of holy things.

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, Genes. 1. 1.

His visible world of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or, first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrewes* seeke some hidden myserie, and which in the *Jewes Targum* is converted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but onely to Creation then. For before that *Beginning*, there was neither primarie matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the *Eternall*. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten. Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name shall wee then call such an One (saith *Lactantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellencie to make, than to dispose of things made: whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this *Beginning*: except we faigne a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum*; There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them would limit the other.

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven and Earth, Genes. 1. 1.

The universall matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth under the names of *Heaven and Earth*) is by divers diversly understood: for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the *Peripateticks* understand it; to which S. Augustine and *Isidore* seeme to adhere. *Fecisti mundum* (saith S. Augustine) *de materia informi, quam fecisti de nulla re, penè nullam rem*: that is, *Thou hast made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made it was little other than nothing*.

But this potential and imaginarie *materia prima*, cannot exist without forme. *Peter Lombard*, the *Schoolemen*, *Beda*, *Lyranus*, *Cornelius Toftatus*, and others affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the *Empyrean Heaven*: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This *Empyrean Heaven* *Strensius Engubi* calleth *Divine clarity, and uncreated*: an error, for which he is sharply charged by *Parerius*, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be *uncreated*, a place, and the seat of Angels and just Soules, than in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liveth in eternall Light, it is written; *My soule, praise thou the Lord, that covereth himselfe with light*: and in the Revelation; *And the City hath no need of the sunne, neither of the moone to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it*. And herein also *John Mercer* upon *Genesis*, differeth not in opinion from *Engubi*: for as by Heaven created in the beginning, was meant the invisible or supercelestiall, so in his judgement, because it was in all eternitie the glorious seat of God himselfe, it was not necessarie to be created; *Quem mundum supercelestem meo iudicio creari (saith Mercer) non erat necess.*

But as *Moses* forbore to speake of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for

Cassid. de Metaph.
lib. 3.

Beda Hec. Strabo
super Gen.
Eugub. & de
Parerius.

Psalm. 104. 12.
Clement. discipul.
non est lapsa
theologia sapientie
Dei, non
creata, sed natura
apoc. 2. 23.
Mercer in Genes.
cap. 1. 1. 2.

the weaknesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of Egypt, according to his promise made to their forefathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspeable, and perceivable Univerfall: so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heaven, or whatsoever else (not himselfe) was increate and eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the feat of infinite power, no more than infinite power it selfe can be limited: for his place is in himselfe, whom no magnitude else can containe: *How great is the buyle of God* (saith BARUCH) *how large is the place of his possession! it is great, and hath no end; it is high and unmeasurable* to

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, as well of all the Heavens, and Orbes supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *matéria, Chaos, possibilities, five posse fieri*. Which matter (saith *Calvin*) was so called, *quod totius mundi semen fuit*; Because it was the seed of the *Univerſall*, an opinion of ancient Philosophers long before.

6. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by MOSES understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.

MOSES first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse; and (as Basil faith) *preparare naturam aqua ad fecunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulness.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, & natures expresse^d and by the name of *Earth and waters*, all was meant, whatsoever is under the Moone, and subject to alteration. Corrupt feedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the purest heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *David*) *and the heavens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Ejaj*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare*: which proveth, that the drie land was mixt and covered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feede of the Earth, much lesse of the Universeall. *Initio in Domine terram fundasti*, *Thom. O Lord, in the beginning thou foundedst the Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was covered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*; saith *David*. And if by naturall arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth ratified may become water: water, aire: a fire, fire; and so for the contrarie. *Dens ignis substantiam pro aërem in aquam convertit*, *God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into water*. For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. *Calum vero & terra in statu creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superaddita esset*. And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifically water; but the same more properly significeth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit*. For *Maim* (saith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures) and this name 5 or word the Latines wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plurall, *Aquas, Waters*.

This Maile, or indigedated matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters. *And the earth was void*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and wrought this indigedated matter into that forme, which is now receythen, then did the earth bud forth the herbe, which feedeth feede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good: which

attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confus'd; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornment. *God saw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera*; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of *Dæmōgorgon*: *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos: of which *Ovid*;

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cælum.

Unus erat toto natura vultus in Orbe.

Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaq; moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide;
In all the World one only face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

δ. VI,

How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters, and that this is not to be searched curiously.

20 **A**fter the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* use the word *superferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat*, or *fovebat* (saith Hierome) out of *Basil* and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam bibi*, *sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam rescense* (saith *Basil*): Which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeneffe. *Verbum translatum est ab avibus pultritis sue incubantibus, quoniam spirituales, et plane innascuntur, non autem corporali modo*; The word is taken of birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpreſſible manner.

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volubilis*; *The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldaean Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus a conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or as other understand the Chaldaean, *Elabat, pellobat, removebat*: *The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon*: according to the 147. Psalm, *Psalm. 147. 20.*
He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase; but there was yet no wind nor exhalation. *Ar. Mont. de sup. Evang. in Cap. 11. 3.*
Arias Montanus in these words, *Et Spiritus Elobim Marcescit*; *id est, efficitur mortuus, confocens, ac agitus super facies gemini liquoris*: *The Spirit of God effectually & often moving, keeping warme, and cherishing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor*. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, *Causa*, which is the divine goodneesse: *Jehi*, which is, *fat* five, *erit*, *Let it be*, or *it shall be*. *Ar. Mont. de natura, pag. 11. 12.*
Quae vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit: *Which voice* (saith he) *was the first that was uttered by the word of God*. The third, *Spiritus Elobim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, vis quaedam divina, agilis ac praeiens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complexus*; that is, *A certain divine power or strength every where active and extending, and stretching through all filling and filling all things*. The fourth he calleth *Maim*, *id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*, *Matter apt to become every thing*. For my selfe, I am resolved (*Chimaeus sit superrationale omni ratione*, *Seeing God is in all reason above reason*) that following the effects which follow his wonderfull waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. *Animalis homo quae Dei sunt, non percipit*: *For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in *ESAY*) *are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes*. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes (according to *S. PAUL*) *past finding out*. *O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely knowne to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*: *For how God* (saith *S. AUGUSTINE*, speaking of his Ubiquitie) *is in all things, either by essence, presence, or power, our understanding cannot comprehend*. *Nihil inter Deum hominem; distaret, sit consilia, & dispositiones illius Majestatis aeterna, cogitatio assequeretur humana*: *There would be no difference betweene the God and Man, if mans understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternall Majesty*; and therefore to be over-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit distinguishing, gave forme to the Matter.

of the Univerfall, is a labour and searh like unto his, who not contented with a knowne and safe Foord, wil presume to passe over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sunne, and enjoy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selves safely, while we stand neere the fire; but if we seeke to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to effchew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (*moved*) is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, *Principium motus*, and with *MIRANDULA*, *Pris causa efficiens*, *The force of the efficient cause*; *S. Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus*, under the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura*, For a created virtuality: *Tertullian* and *Theodore* call it also a breath or winde: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritus tennem intelligibilem*, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit: *ANAXAGORAS*, *Mentem*: *TOSTATUS*, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*; *The will and minde of God*; which *mens*, *Plato* in *Timaeo*, maketh *Animam mundi*, *The soule of the world*; and in his first Booke de *Republica*, he calleth it the *Law of Heaven*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come*, and the presence of things past. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox flet, & non meat animam, sed etiam Angelorum*; *My minde sayleth, my voyce is silent, and not mine only, but even the voyce Angels*: so may all men els be in the understanding, and utterance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which hee can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid eius est, & quicquid est; Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is*.

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustainteth, and giveth continuance to the Univerfall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which main-
taineth all things, saith *SALOMON*. *If thou send forth thy Spirit* (saith *DAVID*) *they are created*: And *GREGORY*, *Deus suo praesentia esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum destituerent universa*; God giveth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanish into nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath exprest excellently:

*Principio Caelum ac Terras, camposq; liquentes,
Lucentemq; globum Luna, Titaniaq; astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infusa per artus,
Mens agit at molem, & magnose corpore miscet.*

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Stars Titanian,
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole masse,
A Mind, which through each part infused doth passe,
Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpiree
All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Univerfall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heavens*, saith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarification, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heate and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element superior, as lighter than the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanous, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpiree: Light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediately followed. This Spirit *Chrysostome* calleth a vitall Operation, *Aquis a Deo insitam, ex qua aquae non solum motum, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. Hee calleth it, *A vitall Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not only motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures*.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and distinctly of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and beate annexed unto it.

These waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night*: which lights in the firmament of Heaven, were also made for signes, & for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, dayes and yeares are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the fifth Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a civill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that Light it selfe, *Quae causa est lucidorum, which is the cause that things are lightsome* (though it make by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Aether*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our aire. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium celestium virtutum, & impressionum*: The conductor, and preserver, or nourisher of all celestiall vertues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or means of flight. *Aristotle* calleth light a quality, inherēt, or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inherens Diaphano*: but this may be better avouched of the heate, which it transporeth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heate (say the *Platonicks*) *Abundat lumine resider in subiecto*, *The light being departed, doth reside in the subiect*, as warmth in the aire, though the same be deprived of light. This light *Platonius* and all the *Academicks* make incorporeall, & so doth *MONTANIUS*, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium*, *Which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space leaveth*.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolomineus*, *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant, from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through the solid body of glasse, or other CrySTALLINE matter; & whereas it is withstood by uncleane, and unpure earthy substances, lesse hard, and more easie to invade than the former, the same is, *Quod ob faculum naturae terrenum asq; fordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem*, *Because an obstacle by nature earthy and foule, doth not receive the pure clearenesse of light*: alluding to that most divine Light, which only shineth on those mindes, which are purged from all worldly drosse, and humane uncleannesse.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I marvelle at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath bene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferior to any in wit) as hee hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda*, *Hugo*, *Lombard*, *Tyrannus*, and others: so is his owne judgement herein, as weak as any mans; and most of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more subtile in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, than discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truly sayd, *Nihil sapientia odiosius accuminis nimio*, *Nothing is more odious to true wisdom, than too acute sharpnesse*. Neither hath the length of time, and the searh of many learned men, (which the same time hath brought,

brought forth and devoured) resolved us, whether this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorpall: Corporall they say it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies; which it doth, and yet every day we see the aire illighted: incorpall it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both must be one of these, lucide or bright, darke or opaque, Diaphanous or transparent; but darknesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darknesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be lucide and shining. Lucide and shining obtaine their so being of the light; and therefore, if we derive this being of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely and against nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my understanding, *Lumen* (which may be Englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentionall Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentionall Species thereof; & an intentionall Species may be understood by the example of a red, or Greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or Greene glasse: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which rednesse or other colour, we call the *intentionall Species* of the colour in that glasse. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sunne inhaleth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Sunnes creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the worke of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne; for *Moses* repeateth twice the maine parts of the Universall: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confuted; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or enriched with their vertuall formes: So the Sun although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day, God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdom of God finde cause why it should move (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sunne might give light, heate and operation.

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to move, and (by interchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour world; by his heate to stirre up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the seedes of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to bee; which by his all-powerfull Word hee approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to aske of *Job*, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans understanding; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects

fects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (saith *ESDRAS*): And those which inhabit the Heavens, doe only know the Essence thereof. *Nihil ignotum in celo, nihil notum in terra*: Nothing unknowne in Heaven, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. *Res vera sunt in mundo invisibiles; in mundo visibiles umbra rerum*: Things themselves are in the invisible world; in the world visible, but their shadows. Surely, if this Light be not spirittuall, yet it approacheth neereft unto spirittualitie; and if it have any corporalitie, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoever, it is of all things scene, the most beautifull, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it minnistrerh to men, and other creatures, all celestiall influences; it dissipaterh those sad thoughts and sorrowes, which the darknesse both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious workes of God, and carryeth up with an Angelicall swiftnesse, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the sight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvelles, may continually travaile to surmount these perceived Heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis*: Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. *Et ipsa lux facit, ut cetera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet*: It is the Light (saith Saint *AMBROSE*) that maketh the other parts of the World so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodnesse and beauty unto all. Of which *Ovid* out of *Orpheus*:

*Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.*

Ovid. Met. lib. 1.

The World discernes it selfe, while I the World behold,
By me the longest yeares, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beautie, motion, and vertue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*, and the Light, by *Hermes* named *Lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Saviour said to be that Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimities, and purities, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus perfectio non mens est, at vero ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit*: God (saith *HERMES* in *Poemandro*) certainly is not a minde, but the cause that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the *Mass* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, relolved their thinner parts into Aire, which God illighted: the Earth also by being contiguous, & mixt with waters (participating the same divine vertue) brought forth the bud of the herbe that feedeth seede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also motion and heate, which heate caused a continuance of those severall species, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion began the time and times succeeding.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Cry stalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters*: that is, those waters which by rarification and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate above this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansum* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turne it) are not the Cry stalline Heavens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius* *Magdalenus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against

Lucida corpora sunt plana; luce, alioquin re- moris imperia. Opaca sunt plana; luce, alioquin re- moris imperia. Opaca sunt plana; luce, alioquin re- moris imperia.

Gen. 1.

Pro. 1.

Quamvis- dum Res ali- quis, &c. Pro- cap. 1. Gen. 1.

Job. 38. 24.

9.

fects

jectum formarum, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceive: for to make forme, which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, divine and humane: onely it may be said, that originally there is no other difference between matter and forme, than be-
 tween heat and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kinde of rationally consideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Lovers, who by certain scholasticall distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which Aristotle hath laboured to prove a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farr safer to affirme with Saint AUGUSTINE, *That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soever from whence are the seedes of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; A quo est omnis species, a quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiusque generis est, cuiusque estimationis est, quosunt semina formarum, forme seminum, motus seminum atque formarum.* And thus much Averrois is forced to confesse. For all forme (saith he) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of Aristotle in the twelfth of his Metaph. and of Albertus upon Dionysius.

12. Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres have great influence: and that their operations may diversly be prevented or furthered.

As of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more generall, and universally powerfull than it is, by giving it Dominion over the minde of man, and over his will, of which Ovid and Juvenal:

Juvenal. lib. 7. 205.

*Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
 Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos.*

*Gainst Fate no counsell can prevail.
 Kingdomes to Slaves by Destinie,
 To Captives triumphs given be.

Basil. lib. 4.
 Aug. de civ. 8.
 70. 6. 35.
 Tho. Com. Gen. 3. cap. 8. 3.
 Ficht. in 12. de
 his.
 Cicero. lib. 1.

An error of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as Basil, Augustine, and Thomas have observed: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceived of Hermes, and Apuleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestia Orbis, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rationally minde doth not order nor direct. Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de unoquoque nostrum fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Stars are instruments of far greater use, than to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-set: it being manifest, that the diversity of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and cold, are not so uncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the Starres have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Mineralles, and to the excrementall parts of the basest living creatures, why should we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers: for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not thinke, that in the treasure of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as every herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dustie face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feede them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, than to adorne it, but for instruments and Organs of his divine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his just will

to

to determine. Origin upon this place of Genesis, *Let there be light in the Firmament, &c.* affirmeth, that the Starres are not causes (meaning per chance binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and set down all things whatsoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisdom: which latter part I believe well, and this saying of syracides withall: *I hat there are bid yet greater things than these be, and we have seen but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selves low and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestia bodies. For hardly (saith SALOMON) *can we discern the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before us: who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum est de rebus celestibus a liquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen we do not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destiny; so on the contrary, we do not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes depoyled God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestia inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were justifiable; of whom S. AUGUSTINE: *Impia perveritate in malis factis rectis sine reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem siderum, quam commissorem scelerum. Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they againe with wicked perveresse urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Starres, than the doer of the evil, is to be accused.*

Aug. 30. super Genadit.

But that the Starres and other celestia bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. Corpora celestia (saith DAMASCENE) *constitunt in nobis habitus, complexionem, & dispositionem. The heavenly bodies (saith he) make in us habits, complexions, and dispositions:* for the body (though Galen inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and weak in vertues: for those of cholerick complexion are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselves to be transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites; over all which, celestia bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and piety prepared, putteth himselfe altogether under the power of his sensuall appetite; Vincitur Quia si resistas, vincis si contempseris: Fate will be overcome, if thou resist it; if thou neglect it, it conquereth.

Aug. de civ. 8. lib. 5.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne have any power over the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other than as aforesaid, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilibus corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsius movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne (saith S. AUGUSTINE) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth and perfecteth them:* yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: Bonus quidem est Sol, si ministerio, non imperio: The Sunne is good to serve, not to sway (saith S. AMBROSE.) And Saint AUGUSTINE: *Dius regit inferiora corpora per superiora: God ruleth the bodies below by those above;* but hee avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens mindes, which are incorporeall.

Hex. lib. 4. 22. 1. 17. 32.

But howsoever we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: Aristotle himselfe confesseth, that the Heavens do not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies no more than the signes of raine and winde doe alwayes come to passe. And it is divers times seene, that paternal vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. Est in Juvenis patrum virtus; In the young of the spring the Fathers vertue is, and so the contrary patrum vitia: and herein also there is often found an interchange; the Sonnes of virtuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vices; and of vicious men, to vertue.

B

Egregia

Egregia est sibi solis scelerato nata parente:

A worthy sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up may fashion anew and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reines being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessells will ever retain a favour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to cleanse the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet favour of vertue first received, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found to exceed vertuous or vicious. Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, than the strength of selfe-nature and kind could have yielded them; so the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themselves into weeds, by being set in a soyle suitable, and like themselves, are made more unfavourable and filled with poyson. It was therefore truly affirmed, *Sapientis adiuvabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terra naturam*. A wise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyle. And Ptolemie him- selfe confesseth thus much, *Sapientis, & omnia sapientis medici dominabuntur astris*; A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall prevvaile against the Starres. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the rest of the Univerfall, whose influences may be called his reserved and unwritten Lawes. But let us consider how they bind: even as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to such a severe execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to judgement, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other than a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to rike that power and liberty from God himselfe, which his Substitutes enjoy; God beie. gmercy, goodnesse, and charity it selfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our saviour taught; *And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evill*, had bene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth cooperation of his owne creatures truly) hath assured us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayer and Desires may not make frustrate and breake asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himselfe should in a kinde have shut up himselfe therein: *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith S. Augustine) *left altogether without hope!*

And if this strength of the Starres were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so beleeveth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be despoyled of all worship, reverence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I have finished the worke which thou gavest mee to doe*;) and the same God, who hath threatened unto us the sorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his mercifull nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or influences of the Starres, or subject our soules to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of Plotinus, that the Starres were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something lesse than their due: and therefore as I doe not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God veruelesse: so I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence, to ascribe them

them the same dominion over our immortall soules, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes clarity, and that of the Starres, is by Plato called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen luminis*; Light is the shadow of Gods brightness, who is the light of light: But to end this question, because this Destiny, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men have.

§. XII.

Of Prescience.

Prescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præscientia*) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things; before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other than an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoever our selves fore-know except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience only) is not the cause of any thing fiturely succeeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the World shall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and Harvest; and that according to the severall seeds that we sow, we shall reap severall sorts of graine; yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or constrain the Sunne to rise and set, or men to dye; for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. The eye of man (saith Boetius) beholdeth those things subject to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their owne natures. And againe, Boetius de consolat.

Boetius de consolat.

gain out of the same Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia evenirent ex necessitate, premia bonorum, & pena malorum periret*; Divine Providence (saith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist; for if all came so passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of evill.

§. XIII.

Of Providence.

Now Providence (which the Greekes call *Providentia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith S. Augustine) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future: and wee our selves account such a man for provident, as, remembering things past, and observing things present, can by judgement, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every-where teach us; *Scriptures* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure us hereof: and besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God: so yea the *Turkes* themselves are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any perill whatsoever though death therein do manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall neede to repeat but a few of them in this place. Sing unto God (saith David) which covereth the Heavens with cloudes, and prepareth braine for the earth, and maketh the grasse to grow upon the Mountaines, which giveth to beasts their food, and feedeth the young Raven that cries: All these wait upon thee, that thou mayest give them food in due season: And thou shalt drinke of the River Chereth (saith God to Eliah) and I have com-

commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they saw not, nor
 1 Reg. 17. 4. escape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them : Again, Are not two Sparrowes sold for a
 Math. 2. 6. farthinge, and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father : yea all the hayres
 Luke 12. 6. of your head are numbered : And S. PETER, Cast all your care on him, for hee careth for you :
 1 Pet. 5. 7. And his judgements are written, saith DAVID.

God therefore, who is every-where present, who filleth the Heavens and the Earth,
 whose eyes are upon the Righteous, and his countenance against them that doe evil, was there-
 fore by Orpheus called *oculus infinitus*, an infinite eye, beholding all things, & cannot there-
 fore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other : for
 it is contrary to his owne Word : *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo. I will not give my glory to*
 1 Cor. 4. 3. *another*. No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction ; but God
 is every-where present, and King of kings. The example of Gods universall Providence
 is scene in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children : beasts and birds and all
 livings for their young ones. If Providence be found in second Fathers, much more in
 the first and Univerfall : and if there be a naturall loving care in men, and beasts, much
 more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Divine love was the beginning, and
 is the bond of the Univerfall : *Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum*
 universi (saith PLATO.) *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus im-*
 mobile sustentaculum, ac universa machine fundamentum ; The love of God is the perpetuall
 knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immoveable pillar of every part there.
 of, and the Basis and foundation of the universall. God therefore who could only be the
 cause of all, can only provide for all, and sustaine all ; so as to absolute power ; to every-
 where presence ; to perfect goodnesse ; to pure and divine love ; this attribute transcen-
 dent liability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

§. XIV. Of Predestination.

NOW for Predestination, we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and
 Prefcience, than in this, that Prefcience onely fore-seeth ; Providence fore-seeth
 and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, even from the brightest An-
 gels of Heaven, to the unworthiest Wormes of the Earth : and Predestination (as it is
 used specially by Divines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but
 of their salvation properly, in the common use of Divines, or perdition, as some have
 used it. Yet Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus, and others, take the word
 Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity : divers of the Fathers
 take it more largely sometimes : among whom Saint Augustine speaking of two Cities,
 & two Societies, useth these words, *Quorum est una, que predestinata est in eternum reg-*
nare cum Deo, altera eternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo ; Whereof one is it, which is pre-
destinated to reigne for ever with God, but the other is to undergoe everlasting torment with
the Devill : for according to NONIUS MARCELLUS, *destinare est preparare* ; and of
 the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as Calvin, Beza, Buchanan, Dancus, and such
 like : and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines ; and
 why it hath pleased God to create some vessels of honour, and some of dishonour, I will
 answer with Gregory, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam*
considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt ; He that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by
consideration of his owne infirmity perceiveth the reason of his blindness. And againe with S.
 AUGUSTINE, *Oculi esse causa potest, injusti esse non potest ; Hidden the cause of his Pre-*
destination may be, unjust it cannot be.

§. XV.

Of Fortune : and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against Rea-
 son and Providence.

LASTLY, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent to Gods Providence, and see-
 ing that the Starres have no other dominion, than is before spoken, and that
 Nature is nothing, but as PLATO calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei Orga-*
nism ; The art, or artificiall Organ of God : and CUSANUS, *Divini praecepti instrumentum ;*
 The

The art, or artificiall Organ of God : and CUSANUS, *Divini praecepti instrumentum ;* The
 instrument of the divine precept : we may then with better reason reject that kinde of Ido-
 latriy, or God of fooles, called Fortune or Chance : a Goddesse, the most revered, and
 the most reviled of all other, but not ancient ; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of
 Oceanus, as Pausanias witnesseth in his *Messenicks*. The Greekes call her *tyche*, signifying
 a relative being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Lady was scarce heard
 of ; and Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods,
 hath not a word of Fortune : yet afterward she grew so great and omnipotent, as from
 Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things, refuting the
 wisdom of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable : valuing the folly of
 the most foolishly by making their successe prosperous ; in somuch as the actions of men
 were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens
 lives, but her pastimes : of which PALLADIUS, *Vita hominum ludus fortuna est ; The*
life of man is the play of Fortune : and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided
 by ill counsels, have equall successe to those by the best judgement conducted, therefore
 had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience ; wherof *Athenians* :

*Longesimè à Sapientia Fors disidet,
 Sed multa perficit tamen similitudo :*

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre,
 And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is
 nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successe of humane actions, and en-
 deavours were for their variety ascribed ; for when a manifest cause could not be given,
 then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most
 men are ignorant ; contrary to this true ground of PLATO : *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cuius*
causa legitima non praeceperit ; Nothing ever came to passe under the Sunne, of which there
was not a just preceeding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one distinction,
 whatsoever may be objected ; for many things there are (saith he) which happen,
whosdes the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior ; Prater
intentionem Inferioris, sed non prater intentionem Superioris, (to wit, the ordinance of
 God ; and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) *Quod Poeta fortunam, nos Deum appellamus ;*
whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God. And that this is true, the Scripture in
 many places teacheth us ; as in the Law of Murder, *He that smiteth a man, and he dye, shall*
dye the death ; and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then
I will appoint thee a place whither hee shall flee. Now, where the Scripture hath these
 words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, If he hurt him by Chance ; and in
 Deuteronomy the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helve, whereby an-
 other is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this acci-
 dent to Chance or Fortune : and in the Proverbs the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the*
lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord : so as that which seemeth most casual
 and subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else ; and
 hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as
 Cicero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with
 those of Plato, and the Academics, to this effect, That the same power which they cal-
 led *animam mundi*, The soule of the World, was no other than that incomprehensible
 wisdom, which we expresse by the name of God, governing every being as well in
 heavens as earth ; to which wisdom and power they sometime gave the title of Ne-
 cessity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance : sometime, the style of For-
 tune, because of many effects there appeare unto us no certaine causes. To this effect spea-
 keth S. Augustine in his questions upon Genesis the first Booke : the same hath Seneca in
 his fourth of Benefits ; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was :
 For whatsoever (saith hee) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one* ;
 the same differenced by divers termes, according as we use, & exercise his power diversly.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the cau-
 ses of good and evill in men, but an idle voice, whereby we expresse successe ; how comes
 it then, that so many worthy and wise men depended upon so many unworthy and empy-
 ty-headed fooles ; that riches and honour are given to externall men, and without ker-

nell : and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their lives in poore and dejected estates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the time wherein we live : for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withall an honest and open heart and loving truth ; if Princes, or those that governe, endure no other discourse than their owne flatteries, then I say such one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheele ; which kinde of deserving well and receiving ill, we alwayes filly charge Fortune withall. For whosoever shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not just ; the Generall of an Army, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire ; shall never be made a Counsellor, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity ; but he must al change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities ; faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth : Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by such an observant slavish course : These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are vertues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur* ; Every foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applause : so as whosoever will live altogether out of himselfe, and study other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate ; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liveth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liveth : for such a one is often the author of his owne misery ; but best it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Bishops of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Heresie raged :

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgement) had followed the counsell of his brother *Quintus Potissus* (saith *Petrarch*) *in seculo suo mori, potuisset integro cadavere sepeliri* ; He might then have dyed the death of nature, and bene with an untorn and undiscovered body buried ; for as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth : *Quid stultius quam desperationem (praesertim de effectibus) litibus perpetuis implicari ?* What more foolish than for him that despaires (especially of the effect) to be entangled with endless contentions ? Whosoever therefore will set before him *MACHIAVELLS* two marks to shooe at (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must set on and take off a backe of yron to a weake wooden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble : for as he that first deviled to adde sayles to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne invention : so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sailes, as the divers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sailes and his cloth of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or of whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out : let us resolve with *S. Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is but one God ; the Father of whom are all things, and we in him ; and one Lord *Jesus Christ* by whom are all things, and we by him ; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

IHe creation of all other creatures being finished, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, God said, *Let us make man in our own Image, according* Gen. 1. 26, to our likeness.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to us knowne : *ingenium mirabilem homo* ; Man is the greatest wonder (saith *PLATO* out of *MERCURIUS*) *Natura ardenti* (some artificium) The artificiall worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellency external, but in respect of his internal forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof : in nature, because it hath an essence, immortall, and spiritual ; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth ; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Sanctius his animal mentisq; capacius alia
Deerat adhuc : & quod dominari in cetera posset,
Natus homo est.

Sanctum spiritus
par posterior in-
venit ; animi ;
opulenta mentali-
tas locum Ovid,
lib. 1. l. 76.

More holy than the rest, and understanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before :
So man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers : Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as *S. Chrysostome* *Ambrose*, and some others : which *S. Ambrose* denieth to the woman in these words, *ut sicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus, & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terrae : unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem* ; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth : Therefore bee being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse ; that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plural number, and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is said to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortall soule onely, because as God is invisible, so the soule of man is invisible ; as God is immortall and incorpall, so is the soule of man immortall and incorpall ; and as there is but one God which governeth the world ; so but one soule which governeth the body of man ; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in every part of the body : *Animae est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte* ; The soule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof ; according to *Aristotle*, though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine ; which that it is otherwise than potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall never prove. These and the like arguments doe the *Jewes* (make faith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially ; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Understanding, and Will ; and yet all these, being of real differences, are but one minde : so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, the holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude divers ; and againe, they distinguish betweene *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*, and spinne into small threads, with subtil distinctions, many times the plainenesse and sincerity of the Scriptures : their wits being like that strong yvare, that eateth thorow and dissolveth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to bee substantiall, but not the

Aug. 21 Sept.

Vers. 10.

Rom.1.23.

Zanch. de op.
Deil. 3. cap. I.

In Gen.

Surely

6. II.

BUt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is
Forma, vel natura hominis: I be forme or nature of man, but this faculty or gift of
 God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi*; the principall strength of the minde,
 or soule, *cujus actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio*, whose act, exercise, or office, is the
 perpetual contemplation of truth, and therefore it is also called *intellectus divinus, intellectus*
contemplativus, & anima contemplativa. A divine understanding, and an intellect or minde
 contemplative. *Est autem mens nostra* (saith *Cusanus*) *vis comprehendendi, & totum*
virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde
 (saith he) is a power of comprehending, even the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull,
 compounded of all the powers of comprehension: unto which *Mercurius* attributeth
 so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very
 effence of God (which was also the error of the *Manichees*, and others) and no o-
 therwise separate from God (saith he) than the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or
 understanding (saith *Mercurius*) *est Deus in hominibus*: Is God in men, or rather (saith
 which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of
 the same effence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumi-
 nation created; so is this *Mens* or understanding in men, nor of the effence of Gods in-
 finite understanding, but a power and faculty of our soules the purest; or the *lumen ani-*
mationis, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam*
animam, The soule of the soule, or with *S. Augustine*, the cic of the soule, or receptacle of Sapi-
 ence and divine knowledge, *in amorem sapientiae inquam dicens sequitur*, Which followeth

after the love of sapience as her guide (saith Philo) between which and reason, between which and the minde, called *anima*, between which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reason is that faculty by which we judge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof is said, *Anima corpus animar, id est, vivificat*; or *the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life*: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (saith Philo) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Anima*, or minde, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basilagreeth*, which called this *Mens*, or divine understanding, *perspicacem animae partem, the perceiving part of the minde*, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur*, & in *furiis* *non mens exstinguitur, anima manet*: In men that sleepe it is this (*mens*) or understanding, and not the mind or soule, which refresheth, during which time it is but habitual in wile men, & in mad men this (*Mens*) is exstingished, and not the soule: for mad men doe live, though distracted.

Therefore this word being offended for the Soule giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we say that they are of a distracted minde, in stead of a broken understanding: which word (Mind) we use also for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that minde: and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, He is of an honest minde, or a man of a just minde: sometimes for affection, as, I doe this for my mindes sake; and Aristotle sometimes useth this word (*Mens*) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper figurative, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at largthus; A part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be delivered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently MERCURIUS: *Animæ esse imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Dens mentis præst, mens anima anima corpori; The Soule* (meaning that which giveth life) *is the Image of this understanding, or Mens, and this (Mens) or understanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the Soule, and this Soule over the body.* This division and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That, *Mens humana*

Howsoever the Truth be determined, we must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we disfigure, nor in respect of the mindeit selfe by which we live, nor in respect of our foules simply, by which we are immortal, that we are made after the Image of God. But most lately may we resemble our selves to God in *mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty which never separate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is norall. For Saint Bernard maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which

being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whose words are these: *Non propter aīmao dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, sed intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of Saint AUGUSTINE) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere enim a quo facta est,* (that is) *The Minde (or Mens) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembereth, understandeth, and loveth its self, but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, heare BASIL: *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum vero imaginis huius praecloritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis consensientie affectibus immersit:* Man was made after the Image and similitude of GOD, but sinne hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt consensience.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortality, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these joynd, by any of whichor by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteouesne, most perfectly infused by God into the Minde and Soule of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the scale of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which joynd to the soule is a part of the Essentiall Constitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and conuined within the Trunke of Dust and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety, and Righteouesne.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are
powerfull retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise
the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of
God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long re-
tain this Image, as they feare, love and serve God truly, that is, for the love of God
alone, and doe not bruise and deface his Seale by the weight of manifold and voluntar-
y offences, and obdurate finnes. For the unjust minde cannot be after the Image of God,
seeing God is Justice it selfe; The bloud-thirsty hath it not; for God is Charity, and
Mercy it selfe: Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathans,
and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with God: and to be short, there is
no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darknesse, betweene beauty and deformity,
or betweene righteousness and reprobation. And though Nature, according to com-
mon understanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to
receive this Image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot per-
ceive; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and embrace the false
and durselike pleasures of this Stage-play World, than to become the shadow of
God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods Wife-
dome, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies,
which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heavens, and
thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the ever-
dureing Glory, and eternelless Joy, prepared for those, which retain the Image and si-
militude of their Creatour, preserving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man,
which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteousnesse, and Holinesse, as saith Saint
Paul. Now, whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by S. *Augustine*, with whom
S. *Ambrose* joyneth, that by sinne, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image
it selfe; both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the I-
mage of God, in man, may betaken two wayes; for either it is considered, according to
naturall gifts, and consisteth therein: namely, to have a reasonable and understanding
nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sinne, than the very rea-
sonable or understanding nature, &c. is lost, (or sinne doth not abolish and take away
these naturall gifts:) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernaturall
gifts, namely, of Divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and
accomplishment of the naturall Image; and this manner of similitude and Image of God
is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sin.

dum in brevi magnum, atq; exiguo totum, in terris statuit; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heave and lumpish: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rocks and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which OVID:

*Inde genus durum sumus, experientq; laborum,
Et documenta damus qua finis origine nati:*

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approving, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His blood, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brookes and Rivers over all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it selfe, which, stirred up by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth. Our rati- call moisture, Oyle, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintai- ned) is resembled to the fat and fertilitye of the Earth; the haire of mans body, which adorne or over-shadows it, to the grasse, which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determi- nations, to the light, wandering & unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes, to the light of the Sun and Moone; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat, dry up, and wither away, or the fierce puffs of winde blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our minde, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (former- ly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh upwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes present with God; and lastly our immortall soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beauiified with the title of his owne Image and simili- tude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous: for in Angels deprehen^d a *est iustitia*, Behold, hee found folly in his Angels (saith Job) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betweene the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his owne righteousness. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the universall (man being the measure of all things; *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith Aristotle and Pythagoras) that the foure Complections resemble the foure Elements, and the seven Ages of man the seven Planets: Whereof our infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which we seeme onely to live and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and instru- cted; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Love, Desire, and Vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts travaile to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Jupiter*, in which we beginne to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and over-cast, and in which we find by our deare and lamentable experience, & by the losse which can never be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sick- nesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made unfociable to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, than to hold the riches we have, from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe on unto, with many sighes, groines and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workman- ship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we al- waies travell both sleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of ho- nor and riches any power at all, to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of eter- nity; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death; whose doores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but never floweth againe: our Leaf once fallen, springeth no more,

neither

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne us againe, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

*redditur arboribus florens revirentibus arvis;
Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, redit.*

To which I give this sense,

The Planis and Trees made poore and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers againe from shame and cold:

But never man repair'd againe
His youth and beautie lost,
Though Art, and care, and cost,
Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

And of which,

CATULLUS EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire possunt:

The Sunne may set and rise:

But we contrariwise

*Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

Sleepe after our short light
One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be main- tained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall living things, and as the sap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserved, doth evermore ascend or descend; so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottennesse and dissolution.

§. VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himselfe.

THESE be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberrall choice of all things, with one onely prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himselfe, to bee his owne Guide, his owne Workman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or describe unto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme. God made man in the beginning (saith SIRACIDES) and left him in the hands of his owne counsell. Such was the liberrallie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beasts, and all other crea- tures reasonlesse, brought with them into the World (saith Lucilius) and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change, and the supernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the sen- sible of Beasts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels; whereof which so- ever he tooke pleasure to plant and cultivate, the same should surely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedome of the first man Adam, and our first Father, was enigmatically described by *Aesclepius Aibe- nensis* (saith Mirandula) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamor- phoses* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens con- ditions, from Reason to Brutallie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meeknesse to Crueltie, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other creatures did those Ancients represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were signified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppressors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedie Men; which also Saint Matthew resembleth to false prophets, which come to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves: by the images of Stones and Stockes, foolish and igno- rant Men; by Vipers, ungratfull Men: of which S. JOHN BAPTIST, O see generation of Vipers, &c.

C 2

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Univerſall created was exceeding good.

IN this worke of Man, God finiſhed the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reſted: for God commanded, and it was finiſhed, *Cui volu- iſſe eſt ſciſſe; With whom, to will is to make*, ſaith Beda. Neither did God ſo reſt, that hee left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themſelves: for my Father workeith to this day (ſaith Chriſt) *and I worke*; but God reſted (that is) hee created no new ſpecies or kinds of creatures, but (as aforeſaid) gave unto man a power generative, and ſo to the reſt of living creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their ſeeds in themſelves; ſo and commanded man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their ſeverall kinds: all which being finiſhed, God ſaw that his worke was good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but hee gave to all things which hee had created the name of good, thereby to reach men, that from ſo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whole ſimple puritie and from ſo excellent a cauſe, there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberall choice, purchaſed by diſobedience his owne death and mortalitye, and for the crueltye of mans heart, was the Earth afterward curſed, and all creatures of the firſt Age deſtroyed, but the righteous man Noah and his Family, with thoſe creatures which the Arke contained, reſerved by God to replenish the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the Place of Paradife.

§. I.

That the ſeat of Paradife is greatly miſtaken: and that it is no marvell that men ſhould erre.



CONCERNING the firſt Habitation of man, we reade, that the Lord God planted a Garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee made; GEN. 2. 6. Of this ſeat and place of Paradife, all Ages have held diſpute; and the opinions and judgements have bene in effect, as divers, among thoſe that have written upon this part of *Genefis*, as upon any one place therein, ſeeming moſt obſcure: ſome there are, that have conceived the being of the terreſtriall Paradife, without all regard of the Worlds Geographie, and without any reſpect of the Eaſt and Weſt, or any conſideration of the place where Moſes wrote; and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein hee was exceeding reſpective and precise. Others, by being themſelves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the firſt Interpretation, or truſting to their owne judgements, underſtood one place for another; and one Errour is ſo fruitful, as it begetteth a thouſand Children, if the licentiousneſſe thereof bee not timely reſtrayned. And thirdly, thoſe Writers which gave themſelves to follow and imitate others, were in all things ſo obſervant Sectatours of thoſe Maſters, whom they admired and beleevied in, as they thought it ſafer to condemne their owne underſtanding, than to examine theirs. For (ſaith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradife) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum autoritate perſuaſi, tranſmittimus; Wee paſſe over many groſſe errors, by the authoritie of great men led and perſwaded*. And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the underſtanding of this place. I ſpeake it not, that I my ſelfe dare preſume to cenſure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum eſt errare*. And to the end that no man ſhould bee proud of himſelfe, God hath distributed unto men ſuch a proportion of Knowledge, as the wiſeſt may behold in themſelves their owne weakenesſe:

Nulli

Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one. Saint Paul confeſſeth that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third heaven in the fleſh, or out of the fleſh; and Chriſt himſelfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, ſeing knowledge is infinite; it is God (according to S. Jude) who is only wiſe. *Sapientia ubi invenitur?* (ſaith Job) *but where is Iſaiah 40. 13. wiſdomes ſound? and where is the place of underſtanding? man knoweth not the price thereof.* *For it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore ſeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgements (which inhabite in houſes of clay) cannot be without their miſtakings: and ſo the Fathers, and other learned men, excuſable in particulars, eſpecially in thoſe whereupon our ſalvation dependeth not.

§. II.

A recitall of ſtrange opinions touching Paradife.

NOW touching Paradife, firſt it is to be enquired, whether there were a Paradife, or no: or whether Moſes deſcription were altogether myſtical, and allegoricall: as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius, with others have affirmed; and that under the names of thoſe four Rivers, Piſon, Gehon, Hiddekel, and Perath, the tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge, there were delivered unto us other myſteries and ſignifications; as, that by the four Rivers were meant the four Cardinall virtues, Juſtice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence, or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Hony. This Allegoricall underſtanding of Paradife by Origen divulged, was againe by Francisus Georgius received (ſaith Sixtus Senenſis); whoſe frivolous imaginations Sixtus himſelfe doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his firſt Booke, fol. 338. the laſt Edition.

S. Ambroſe alſo leaned wholly to the Allegoricall conſtruction, and ſet Paradife in the third Heaven, and in the virtues of the minde, & in noſtro principali, which is, as I conceive it, in mente, or in our ſoules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this ſort. By the place or garden of Paradife, was meant the ſoule or minde; by Adam, Mens, or Underſtanding; by Eve, the Senſe; by the Serpent, Delectation; by the Tree of good and evil, Sapience; and by the reſt of the Trees, the virtues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence ſpringing. Notwithſtanding all which, upon the firſt of the *Corin. c. 6.* hein direct words alloweth both of a celeſtiall and terreſtriall Paradife; the one into which S. Paul was rapt; the other, into which Adam was put by God. Aug. Chryſoſtomeſis was of opinion, that a Paradife had bene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the ſame being not only deſaced, but withall the places now not ſo much as exiſting, To which Luther ſeemeth to adhere.

The Manichees alſo underſtood, that by Paradife was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, Vadianus inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two ſeverall places. Firſt, upon this: *Fill the earth*, GEN. 10. Of which he giveth this judgement: *Hoc ipſo etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini univerſis animantibus, ſubjicite terram, clarissi me docet, utam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut turn erat) fructibus conſitam, ſedem & horum illum Ade, & poſteritatis ſuave fuiſſe; Theſe words (ſaith he) in which God ſaid, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and ſubdue it, and rule over every creature, doe clearly ſhew, that the Univerſall earth ſet or filled with all ſorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and ſeat of ADAM, and of his future poſteritie. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts* Cap. 17. *Apoſtolus ex uno ſanguine omne genus humanum idco ſaſtum docet, ut habitarent ſuper univerſam faciem terra: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat; The Apoſtle (ſaith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (ſaith he) was that Paradife. Which conjectures I will answer in order. Goropius Becanus differeth not much from this opinion; but yet he acknowledgeth that Adam was firſt planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place Goropius findeth neere the River of Aceſines, in the confines of India.**

Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durandus, make Paradife under the Equinoctiall, and Poſſellus, quite contrary, under the North pole: the Chaldeans alſo for the moſt part, & all their Sectatours, followed the opinion of Origen, or rather Origen theirs, who would either make Paradife a figure, or Sacrament only, or elſe would have it ſeated out of this ſenſible world, or raiſed into ſome high and remote Region of the Ayre: Strabus, Rabb.

Bed in Gen.
Pet. Com. p. l. x.
cap. 3.
Moses Bar. de
Par.

Rabanus, were both sicke of this vanitie, with Origen, and Philo: so was our venerable Beda, and Peter Comestor, and Moses Barcephas the Syrian, translated by Masius. But as Hopkins sayes of Philo Judeus, that hee wonderd, *Quomodo genio afflatus; By what evill Angell he was blowne up into this error:* so can I not but greatly marvell at the learned men, who so grossely and blindly wandred; seeing Moses, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the kingdomes and provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compasse upon which it lay, in respect of Iudea, or Canaan.

Noviomagus also upon Beda, *De natura rerum*, beleeveth that all the Earth was taken for Paradise, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beauty ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Rivers, Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Egypt, and the other through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rise out of one fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine of the Ocean.

S. III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of Moses make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee had made.* And howsoever the vulgar translation, called Hieromes translation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverat Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio;* The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning, putting the word *pleasure* for Eden, & (from the beginning) for Eastward: it is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense hath this translation (saith our Hopkins, in his Treatise of Paradise) that hee planted a garden in pleasure, or that a River went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the seventy Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis, the Paradise of Eden*, and so doth the Chaldaean Paraphrast truly take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Noun appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertilitie of the soyle, of the many beautifull Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the Indies) doe alwayes keepe their leaves, was called Eden, which signifieth in the Hebrew, pleasantnesse, or delicacie, as the Spaniards call the Countrey, opposite to the Isle of Cuba, Florida: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as Florida was a Countrey, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was Edena a Region called pleasure, or delicacy, for its pleasure, or delicacy: and as Florida signifieth flourishing, so Eden signifieth pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of Countreies; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called pleasure in the Hebrew) and Paradise being the choice state of all that Region, Paradise was truly the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as Basil, Chrysostome, Theodoret, Gregorie; and to the Rabines, as Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimechi: and of the Latines, Severinus, Damasenus &c. who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Eastward) for *ab initio*: for Damasenus owne words are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter confitus; Paradise is a place, marvellously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, Guilielmus Parisensis, a great learned man, and Sixtus Senensis, of later times, doe both understand these words of Eden, and of the East, contrary to the vulgar translation; Parisensis, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senensis, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words: *After this I will begin to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward &c. Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem &c.* And then Senensis, *Moses enim clarissime prodit, Paradisum à Deo confitum in regione torra Orientali, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quaestione capite Gen. ubi legitur CHAM habitasse ad Orientalem plagam Heden;* For Moses (saith

(saith he) doth shew most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrey, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we read, *that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden.* PERE Postquam huius endeavour to qualifie this translation; for this particule (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of Christ, that although the Divell was said to be a man-killer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better judgement) the Devell was from the instant of his fall a man-killer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, *S. Hierome* (if that be his translation) adviseth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (Eden) by (auit) and not (à principio) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden, Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin;* and Pererius himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin;* He set on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin. BECANUS affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But BECANUS followeth this construction, only to the end, to finde Paradise upon the River of Acefines: for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good and evill, and would therefore draw Paradise to the Figure: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because Paradise was seated by Moses toward the East, thence came the custome of praying towards the East, and not by imitation of the Chaldeans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in March, which is directly over Paradise (saith Damasenus:) affirming, that we alwayes pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradise, whence we were cast out; and yet the Temple of Solomon had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their service and divine ceremonies, alwayes towards the West, thereby to avoide the superstition of the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from Iudea, yet it was West from Persia) and the serving of God is every where in the world; the matter is not great which way we turn our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradise, and pray turning our selves towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by Adams fall wee have lost the Paradise on earth; so by Christs death and passion we may be made partakers of the Paradise celestiall, and the Kingdome of heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mysterie in adding the word (East) to Eden by Moses, than to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which Paradise was lay Eastward from Iudea and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of those Nations, the Sons of the East which inhabited Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea, and Persia: of which Ovid.

Eurus ad Envoram, Nabataaq; regnar recepit. The East winde with Aurora hath a biding
Among th' Arabian, and the Persian Hills,
Whom Phobus first salutes at his up-rising.
Persidaq; & radiis juga subdit amantinis.

And if be objected, that Hieremy the Prophet, threatening the destruction of Hierusalem, doth often make mention of Northern Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those nations that followed Nabuchodonosor, and of whom the greatest part of his Army was compounded; not that Babylon it selfe stood North from Hierusalem, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, Peter Comestor giveth best satisfaction: for he useth the word, *From the beginning that is from the first part of the World, (à principio) id est,* (saith he) *à prima orbis parte;* and afterward hee affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the same signification: *From the beginning & Eastward is all one; à principio idem est quod ad Orientem.*

But to returne to the prooffe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. & 9. Verse, in these words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meat, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created Adam elsewhere, as in the World at large, and then put him into the Garden: and the end why, is exprest: *that he might dress it and keepe*

Vofe 13.

Vofe 10.
Eze 27. 23.

keepe it; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proveth that *Paradise* was a terrestriall Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River sprang, which he calleth *Heden*; and that *Heden* is also a Countie neere unto *Charan* in *Melopotamia*, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

But to all these Cabalities, which draw the Truth and Storie of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these words: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non est Adam, non sunt homines, sed veritas jam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur*: If *Paradise* be not sensible, then there was no fountaine, and then no river; if no river, then no such fountaine heads or branches, and then not any such river, as *Pison*, or *Gehon*, *Tigris*, or *Euphrates*, no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves; *Eve* then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any *Adam*, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back to Allegories. Words to the same effect hath *S. Hierome* upon *DANIEL*: *Contingant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam constantem evertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriae Legibus se debere subverti*. Let the dotage of them be silent, who following shadows and images in the Truth, endeavour to subvert the Truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought to bring *Paradise*, and the Rivers, & the Trees under the Rules of Allegorie.

Ezechiel 31. 9.

Gen. 13. 10.

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For, God gave *Adam* free libertie to eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third Heaven, nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmaticall or mysticall, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, useth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therein seated, to be terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inventions, and that if he had not described both the region and the Rivers, and how it stood from *Canaan*, many of the unbelieving *Israelites* & others after them, would have misconstrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likewise, there would have beene so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had beene in *Aethiopia*? For wee finde that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorra* stood, (sometimes called *Pentapolis*, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the destruction (which their unnatural sinne purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of *Egypt* toward *Soar*: In like manner was *Israell* resembled to the *Paradise* of God, before the *Babylonians* wasted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seat and soyle of farre exceeding excellency.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Iustin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise*? *Gen. 2.* and whence are their praises of the *Elizian* fields, but out of the story of *Paradise*? to which also appertaine those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ovid*:

Ovid. Metam. 1.

*Per erat aeternum placidique repensibus auris
Mulsebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.*

The joyfull Spring did ever last,
And Zephyrus did breed
Sweet flowers by his gentle blast,
Without the helpe of Seed

And it is manifest, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Hesiodus*, and *Homer*, and after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Sects

Sectators, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poeticall conversions, as if they had bin conceived out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if wee finde what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was divided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Havila* and *Cush*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Desarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententia: una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligunt; alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantum (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum accipiunt*. (that is) There are three opinions of *Paradise*: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporall: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a figure of the Church: the third of those which take it in both senses; which third opinion *S. Augustine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgement: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum nemus sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est praeclatum* (that is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Grove or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.

Aug. de Civitate
13. c. 11.
Suidas in libro
Paradisus

§. IV.

Why it should be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of *Paradise*.

But it may be objected, that it is needlesse, and a kinde of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessarie, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if wee should conceive that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judaea*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seat of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the *East India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two Rivers so farre distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be compassed therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Saviour, were said to have beene in some such Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a slender roote in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or give place to the judgement of some Writers upon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in generally, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World so set by it selfe and separated as to hang in the Ayre under the circle of the Moone: or who so foolish to conceive, that from thence the foure Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall downe, and run under all the Ocean, and rise up againe in his habitable world, and in those places where they are now found? Which lest any man thinke that I enforce or strain to the world, these are *Peter Comestors* own words. *Est autem locus amantissimus, longo terra & maris tractu a nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeo elevatus, ut nihil de lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated so that it reacheth to the globe of the Moone.

And *Moses Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoque responsum volumus*, Bare converted by Masius.

Lastly, it appeareth that the Flood did not so turne upside downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that when *NOAH sent out the Dove the second time, he returned with an Olive-leaf in her mouth,* Gen. 8. 11. which (untill the Trees were discovered) the found not: for otherwise she might have found them floating on the water; a manifest proofe, that the Trees were not torne up by the rootes, nor swam upon the waters, for it is written, *folium Olive, raptum or decerptum, a leafe pluckt,* (which is) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Flood made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seene to succeding Ages, especially unto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

§. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to bee the fountain of those foure Rivers.

His conceit of *Aug. Chrysostomus* being answered, who onely giveth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus, Vadianus, Goropius, Becanus*, and all those that understood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembered, this Universallitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule over every Creature, &c.* with this of the *AEts*, and hath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, doe no way prove such a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of bloud originally; and *Adams* posteritie inhabited in procel of time over all the face of the earth; yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dresse and cultivate, in which he lived in so blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choyce, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Universall; *Moses* would not then have said, *Eastward in Eden*, seeing the World hath nor East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God bene left to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after *Adams* expulsion, if the Universall had bene Paradise: for then must *Adam* have beene chased also out of the World. For if all the earth were Paradise, that place can receive no better construction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of Paradise into Paradise, except we should beleewe with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all one, as to affirme, *That in so large a field, as the Universall, there should grow but one Thistle.* *NOVIOMAGUS* upon *Beda*, seemeth to be led by this, that it was impossible for those three Rivers, *Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates* (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean bee taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Rivers, being so understood, there could bee no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appeare, that *Pison* was falsly taken for *Ganges*, and *Gehon* falsly for *Nilus*, although *Ganges* be a River by *Havilah* in India, & *Nilus* run through *Ethiopia*. The *Seventy* write *Chus* for *Ethiopia*, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of *Noviomagus, Goropius, & Vadianus*, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, than that of *Ephrem, Cyrillus, and Athanasius*: That Paradise was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which hee was created, and was buried at Mount Calvary in Hierusalem. And certainly, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeeres after the Flood, yet *Adams* shin-bones must have contained a thousand sadome, and much more, if he had forded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needs no argument to disprove it.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Ayre.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoolemen affirme, Paradise to be a place, altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that Paradise was farre in the East, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoolemen charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* upon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of Paradise, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neereft heaven; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) tooke this place for Heavenit selfe, into which the Soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the *Arcopagites* (in this and many other divine apprehensions) set downe what they beleaved in plain termes, especially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Devill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Justine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and *S. Augustine* gave this judgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to mee, that both *Terintian* and *Ensebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall Paradise, and not this of Eden. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, upon the top of Mount Atho (called *Acrothomos*) which being above all Clouds of Raine, or other inconvenience, the people (by reason of their so many yeeres) are called *Macrobi* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is used, for prooffe of the height of this place, because therein was *Enoch* preserved from the violence of the Flood: approved by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*: in which place also *Terintian* conceived, that the blessed Soules were preserved till the last judgement; which *Irenaeus* and *Justine Martyr* also beleaved. But this opinion was of all *Catholicke Divines* reprov'd, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which *Saint Augustine* more modestly gave this judgement: *Sicut certum est, ENOCH et ELIAS nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc sunt: an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certaine that ENOCH and ELIAS doe now live: so where they live, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is uncertaine.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that Paradise should be set at such a distance and height, because the foure Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the earth, and have risen againe in the farre distant Regions of India, Egypt, and Armenia.

These strange fancies and dreames have bene answered by divers learned men long since, and largely by *Hopkins* and *Pererius*, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inventer.

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being far so neere the Moone, it had bene too neere the Sunne, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have bene too joynt a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Ayre in that Region is so violently moved, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the place betwene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolome* and *Alfragani*) is seventene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a grosse account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradise, being raised to this height, must have the compasse of the whole earth for a basis, and foundation. But had it bene so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would deprive us of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part

of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those fells of waters, are deafe from their infancy, like those which dwell neere the *Catadupa*, or over-falls of Nilus. But this I hold as fained. For I have seene in the Indies, far greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neere them are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Peterius*, *Sed ego hac apud Basilum & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, quae nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini; but I do not remember* (saith he) *that I ever read those things either in Basil or Ambrose.*

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his will-dome. Their taking up might be into the celestiall *Paradise*, for ought we know. For al-though flesh and blood, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heaven, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith *S. Paul*) *but all shall be changed*: which change, in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Flood all perished on the earth, saving eight persons; and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

For *Tostatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but be-leeved that *Paradise* was raised above the middle Region of the Aire, and twenty cubits above all Mountaines, that the Flood did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other latter Schoole-men also beleeved; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to over-whelme it:) this is also contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that the waters over-flowed all the mountaines under heaven. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell give credit to *Mafius*, *Damasenus*, & the Thalmudists, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saved themselves on the Mountaine Baris, and on Sion. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith, That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Flood was not naturall, so was *Paradise* saved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* quali-fieeth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleeved, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seeme to asseme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and com-paratively, for the delicacie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare avow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better reach all their Followers to shift, than to resolve by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of Olympus, Athos, and Atlas, over-reach and surmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence waft off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolved us, that these reports are fabulous, and *Pliny* himselfe (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountaines is farre under the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these selfe Hills the ayre is so thin (saith *S. Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate *Paradise* under the *Aequinoctiall*: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climats.

Those which come neerer unto Reason, finde *Paradise* under the *Aequinoctiall* line, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sunne; but this is (*non causa pro causa*), for although *Paradise* could not be under the Line, because Eden is farre from it, in which *Paradise* was; and because there is no part of Euphrates, Tigris, or Ganges under it, (Ganges being one of the four rivers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to be condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas

it appeared, that every Countrey, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the more exceede in heat: It was therefore a reason-able conjecture, that those Countreies which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and so did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent; which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconveniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witness of mens travailes, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitlesse lump to fashion out the rest. For God himselfe (saith I say) that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated under the *Aequinoctiall* line, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easternly winde (which the Spaniards call the *Brisce*) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heate of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne cannot so much murther it, that there is any inconvenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe have seene, neere the Line and under it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equal temper: Onely there are some tracks, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts with-out trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soiles we finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Re-gions have so many goodly Rivers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever bea-ving, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit both green: and ripe; as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of Eden: the boughes and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any time despise her withered Husband *Vernumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countreies called *Terra vitiosa*, *Vicious Countreies*: for Nature being liberrall to all without labour, needesse imposing no industrie or travell, idleness bringeth forth no other fruits than vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoole-men were grosse in this particular.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Chelofria, there is a Coun-try in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved out of *Esai. 37.* and *Ezek. 27.*

These opinions answered, and the region of Eden not found in any of those ima-ginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we discover and find out the seat thereof, for in it was *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of which search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moyses* remembered, forgotten by those names of all Historian and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we find that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* onely and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrewes*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they trans-forme the names of all those principall Places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (what he could) to extinguish all things; the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subjected and intrinseled

1. For it appeareth both in *Ezay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threates of *Rabshake*, the while the Army of Assyria lay before Jerusalem, that the Cities of *Gofan*, *Haran*, *Refeph*, and the Edenities at *Telaſſar*, had reſiſted the Assyrians, though by them (in a fort) mastered and recovered. *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, whom my Fathers have destroyed as Gofan, and Haran, Refeph, & the children of Eden, which were to Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacherib* death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for *Efar-Haddon* held Assyria, and *Merodach Baladan*, Babylonia. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabshake* which lay before Jerusalem (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in Egypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed; the King of Babel sent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the Assyrians. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himselfe was slaine by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Efar-Haddon* succeeding him in Assyria. To the Babylonian Ambassadors sent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* shewed all his treasures, as well proper as consecrate, which invited the kings of Babylon afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the supition of warre encreasing betwene Babylon and Assyria, the Edenities which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Assyria, were employed to beare off the incursions of the Assyrians; and their Garrison-place was at *Telaſſar*: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) faith *Julnius*, signifying as much, as a bulwarke against the Assyrians. This place *Hieropolymitanus* takes for *Refem*, others for *Seleucia*: but this *Telaſſar* is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the History of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of Persia) calleth *Thilutha* in stead of *Telaſſar*, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: it is seated in an Island of Euphrates upon a steepe and unassailable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour *Julian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the Assyrians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenities of the Countrey adjoining were lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolemy* calleth *Teridata*, having *Refeph* (which he calleth *Refepha*) on the left hand; and *Camneh*, (which he calleth *Thelbe-carme*) on the right hand; not farre from whence is also found the City of *Mam-canne* upon *Tigris*; and all these seated together, as *Ezay* and *Ezechiel* have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because Assyria (which the Chaldeans call *Accurra*) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonia nomen transiit* (saith *NIGER*). *Assyria & Mesopotamia took the name of Babylonia*. Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World Eden is seated.

6.X.

The only difficulty is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the 59th Nestorians in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris, a River of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more improbable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we have a testimony from the Learned of those parts, that not only Euphrates, but also Tigris was a River of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worn out, though the Region hath been subject to the same change, that all other Kingdomes of the world have bene, and hath by conquest and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth over Euphrates, was after

after the flood called *Shinar*, and then of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Affrya*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the banks of *Tigris* between Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Ethiopic* maketh mention, (not that latter *Ethiopic*, Disciple of *Gallinius*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenas* called *Istria*, who lived in Egypt in the Reigne of *Phyladelphus*, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of the Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Ethiopic*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phenicia*, cannot be understood to be the Region named by *Ethiopic*. For *Ethiopic* makes it a Countrey, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Aethiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions, (saith *Aethiopic*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia*: which River he called *Armodyus*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* have their originall: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers; to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them travse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*, and the excellent fertilitie thereof in divers places, is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part thereof (saith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetual Spring. Also *STEPHANUS* denribius, mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in use in *Amos* time, though he speake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Cassio*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once joyned together; and afterward separate) are two of those four heads, into which these Rivers which are said to water the Garden of *Paradise*, were divided: whose courses being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be unknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seventie and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: & *Hiddekel* *Tigrim* omnes exponunt: & all men understand *Hiddekel* by *Tigris* (saith *Vatablus*). And because that which I have said of the Ile of *Eden* shall not be subject to the censur of self-invention, I have heere-under set downe the words out of the two generall Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as *Marius* (ad verbum) hath converted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, that the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Affrya*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and have to this day (at least in Queen *Maries* time they had) fiftene Churches in one Citie called *Seleucia Partorum*, or *Mosel* upon the River of *Tigris*; having no sufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitan Bishops at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtaine allowance unto such an Election as themselves had made: having three hundred yeare before that upon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous desire to enrich himselfe had forborne to institute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places fell void) they all assembled themselves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had bene of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignitie which his Predecessors had held, the rest of the Professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselves. The words of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these about the middle of the said Epistle. *Verum nos non acceptavimus neq; proclamavimus ipsum, sed subito convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis que sunt circum Civitatem Mosel in medio Attur, in vicina Niveces, ex Babylonia, ex Charræ, ex Arbella, ex Insula que est in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Persiæ, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is: But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about *Mosel* (or *Attur*) neighbouring *Niveces*, & out of *Babylon*, *Carra*, *Arbella*, and out of the Island which lieth in the middle of *Tigris*.

gris, a River of Eden, or rather, out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tigris. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they use these words: Neq; superius apud nos Metropoli, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli pauci, Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasi, Episcopus Adurbeigan, en vestigio convenimus in Insulam, qua est, intra Tigrii flumen, Eden, secimusq; compactum inter nos, &c. (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but only a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmasus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we assembled speedily in the land Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed between our selves, &c.

Now this land of *Eden Masius* describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the foure sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Nestorians*, *Jacobites*, *Maronites*, and *Coptis*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultu in illam quam modo dixi Tigris Insulam, qua duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosai positam, decem ferme millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & apertis aliis quam Christianis hominibus habitata: which is, Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch, (as those that came to Rome reported) they ran tumultuously together into that Island of Tigris or Eden before spoken of, which land is situated about twelve miles above Mosai, containing very neere ten miles in compass, and every where environed with a wall, inhabited by few other men than Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest hee addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta*, *Insula Tigris: sive Geserta*. Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hofan-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra predictam Tigris Insulam rupi aspera impositam; Above the aforesaid land of Tigris, being seated on a steepe Rocke*. Of this land of *Geserta*, *Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his general Cosmographie in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riviere du Tigre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie; Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia*.*

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth, and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petrea*, and the Desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the ascription of the said Prophet, & joyned with those Nations of *Reseph*, *Cameth*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the paring of the two Regions of *Affyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Tchelassar* were garrisoned to resist the *Affyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Rivers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to *Paradise*.

§. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Rivers to rise from one streame.

BUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not Rivers in the plurall; which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith hee, hath these words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Que verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluvius procedebat ex Edene regione ad irrigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *A River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into foure heads: Which words (saith Beroaldus) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a River was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became foure heads. The Tigurine differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus: Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis; And a River went out of pleasure, in stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the word locus, or place, Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place*

of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence, was divided, hath reference to the Countrey of Eden, and not to the Garden it selfe.

And for the word (River) for Rivers, it is usuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that seedeth Seede, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Here the Hebrew useth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree, for Herbes and Trees*; and againe, *We eate of the fruit of the Tree, in stead of (Trees)*. And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; in medio ligni Paradisi; in the middle of the tree of the Garden, for (Trees)*. And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vasabius*, who upon this place of *Genesis* say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud, for nunquodq; illorum*, and he giveth an instance in this question it selfe, as, *A River (for Rivers) went out of Eden*.

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, bee given to the objection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable passages into famous Countreies. And so we may take the word (River) Verse the tenth for one River, (to wit) *Euphrates*, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River, (after he is past the place, where we suppose *Paradise* to have beene,) divides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable passages into severall Countreies, though not all the way downe the streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countreies named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countreies (to wit, to *Affyria*) were up Tigris.

To this end the Text speaking of *Hiddekel*, as it riseth from the River of *Eden*, doth not say it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of *Affyria*, (as it had used this phrase of *Pison* and *Gehon*) but that it runneth toward *Affyria*. The first branch *Pison*, is *Nahar-malcha*, (by interpretation) *Basilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into *Tigris* under *Apamia*; whence ariseth the name of *Pasi-tigris*, (as it were) *Piso-tigris*. This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Susiana*. The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nahar-fares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived,) also *Acracanus*, quasi *Ramsus*, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this *Gehon* leadeth to the first seate of *Chus*, about the borders of *Chaldea* and *Arabia*, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of *Chaldea*. The third branch *Hiddekel*, may be expounded the upper streame of *Pison*, or *Basilius*, which runneth into *Hiddekel*, properly so called (that is, into *Tigris*) above *Selucia*, where it sheweth a passage up *Tigris* into *Affyria*: where, because at length it is called *Hiddekel* or *Tigris*, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it *Hiddekel* from the beginning. The fourth *Perath*, or *Euphrates*, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the River *Euphrates*, which runneth through *Babylon* & *Otris*. But, be it a River or Rivers, that come out of *Eden*, seeing that *Tigris* and *Euphrates* are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that *Paradise* was not farre from these Rivers: for that *Perath* in *Moses* is *Euphrates*, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that *Hiddekel* is *Tigris*. For *Hiddekel* goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards *Assur*, as we find, that *Tigris* is the River of *Affyria proprie dicta*, whose chiefe City was *Nineve*, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) *Babylonia*, *Nimrod* went into *Assur*, and builded *Nineve*, which was the chiefe City of *Affyria*.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the first streame. *Caput aqua* (saith *ULPIANUS*) *illud est, unde aqua nascitur, sive fonte nascatur, fons, sive ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c.* If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountaine, then is the Fountaine taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a maine River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new bankes, there is that part of the River, where the branch forsaketh the maine streame, called the head of the River.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertilitye and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was such.

Hood. Clus. 1.

IT may also be demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by us described, be of such fertilitye and beautie, as Eden the seat of Paradise was: which, if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitye and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness to any part of the Earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the flood; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe; for the Ile of Eden is but twelve miles or thereabout from Nineve, and so from *Mosul*. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Urbs Ninus sita erat. Hac regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c.* Where *Euphrates* runneth out into *Tigris*, not farre from the place where *Ninus* is seated. This Region of all that we have seene, is most excellent: and he addeth afterward, *Cereis autem fructus, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) It is so fruitful, proceeding adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c. The leaves of Wheate and full in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold. The leaves of Wheate and Barley being almost foure fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbear to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulness, will seeme very incredible to those, which never were in the Countrey of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Countrey Palme Trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Figge Trees. Thus saith *Herodotus*.

To this Palme-tree, so much admired in the East India, *Sirabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellency, which is, that it yeeldeth bread; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum faciunt; Of which the people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the *Eremite* findeth a fit commodity, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kinde of fine Flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships. And that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the *Eremite*, confesseth, saying: *That he received a Garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees, which the East Indies so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yeeldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith *STRABO*) *parsim per omnem Regionem Palmarum sponte nascentes; There are of Palms over all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus a parte larva Arabie (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem; accensam ubere & pingui solo, ut a pastorelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat; (that is) As you traveile on the left hand of Arabia famous for plenty of sweete odours) there lyeth a Champaine Countrey placed betwene Tigris and Euphrates, and so fruitful and fat a soile, that they are said to drive their Castles from pasture, lest they should perish by satiety. But in anno segentes Babylonii secant; The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a yeare (saith *Niger*.) And as Countreys generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northerne parts: so we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of America, which is the North border of Eden, or a part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus abundat; maris ferax, itemq; semper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, & Trees alwayes greene: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elswhere but in the Indies onely, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetuall activity. In briefe, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to eate them up with Sheepe: which husbandry the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the first forty yeares, could not make our kind of Wheate beare seed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes* (saith*

(saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularity to that soyle, That the second yeare the very stubble (or rather falling downe of the feedes againe) yeeldeth them a harvest of *plum Natibus*, come without any further labour: his words are these, *libertatis tantæ sunt, ut sequenti anno sponte fertilis fiat seges.*

§. XIII.

Of the River Pison, and the Land of Havilah.

AFTER the discovorie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertility thereof, it resteth to prove that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*: For, that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or both be that River or Rivers of Eden, which water Paradise; which river or rivers *Moses* witnesseth afterward divided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon* &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, than when we find both these (namely) *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*, to seeke the other two in *India* and *Egypt*, making the one *Ganges*, and the other *Nilus*? Two rivers as farre distant as any of fame knowne or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witness. There is no error, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probability, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weak babes, as their owne inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the River of *Pison*) seemeth to have growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in *India*, called *Havilah*, from *Havilah* which adjoyneth to *Babylonia*, afterward known by the name of *Susiana*. For *Havilah* upon *Tigris* tooke name from *Havilah* the sonne of *Cush*; and *Havilah* in *India*, from *Havilah* the sonne of *Jochan*; the one remembered by *Moses* in the description of Paradise, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his sonnes after the Flood. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Rasmah*; and the sonnes of *Jochan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah* &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the sonnes of *Jochan*, that *Iland* of *Ophir*, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and *Havilah* adjoining, had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous river of the East India, and *Havilah* a Countrey of the same, and is situated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which river is said by *Moses* to water the land of *Havilah*. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure rivers named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous river after *Tigris* and *Euphrates*) they chose out this River to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than *Ganges*: for the River *Indus* on this side *India*, for beauty, for neerenesse, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads, seeing *Indus* cometh betwene it and *Tigris*? and betwene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the East, and beyond *India*, are all those ample Dominions of *India* intra *Gangem*, which lie betwene those two proud Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*, which fallerh into the Ocean, little lesse than fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, whoe ever readeth the *Storie of Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no River in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling downe that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be swallowed up therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great

great as it, having besides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suaflus*, *Acetines*, *Adris* (otherwife) *Etiotis*, *Hispalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are fwallowed up with all their Children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one ftreame, it croffeth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* vifiteth the Ocean Sea.

But becaufe *Pifon*, which compaffeth *Havilah*, as alfo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cufh*, muft fome-where be joynt with the reft in one body, or at leaft be found to proceede out of the fame Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede; out of doubt they cannot cyther the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* rifeth in the uttermoft of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the River *Ganges* rifeth out of the Mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucafus*, to which divides the Northren *Scythia* from *Indekel*, & runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Peraib* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not farre off in the fame *Armenia*, by the *Gorgiean* Mountains; fo as *Ganges*, who onely travaileth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Ethiopia* and *Egypt*, never faw the land of *Eden*, or joynted themselves in one channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be feparated, or divided into foure heads or branches, according to *Mofes*.

Therefore the River *Pifon*, which enricheth *Havilah*, is the fame which by joyning it felfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pif-tigris*, or *Pifo-tigris*, of *Pifon* and *Tigris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the fonne of *Cufh* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, fo called of *Havilah* the Sonne of *Joftan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Havilah* of the *Cufhites* had alfo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ftone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bignesse of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine Gum fweet to fmell to, but bitter in tafte, called alfo Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-ftone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew fignifieth Pearle: fo doth *Eugubinus*, and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaffer*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Havilah* or *Sufiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrie of *Sufiana* or *Havilah* stretcheth it felfe towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East fide thereof: from which East fide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold; which *Strabo* alfo winneffeth, as was fhewed before.

The Greekes had a conceit, that *Pifon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (faith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranflateth *Pifon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the fame impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellefont* and all *Asia* the leffe betwene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pifon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Sufiana*, doth to this day retainne fome figne of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other under the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Pifo-tigris*. And it is ftrange unto me, that from fo great antiquitie there fhould be found remaining any refembling found of the firft name: for *Babylon* it felfe, which dwelleth fo neere thefe Rivers, is by fome writers knowne by the name of *Bandas*, as by *Poftellus*; by *Cafaldus*, of *Baldach*: by *Barinus*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Thevet*; and yet all thofe that have lately feene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Pifon*, *Ptolemie* indeede with many others give the name of *Basfius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mabar-fares*, and *Mafias*, and *Bas-fares*. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puckerah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) *T*he profution, or coming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the Hebrewes *Parab*, (faith *Ar. Montanus*): *Pagninus*, *Peraib*; *Josephus*, *Phorab*; *Eusebius*, *Zozimus*: *Amnianus*, *Chalymanus*: *Giftilanus*, and *Coliminius* terme it, *Cobar*: which *Ezekiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Affrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nabor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The fame confufion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Genefis* conceiveth rightly of thefe Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (faith he) ftreame into foure branches; two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other

other two are called *Pifon* and *Gehon*. The reason, why thefe two rivers joynted in one (below *Apamia*) lofe their names, and are called *Pif-tigris*, and the memorie of *Euphrates* extinguifhed, is, becaufe the beft part of *Euphrates* running through the channell of *Gehon*, finkeeth into the Lakes of *Chaldea* not farre from *Ur*, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the *Persian Sea*, as *Tigris*, accompanied with *Pifon*, doth.

This error that *Pifon* was *Ganges*, was firft broched by *Josephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be fufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Auguftine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as *Pifon* was transported into the East *India*, to find out *Havilah*: fo was *Gehon* drawne into *Africa* to compaffe *Ethiopia*. But if *Havilah*, whereof *Mofes* fpeaketh in the description of *Paradife*, be found to be a Region, adjoining to *Babylon* on the one fide; and *Cufh* (which is falfly interpreted *Ethiopia*) faftened to it on the other fide, we fhall not need then to worke wonders (that is) to impofe upon men the transportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other ufes) were made to transport men. Now it was in the Valley of *Shinar*, where *Cufh* the fonne of *Ham* firft fete downe with his fonnes *Shebah*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, &c. and of *Havilah*, the fonne of *Cufh*, did that Region take name, which *Pifon* compaffeth; and the land (called *Cufh*) which *Gehon* watereth, took name of *Cufh* himfelfe. For as the fonnes of *Joftan*, *Ophir* and *Havilah*, feated themselves as neere together as they could in *India*, fo did the fons of *Cufh* in *Shinar*, or *Babylonia*, where *Nimrod* built *Babel*: for *Havilah* or *Chavilah* was firft *Chufes* of *Cufh*; then *Chufa*, *Sufa*, and *Sufana*.

From this *Havilah* unto the Delarts of *Sur*, did the *Israelites* and *Amalekites* poffeffe all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* fmote the *Amalekites* from *Havilah* to *Sur*: and which *Sur*, the *Chaldean* Paraphraft converteth *Hagra*, and *Hagra* bordereth the Red Sea. But this was not meant from *Sur* upon the Red Sea, to *Havilah* in the East *India*; for *Saul* was no fuch traveller or Conquerour, and therefore *Havilah* muft be found neerer home, where the fontes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which countrie *Saul* wafted: for *Amalec* and the *Amalekites* poffeffed that necke of Countrie, betwene the *Persian Sea*, and the Red Sea; *Havilah* being the extreme of the one towards the East, and *Sur* of the other, towards *Egypt* and the West, leaving that great body of *Arabia felix* towards the South, and they fpread themselves with the *Midianites* and *Edumæans*, from the East part, or backefide of the Holie Land, to the banks of *Euphrates*, comprising the beft part of *Arabia Petraea* and *Deferta*.

§. XIII.

Of the River *Gehon* and the Land of *Cufh*, and of the ill tranflating of *Ethiopia* for *Cufh*, 2. *CHRON.* 21. 16.

NOW, as *Havilah* in the East *India* drew *Pifon* fo farre out of his way thither, fo I fay did *Cufh* (being by the Seventie tranflated *Ethiopia*) force *Gehon* into *Africa*. For *Cufh* being taken for *Ethiopia* by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, *Gehon* confequently was citemed for *Nilus*. But *Ethiopi*ans are, as much as blacke or burnt faces, whose proper Countrie called *Thebaides*, lyeth to the Southward of all *Egypt*. And although there be many other Regions of *Ethiopi*ans, and farre South in *Africa*, yet thofe of *Thebaides* are thofe fo often remembered in the *Egyptian* ftores, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of *Egypt*: all which *Ethiopi*ans are very neere, or elfe directly under the Equinoctiall line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the *Chufites*; who are neither black of colour, nor in any fort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this tranflation of the *Septuagint*, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (faith he) two *Ethiopia*'s, the East, and the West; and this diftinction he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now becaufe there is no colour to make *Chus* *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, *Pererius* will make *Chufh* and the land of the *Chufites* (which is *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy, with the Region of *Madian*) to be the East *Ethiopia*.

Now if it be granted, that *Chufh* and the land of the *Chufites* be that tract from *Sur* to *Havilah*, according to the Scriptures: *Habitu* 15. 2. 1. 2. *ab Havilah usq;* *Sur*, *qua respicit* *Egyptum*.

Egyptum introeuntibus Assyrios; Ismael dwelt from Havilah unto Sur, that is, towards Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria. The same sufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a River which watereth Cush, and not Æthiopia. But this place of Scripture, *Habitavit Ismael, &c.* hath this sense: *Ismael dwelt from the way of Assyria, or the Countrey bordering Assyria; and Sur, Havilah, which is the way of Assyria, or the Countrey bordering Assyria; and Sur, which lieth toward Egypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of Ismael (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions between the border of Egypt and Assyria.* And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplyed, it well appeared, when *Zearah* the Chusite, which others call *Tharabtha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thousand against *Asa* King of Juda. Which Armie came not out of Æthiopia beyond Egypt; for that had bin a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mightie a King as the King of Egypt, betwene *Parastina* and Æthiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victory tooke some of the Cities of *King Zearah* round about, as *Gerar*. Now that *Gerar* is a Citie of the Æthiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disproving it: *And Abraham departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt betwene Cadeth and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar.* Now *Sur* is that part, upon which *Moses* and the Israelites first set their feet after they passed the Red Sea, where the Amalekites in *Rephidim* set upon them, supposing that they had bene wearie, and unable to resist. Again, in the story of *Isaac* it is written: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech, and the Philistines unto Gerar:* and I am sure *Abimelech* and the Philistines were no Æthiopians. And lastly, *Moses* himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar:* for *Sydon* was the frontier of Canaan towards the North, and *Gerar* by *Gazah* towards the South. But indeed, howsoever *Pererius* doth with an honest excuse save his translation of *Chus* for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainly, that the Septuagint and *Iosephus* did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for *Homers* East and West Æthiopia, they are both found elswhere: For *Plinie* in his fift Eooke and eight Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour of these two Æthiopia's. But the East Æthiopia is that, which compasseth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abyssines, under *Prester John*; And the West Æthiopia is that, which joyneth it selfe with the River Niger, which we call *Senega* & *Gambra*: for thereabout are these Æthiopia's called *Perors*, *Daratites*, with divers other names, which *Plinie* numbred. But all these are in Africa, and beyond the Desarts thereof, saith *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Juba*; which Regions indeede (I meane that of Niger, and that of *Prester John*; and the Troglodytes) lye due East and West. But as for *Cush* and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moses* when he served *Pharao*, in the warres against the Æthiopians: for in that (to make *Chus*, Æthiopia) he transporteth *Madian* by miracle over the Red Sea, and beyond all Egypt; and setteth it in Æthiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Again, that *Gehon* was improperly translated Nilus, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon?* to this saith *Pererius*, *profecio Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quæ significat nigrum & turbidum; Truly* (saith *Pererius*) *the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which signifieth blacke, and troubled water.*

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument, that *Chus* was ill taken for Æthiopia. *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Priest of *Madian*, whom both the Greeke and Latine call a *Madianite*, and not *Æthiopian*, as (with *Iosephus*) the Geneva converts it, though it helpe it a litle with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, that *Zipporah* was of the Countrey of *Madian*, which is that part of Arabia

Arabia Petrea, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*; that *Moses* fled from *Pharao* into the Land of *Madian*, and sat downe by a Well, &c. and againe in the third of *Exodus*; When *Moses* kept the sheepe of *Jethro* his father in law, Priest of *Madian*, &c. Indeede, these four nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the *Madianites*, the *Ismaelites*, the *Amalekites* and the *Chusites*, which were all in one generall word, *Arabians*, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in *Gen. 37. v. 25. 27. & 28.* that *Ioseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and in the same Chapter *v. 36.* it is written, that the *Madianites* sold *Ioseph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharao's* Steward. The *Genevians*, in a marginall note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the *Madianites* and *Ismaelites* to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion; he wrote the truth, and these were all *Arabians*; & so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their Camels were laden with Spicery, and *Balme*, and *Myrrhe*, which are the trades of *Arabia felix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is served with *Myrrhe* and *Frankincense*; and their spices they received from the East side of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chap. it is said: That *Potiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the *Ismaelites*; which the Chaldean Paraphrast in the same place calleth *Arabians*. Now, to make this the more mainfest, it is written in the fift of *Judges*, That when *Israel* had sowne, then came up the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, and they of the East, and came upon them: they of the East, were *Arabians* of the Desert; so as wherebefore in the buying of *Ioseph*, the *Madianites* and the *Ismaelites* were confused, here the *Madianites* and *Amalekites* are made one nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the *Madianites* onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, *v. 24.* these Nations are all called *Ismaelites*, and neither *Madianites* nor *Amalekites*. As when *Gedeon* desired, that every man would give him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. sheeles of gold, it is written: *For they had golden eare-rings, because they were Ismaelites.* And these *Ismaelites* were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of warre. *Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum.* His hand (saith God of *ISMAEL*) shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him. Of these *Ismaelites* come the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some Writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenita*. And these *Ismaelites*, which inhabit chiefly in Cedar, and the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan* (saith *Iosephus*) use poyson upon their Arrowes, as the *Indians* doe. Towards the South-east are the *Madianites*, and *Chusites*: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the *Amalekites*; and all are one Nation, and all *Arabians*.

Lastly, the ill translation of Æthiopia for *Chus*, is among other places, made most apparent, in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Æthiopians; so Hierom* reads it: the Geneva translation hath it, *which were besides the Æthiopians*. Now how farre it is off betweene the *Philistines* and the *Negro's* or the *Æthiopians*, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the *Philistines* and *Arabians* doe mixe and joyne with the Land of the *Chusites*, and are distant from Æthiopia about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours, but all Egypt, and the Desert of *Sur* and *Pharan*, are betweene them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should have bene translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirits of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chusites, who indeed are their next neighbours.* * *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in Sacris literis sit Arabia propinqua; There remaineth no doubt* (saith *Steuertius*) *but Æthiopia in the Scriptures is taken for that Countrey, which joyneth to Arabia.*

Now, may we thinke, is it probable, or possible, that *Moses* could beignorant of Nilus? No, he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named *Gehon*, for Nilus, or Nilus, for *Gehon*. Surely, if *Moses* had named Nilus, when he named *Gehon*, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon Reeds, and preferred by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharao's* River of Egypt, where in he was borne and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the River of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of *Gehon*. And if *Moses* had told the

Plin. l. 5. c. 1.
Caz. p. 1.
Caz. m. 8.

Israelites, that Nilus had beene a River of Paradise, they might justly have thought, that he had devised them: for they had lived there all dayes of their lives, and found no such Paradise at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof; except we shall believe the Paradise of Hesperides, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in steed of golden Apples. But Nilus is twice called *Sichor*, once in *Isay*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of Ethiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Israelites had never any communion or affaires with the Ethiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chusites, Philistines, Ismaelites, Amalekites, and Madianites: who being often governed by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers or heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Coelosyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast (as Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others: yea, Jerusalem it selfe was withheld from Israel (from the dayes of *Moses*, even unto the time of *David*) by the Jebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie, is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stony, which the Chusites inhabited in the times of the Kings of Israel: and in this *Desart* it was that *Mat. Bernoldus* lost himselfe in seeking out Paradise: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them Gehon, and Pison; to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Havilah; for I find none such *in rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which Rivers he also includeth within Paradise, even Arabia the Desart.

And as he well proved that Pison was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus; so where to find them else, where it seemeth he knew not. Certainly this River of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs he findeth farre East in Arabia, is but imaginary: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame, rising betwene it and the Red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more than twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chusites, as they were planted when the state of Israel stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and never looked backe to the first seates and plantation of Chus. For after the Flood, Chus and his Children never rested, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and neere which himselfe, with his sonnes, first inhabited. *Havilah* took the River-side of Tigris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *Havilah*, (now *Susiana*;) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the River, in the entrance of Arabia foelix. *NIMROD* seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. Chus himselfe and his brother *Mizraim* first kept upon Gehon, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldaea, and in proceesse of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past over into Egypt, in which Tract the Chusites remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could be no such River found in Arabia the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated Chus, Ethiopia; and Gehon, Nilus. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that *Brute*, or whosever else that first peopled this Iland, had arrived upon the River of Thames, and called the Iland after his name *Britannia*, it might be said that Thames or Tems was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceesse of time, the same *Brute* had also discovered and conquered Scotland which he also intituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, because the River of Tems is not found therein. Or let us suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of Tyre in Phœnicia, gave the name to Europe, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discovered, shall we in like sort resolve that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? in like manner it is said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of Chus; but not the whole Land which

Herod. l. 4.

which the Chusites should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have bene Masters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For, though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the sonne of Chus, consisted at the first but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalnes*; yet we find, that his Successours within a few yeeres after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of Babel consumed the memorie of Chusea. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that Land take the name of Babylonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire, founded by *Nimrod* a younger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father Chus in those parts untill they crept further off, and in places not yet intitled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chusites retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that Chus or any of his, could in haste creepe through those desert Regions, which the length of 130. yeeres after the Flood had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Bush and Bryar, Reede and Tree to joyne themselves (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with judgement and reason into the Worlds plantation, we shall finde, that every Family feared themselves as neare together as possible they could; and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times resort and succour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, fate downe in the very confluence of all those Rivers, which watered Paradise: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of *Noahs* children repayed; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increace. The first Father of Men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation: The second Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of Babel (as afore-said) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleaned and enriched; so did *Havilah* place himselfe upon *Piso*. *Tigris*: *Raamah* and his sonne *Sheba* farther downe upon the same River, on the Sea-coast of Arabia: Chus himselfe upon Gehon, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they always fastned themselves to the Rivers sides: for *Nimroe*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, *Urin*, *Chaldaa*, and the other first-peopled Cities, were all founded upon these navigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give succour and assistance to the other, as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

But now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Equinotiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all sorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this said soile and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For whereinsoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they have excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West Indies, which Countreies are also blessed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefites the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venomous Beasts and Wormes, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no comparison betwene one and the other.

What

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradise had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) cursed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may safely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workmanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Univerfall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants onely proper, and becoming the Paradise, and Garden of so great a Lord.

The summe of all this is; That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have beene dimme-sighted (some of them finding Paradise beyond our knowne World: some, above the middle Region of the Ayre: some, elevated neere the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Aire, and in mens fancies, vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (saith *Moses*) Eastward, in respect of Judea, that God planted this Garden; which Eden we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of Eden to water this Garden, and from thence divided it selfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* swimming through Eden, doe joyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moses*, the true seats of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which *Nimrod* built Babel. That *Pison* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of Eden; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the same distance maketh the same impossibilitie; and this river is a greater stranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are betwene *Tigris* and *Ganges* above foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the Meditteran Sea: and *Euphrates* distillerh out of the Mountaines of Armenia, and falleth into the *Gulfe of Persia*: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threecore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I have added a *Chorographick* description of this terrestriall Paradise, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receive an allowance suspended, untill such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

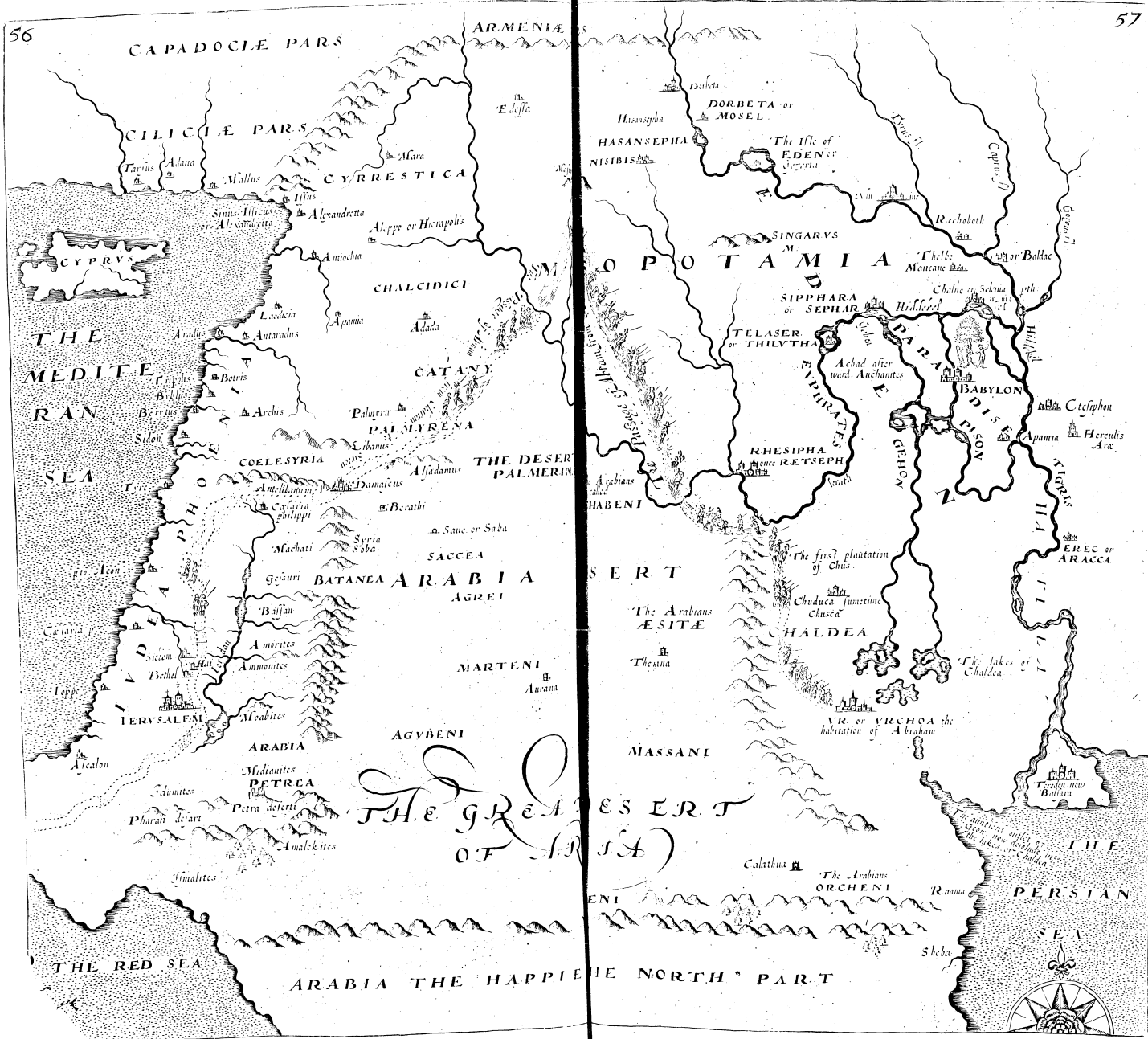
That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subject to death.

OR eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driven out of Paradise, in *exilium vite temporalis*, into the banishment of temporall life, saith *Beda*. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and so slipperie, as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delivered to the World, an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (say the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall construction, and is to be understood, *Lignum vitarum*, The Tree of lives, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, & rationall life of man; and not only (but for *Adams* transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also given a duresfull continuance to all posteritie; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last.

And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and blood could be immortal, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures,

Man



Man (notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthfull, and ungreived life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have bin translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Flood, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeares; and soone after the flood, of two hundred yeares and upwards, euen to five hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the lives of men on Earth might have continued double, treble; or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chrysostome*, *Rupertus*, *Tostatus*, and others were of beleefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posteritie had bene immortal. But such is the infinite Wisedome of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not have contained Man-kind; or else, that millions of soules must have bin ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must be understood of immortalitie of bodies, which should have bin translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not materiall, but a meere Allegorie, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisedome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life; and out of the *Apocalypsis*, I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of Life which is in the Paradise of God. But to this place *Saint Augustines* answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestriall Paradise, so there was a celestiall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the Old, and New Testament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For God brought out of the earth every Tree faire to the sight, and sweete to taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden: which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos*, *Hesiodus*, *Homer*, *Ovid*, and others, soeale the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of Paradise they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of Life, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth making young, and *Ambrosia*, immortalitie; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

§. II.

of *Becanus* his opinion, that the Tree of knowledge was *Ficus Indica*.

Now for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evill, some men have presumed farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himselfe the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever ghesse at, whereat *Goropius* much marvaileth. But as he had an inventive braine, so there never lived any man, that beleevd better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely, howsoever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this conjecture above fixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne; and *Bar-Cephas* himselfe referreth the invention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Abaturgenis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* useth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beleefe. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in this Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 48.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, The Indian Fig-Tree; of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found upon the banks of *Acefines*, one of the Rivers which falleth into *Indus*, where *Alexander* built his Fleete of Gallies, in or neere the Kingdome of *Porus*.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great Peaze, (as *Plinie* reporteth) some what bigger; and that it is a tree, *sempiterna*, *sempiterna*, *sempiterna*; that it spreadeth it selfe so farre abroad, as that a troope of horsemen may hide themselves under it. *Strabo* saith, that it hath branches bending downewards, and leaves no less than a shield. *Aristobolus*

Aristobolus affirmeth, that fittie Horfemen may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. *Onficerius* rayseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceeded all other in bignesse, which also *Plinie* & *Onficerius* confirme: to the trunk of which, these Authors give such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-understood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who because he found it no where else, would needs draw the Garden of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the river *Acefinis*. But many parts of the world have them, and I my selfe have seene twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not farr from *Paria* in America. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twentie or thirtie foot in length (some more, to some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twigge in the trunk or stemme: for from the utmost end of the head branches thereof, such out a gummy juyce, which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding haulty. From the utmost boughes of these young Trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one year and lesse (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of these Trees considered with all his young ones, may (indeed) throwd foure hundred or foure thousand Horfemen, if they please; for they cover whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner parts of *Trinidado*. The cordes which fall downe over the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downward to finde roote under water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Oysters breede, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cordes out of the Sea, I have seene five hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oysters grew on Trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaves, or any such delicate fruit, I could never finde, and yet I have travailed a dozen miles together under them: but to returne to *Coropius Becanus*. This Tree (saith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of knowledge of good and evil is described to be.

Secondly, this Tree having so huge a trunk (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* beleeveth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themselves from the presence of God; for no other tree (saith he) could containe them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunk or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters understood in the plurall number (that is) in the midst of the Trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves, which proveth (indeed) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being posselt with shame, did not run up & downe the Garden to seeke out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaves of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse; which *Plinie* avoweth in these words, *Latitudo foliorum pelsa effigiem Amazonia habet*; The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of *Amazonian* shield: which also *Theophrastus* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Ducit Amazonidum lunas in agmina pelsis

Penthesilaeae furens.

The *Amazon*s with Crescent-formed shield

Penthesilaeae leads into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleevd, or rather threatneth us all that reade him, to give credit to this his borrowed discovery, using this confident (or rather cholerick) speech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si haec a nobis de sicu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Moisis narratione comparer, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri posse, quam cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which*

we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of *Moses*, as to dare to avow, that any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith? But for my selfe, because I neither find this Tree, sorting in body, in largenesse of leaves, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*. That the Earth never brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his owne belief, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: only thereby, and by the easie Commandment by God given to *Adam*, to forbear to feede thereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quam ad commendandum purae ac simplicis Obedientiae bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.*

*Aug. de Civili
Dei lib. 13. c. 20.*

§. III.

Of *Becanus* his not unwitty allegorizing of the story of his *Ficus Indica*.

BUt in this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few words. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man grow straight and upright towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandment of his Creator; and then like unto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding unbragiousnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke and shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of justice being not able to pierce, wee have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruite which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaves, may be compared (saith he) to the little vertue, and unperceived knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitterness: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, and publike ostentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodness, to all the world invisible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughes of this Tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpass the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather fitting and becoming the unworthiest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing stateliness, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after he had disobeyed God, and heheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaves to cover himselfe withall: this may serve to put us in minde of his and our finnes, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorne our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, we use so many uncharitable and cruell practises in this world.

§. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and evil: with some other notes touching the storie of *Adams* sinne.

NOW, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and evil, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Bar-Cephas* an ancient *Syrian* Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giveth this judgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no such vertue or qualitie,

as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if he had been ignorant before; but as *Junius* also noteth: *Arbor scientia boni & mali (id est) experientia boni & mali ab eventu; The Tree of knowledge of good and evil (that is) the experience of good and evil by the event.* For thus much we may conceive, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed, all men living, have growne up; and having received immortalitye from the breath or spirit of God; he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods commandment was the fearefullest evill, and the observance of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceive, that sicknesse is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering & experience in themselves they afterwards witness: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe, another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie soule, he beheld therein the horror of Gods judgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort, as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, because of the event, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sinath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them: and the heape of Stones called the heape of witness, betweene *Jacob* and *Laban*; not that the stones bare witness, but for a memorie of the covenant. So *Jacob* called the house of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desert, *Viventis, & viventis*.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a further knowledge than he had perceived in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his issues doe) into the miseries and sorrows incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleasing persuasions, unawares; his profection being strengthened by the subtile arguments of *Sathan*, who laboured to poison mankind in the very root, which he moistened with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for ever.

But what meanes did the Divell find out, or what instruments did his owne subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischief by? even the unquiet variety of the woman; so as by *Adams* harkning to the voice of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandment of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voice of thy wife &c. (saith God himselfe) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted, even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beasts, into whom the Divell entred and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience: even a desire to know what was most unfitting her knowledge; an affection which hath ever since remained in all the posteritie of her sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yeeld to her persuasions: even the same cause which hath moved all men since to the like consent; namely, an unwillingnesse to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Salomon* the sonne of *David*, Gods chosen servant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages have beene allured to so many inconvenient and wicked practices, by the persuasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and unquietnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things betweene the fall of *ADAM*, and the Flood of *NOAH*.

§. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of *CAIN*'s sinne: and of his going out from God.

THe same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possessed *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptance of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himselfe the first Murtherer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnatural Murther, although it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cried out that his punishment was greater than he could beare. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the Sonnes of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) hee destroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God: of which in the same place Moses giveth a reason; for saith he, The Earth was filled with cruelty: and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne unto Noah, saying; An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth.* Neither was this cruelty meant to have beene in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all sorts of Injustice and Oppression. After this Murther of *ABEL*, *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, towards the East-side of *Eden*: in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literal sense, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in celo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed utrumque simul*; God (saith S. AUGUSTINE) is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by interchanged times but all at once; And that this is true, *David* witnesseth: *If I be in Heaven (saith DAVID) thou art there; in Hell, thou art there also.* But what is meant thereby? *Exiit facie Dei* (saith CHRYSOSTOME) *Cain* went out from the presence of the Lord (that is) he was left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.

§. II.

Of *CAIN*'s dwelling in the Land of *Nod*: and of his City *Enoch*.

THis word *Nod* or *Naid*, S. Hierome and many others understand to signifie wandering or uncertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwise, and take *Nod* for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murther committed, justly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: *And who so ever findeth me (saith CAIN) shall slay me.* Now that *Nod* or *Naid* was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the Earth this habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East-side of *Eden*. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-borne, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather fought to fortifie himselfe against revenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of Christ, and of the Jewes; and that as *Cain* after that he had slaine *Abel* unjustly, had thenceforth no certaine abiding in the World: so the Jewes after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the Jewes had never since any certaine Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne upon the Earth. Now this Land of *Nod*, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of Nomades; but *Arabia* the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of *Eden*, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soever, which in old time lived by Pastorage, and fed (as

Gen. 4. 17.

18.

E. 5. 6.

passeth over in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance: for of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: *Cain also knew his Wife, who conceived and bare HENOCHE, and he built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his sonne HENOCHE. And to HENOCHE was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHUJAEI, and MEHUJAEI begat METHUSAEI, and METHUSAEI LAMECH.*

Now of *Seth*, *Moses* writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. *And SETH lived an hundred and five yeares, and begat ENOCH, and SETH lived after he begat ENOCH 807. yeare, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so as all the dayes of SETH were 912. yeares, and he dyed: as for the yeares & times of the wicked, they were not numbred in libro viventium, saith Cyril.* But in *Seth* was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke *Moses* walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the Reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembereth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

I. ADAM.

2 Cain.	7 Lamech, who by	3 Seth.	7 Henoch;
3 Henoch:	Ada had	3 Enosh.	8 Methusalem.
4 Irad.	8 Jubal & Tubal, &	4 Cainan.	9 Lamech, and
5 Methusael.	by Silla, Tubal-	5 Mahaleel.	10 Noab.
6 Methusael.	cain, and Noëma.	6 Jared.	

These be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Joseph* giveth unto *Lamech* threecore and seventene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wives *Ada* and *Silla*: and to these three sonnes of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the Invention of Pastorage, of Musique, and the working in Metall; for it seemeth that *Jubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Heards and Drovers: *Tubal* invented Musicke, and *Tubalcain* the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanically, the third given to Idleness and Pleasure. In whom began these three manner degrees of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22.

§. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

Second scruple hath beene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at so divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seventy yeares, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threecore and five yeares, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his till he was 162. yeares old: *Methusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noab* at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methusalem* or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the Religion of Abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctities, begat children before he was threecore and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Flood precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sonnes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the Line of *Noab* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noab* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Enoch* was not the eldest of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the first-borne of *Methusalem*, nor *Noab* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that *Noab* might have had many Sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, though these three were only named, and surviving, & which by God were reserved to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Flood; and therefore when we finde *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threecore and ten yeares, who was the first Sonne of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* rejecteth all the other sonnes of *Methusalem* but *Lamech* only, because he was the Father of *Noab* as aforesaid. Of this Saint

Saint

Saint *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei.*

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first Age, and so to *Abraham*, and the children of the promise after him; so doth Saint *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of Christ, not by the eldest sonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-borne, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Evangelist nameth *Isaac*, and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* were first in time: so doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not *Esaú* the elder; neither is Christ derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and so from *David* a younger sonne of *Jessai*; and lastly, we find, that the kingdom of *Juda* was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to the Heir of Grace, namely *Solomon*.

Mat. 23.

1 Kings 2.

§. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late memory.

The third Objection is, that the great difference of yeares betwene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well nere scene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after Ages, seeing, that soone after the Flood, men lived not a third part of that time, and in succeeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that have hereon resolved that those yeares were but Lunary yeares, (to wit) of a Month or thereabouts, or Egyptian yeares, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enosh* in the year of his life an hundred and five; if those yeares be taken but for Moneths, then had *Seth* lived but eight yeares, and one Moneth when he begat *Enosh*: and if the time of *Enosh* have the same allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time have bene but six yeares and forty eight weeks old, and so it may be gathered of the rest, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and feed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of Generation at fixe, seven or eight yeares, agreeth with the short lives of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the World, and length of dayes and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary yeares, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of fourecore and ten and odd yeares, which were not only lesse by farre than the Patriarchs lived after the Flood, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourecore, and some a hundred yeares. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen. 25.* That *Abraham* dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeares) makes but seventeen and an halfe of our yeares.

Sol. Pol. lib. 2. c. 3.
Macrobi. Saturn.
lib. 1. cap. 8.
Plin. lib. 2. c. 48.

And if wee seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable; that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equall strength or little differing: for of the first and purest seed there muist of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfulllest plants. Secondly, the Earth it self was then much lesse corrupt, which yeelded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmefull quality, as since that time the Curse of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and Mankind: Neither had the Waters of the Flood infused such an impurity, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things under the Sunne have one time of strength, and another of weakenesse, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformity: so time it selfe (under the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea, the Heavens themselves, being of a moist pure and clement matter, shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferior Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Vertue from the superiour.

Psalm. 102. 26, 27.

But besides the old age of the World, how farre doth our education and simplicity

of living differ from that old time: the tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nourished with the Milke of a strange Dugge; an unnatural curiosity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to finde out Nurfes, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender yeares, wherein Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her owne top; and such halfe-ripe feedes (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and waxe old even in their Infancy. But above all things the exceeding luxuriouseffe of this gluttonous Age, wherein we presse Nature with over-weighty burdens, and finding her strength defective, we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of strong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath these elegant Verses:

Phauls.

— O prodiga rerum
Luxuries nunquam parvo contenta paratis:
Et questorum terra pelagorum ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, & laus Gloria mense,

O wastfull Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and sent:
Vaine glory of a Table sumptuous,
Learne with how little life may be preserved.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouse,
But with the Brooke the peoples thirst is served:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not starved.

Dion. Hieron. L.

The Egyptians affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeares, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seventene yeares. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproverth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) foure and fifty persons of an hundred yeares of age: seven and fifty of an hundred and ten; two, of an hundred and five; and twenty: foure, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred & five & thirty, or a hundred and seven and thirty yeares old: & last of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father and the Son.

7. Ann. l. 13. c. 8.
Euseb. l. 4. c. 8.

The simple dyet and temperate life of the *Esaians* gave them long account of many yeares: so did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Peritans Magicians & Indian Brachmans. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* lived three Ages, & *Tiresias* six, *Sybilla* three hundred yeares, *Endymion* of the lesse Asia, little lesse: *Alcio Masanilla* of Numidia lived very long, & *Dando* of Illyria. Among the kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred yeares (saith *Ephorus*). *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the *Epeians*, that some of them live full two hundred yeares; and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the Egyptians: & that these reports are not fabulous, *Josephus* bringeth many witness with himselfe; as *Mathon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Elfius*, *Hieronymus*, *Aegyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Faine*, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an Indian presented to *Solyman*, Generall of the Turkes Army, who had out-lived three hundred yeares. I my selfe knew the old Countess of Desmond of Inchiquin in Munster, who lived in the yeare 1589. & many yeares since, who was married in *Edward* the Fourth's time, and held her Joynture from all the Earles of Desmond since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munster can witness: *Strozzius Cicognus*, out of *Torquemada Masseus*, and the like Authors, tellerh of some that have not onely far exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh Youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betwene the ability of men in those dayes wherein *Galen* the Physician lived, it may easily prove unto us what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud six pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure

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and thin Ayre, and temperate use of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long upright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in every infant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heave load of abundance, wherewith we oppresse and overcharge Nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayre, and a temperate use of those things which nature wanteth, are the onely friends and companions of a long life.

§. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that *Enoch* writ before the Flood.

Fourth scruple hath been made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had beene, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Flood.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wise mento a posterity equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine litteris medio intercedente verbo*: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by *Esdra*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moses* did not onely upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withall, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem*: a more secret and true explanation of the Law; which (saith he, out of the same Authors), he delivered by mouth to *Josuah*, and *Josuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quam dare sanctum canibus; & inter porcos spargere Margaritas*; than to give holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine. In succeeding times this understanding and wisdom began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the Jewes was animation: the invention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in Latine, and a receiving in English. And this custome was also held by the Druids and Bards of our ancient Britains, and of later times by the Irish Chroniclers called Rimers. If then such as would seem wisest in the use of reason, will not acknowledge, that the Story of the Creation, or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certaine presumption, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazzards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* lived together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred forty and three yeares, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no lesse than five hundred yeares: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight yeares old: from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinary way might come to Israel, and so to *Moses*.

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the use of letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Josephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch*, *Saint Jude* testifieth; and some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia felix*, in the Dominion of the Queene of Saba (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had scene and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and story

of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoever some men make mention of them, sure I am that *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Procopius*, *Gregory*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that Pope *Gelasius* among other the Apocryphall Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoever was remembered out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the Jewes. But I rather thinke with *Peterius*, that such a Book there was, & that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who took occasion upon the antiquity thereof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Devill about the body of *Moses*, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neither *Philo* nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of *Saint Augustine*, *Scriptisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch, illum septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus: That Enoch the seventh from Adam, did write divers divine things, we cannot deny*. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonically Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Judaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Book might be preserved by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembered by *Jude*, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity, I know not; whether by the Jewes *Cabala*, or by what other means, the same is but mans conjecture. And (certainly) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had scene and might preserve this Book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly invented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath bene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* lived with *Methusalem*, who lived with *Adam*, and *Abraham* lived with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceive how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* and tradition, had the undoubted word of God need of any other proove than selfe-authority.

§. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Flood.

Now let us consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seven descents of *Cain*'s children: and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten; *Seth* being given by God in stead of *Abel*: and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publique. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh*, men began publicly to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they served and prayed God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling upon the name of the Lord; and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Enoch* the sonne of *Jared*, there is nothing remembered by *Moses*, but their owne births, the birthes of their sonnes, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of *Enoch* it is written, *That he walked with God, and he was no more scene*: for God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* useth of *Noah*, *Noah was a just and upright man in his time, and Noah walked with God*. The Seventy convert it, *Enoch placuit Deo*; *Enoch pleased God*. And although *Aben-Ezra* and others understand this place, (*ut cum Deo*) (saith, mortuus est; God tooke him away, (that is) hee dyed, which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betwene the piety of *Enoch*, and the rest of the Patriarchs,

triarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he useth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Enoch* was not dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* useth these words, *And he dyed*; but of *Enoch* he spake otherwise, saying onely, *He was missing, or he was not scene. Et non inveniebatur* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away*. In the same place it is expressly added, *that he saw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Enoch* were not with the same kinde of changing, which *S. Paul* promitteth, when he saith, that *when the end shall come, wee shall not all dye, but all shall be changed*, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After *Enoch*, *Moses* passeth over to *Methusalem* and *Lamech*, remembering (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saying that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort us concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed*. Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the warre, peace, government, and policy of those strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories if they had bin preserved, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the World, there could nothing of more delight have been left to posterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. years) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisdom and undertakings, especially in respect of this old age of the World, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to *Hippocrates*: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus preceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, and time is headlong*. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of *Moses*; *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renown*. But these men of renown (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgot altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Enoch* walked: for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evil, and continually evil. And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then universall, when the children and sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted & misled by their idolatrous wives, the daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world only.

That these sonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, *Lactantius*, and *Eusebius*, misled by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needlesse: the question being incapable of dispute, especially since *S. Chrysostome* and *S. Augustine* have answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God; (that is) always attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnesse to imagine.

§. VIII.

That the Giants by *Moses* so called, were indeede men of huge bodies: as also divers in later times.

Of these Giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall than the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strayed his braines to prove, that there were never any such men: his reasons (whoever desires to lose time) he may finde them in the Treatise before named. It is true that *Cyprianus* reproves the Grecian Poets for their monstrous fictions: who asseme shamelessly, That

That the Giants have in elder times not only cast up Mountaines upon Mountaines, but removed Ilands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up Hills, and making warre with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the story of *Nimrod*, as before remembered; and even out of this Scripture: That the Sons of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*. That Giants were the sons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the sonnes of God, and by the Earth the daughters of Men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *John Cassian* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subject) thus changed into Latine:

*Nomine caelestes illos dixere Gigantes,
Orti quod terra fuerint & sanguine caeli.*

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came;
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opinators and selfe-believing men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have been in all times since; seeing the Scriptures avow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlative straying of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason call them Oppressors, because they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppress, than say, That they were called Giants only, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himselfe calleth them mighty men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards men of renowne, (that is) of great undertaking and adventurous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not beene found among divers Nations after the generall flood, then might this place of *Moses* have more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yielded to interpretation.

But besides all the famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will referre to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the story of Britanie) the Scriptures doe clearly and without all allegorick construction avow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Josuah*, and of *David*; namely, the Rephaims in Aferoth; the Zuzai or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Emims which dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the Anakims which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for giants as the Anakims. Likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon* he useth these words: *That as now taken for a land of Giants; for Giants dwelt therein afore-times; & whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And these Giants called Rephaims in Aferoth and Karnaim, and the Zuzai or Zanzummims, *Chedorlaomer* king of Elam overthrew, assisted by other kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the Ammonies men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Cedar, and whose strength to the Oakes; and the Prophet *Baruch*, these were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature and so expert in warre. Particularly it is written of *Og*, king of Basan, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad: for only *Og* king of Basan remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Basan, four hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, those Discoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promise (sent by *Moses* from Cadesbarne in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in general, and especially of the sonnes of *Anak*, in these words: *All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the Giants; so that we seemed in our sight like Grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne judgements a marvellous difference betweene the Anakims and themselves: inasmuch that the Israelites were so stricken with feare, as they rather sought and desired to returne againe into Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former slavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearful Nations.* Furthermore, the Scriptures, put us out of doubt, that *Goliath* the Philistine of *Gath*, was a Giant of sixe cubits and a span long: the Armour which he wore weighed five thousand shekles of brasse: the shaft of his speare was like a Weavers beame, and his speare-head weighed six hundred shekles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliath*.

of another *Goliath*, surnamed *Gethu*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slain by *Jonathian*, *David*'s Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, even foure & twenty.

Also that *Samson* was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after flue thirty of the Philistines, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Asse: And lastly, he tooke the gates of *Azzah*, and the two Posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before *Ebron*. If then it be approved by every judgement, that both Nature and the Heavens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it selfe) infeeble and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then, I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her young ones more strong and beautifull, than it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mighty men, and men of renowne, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembered by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successours, as the ordinary proportion of all men in general, soone after the flood and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therefore by the flood gave end to all flesh, but to the just *Noah* and his Family. And God repented him that he had made man: which *S. Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Neg. enim sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui penitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa sententia, quam certa praesentia. Sed si non natus Scriptura et alibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiaris insinabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut et perverteat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quarentes, & alacres intelligentes.* God (saith he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men use to doe): but if the Scripture did not use these words or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre up the negligent, exercise the searchers of the truth, and nourish those that understand.

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

S. 1.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.

HERE before wee proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for us to consider how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a mysticall sense, wrapping it up mixed with other their owne trumpery, have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers, and not as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the Bookes or God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpefull medicines out of poison, as poison out of the most healthfull herbs & plants (all things having in themselves both life and death): so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which seeke after God and Truth, find out every-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expressed.

Nat. com. l. 2. c. 2.

Gen. 7.

Gen. 2. 2. 4.

L. de civit. Dei.

For although thereby the *Ethnickes* would understand Justice it selfe to have fayled, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person, yet as it is usual among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Lust by *Venus*; so doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Justice and *Astræa*, *Enoch*; the justice and piety of *Enoch* being in the same manner exprest, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*: for *Noah* was said to bee a just man; And *Noah* walked with God. And of *Enoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and he was no more seene: for God tooke him away.*

From this story also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the *Giants* begotten by the sonnes of good men upon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mighty men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull *Giants*; and againe their warre undertaken against the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as *Saint Augustine* termeth him. Which warre of their *Giants*, *Cornelius Severus* thus describeth.

*Tentare (necesse) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, capereque Jovis transferre Gigantes
Imperium, & vicis leges imponere caelo.*

The *Giants* did advance their wicked hand
Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any conjunction of the starres, should bury them under the moisture of a second floud, but that by this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Aeneides* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod. 24.* who when he read the Booke of the Covenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

Filopoli. contra
Appian.

Plut. in Iside.

Strabo. l. 17.

Wee finde also many remembrances of *Seih*, the paternall Ancestor of *Henoeh* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Egypt* which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel* (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his sonne and successor *Seih*, of *Seih*: and of the same *Seih* (as many men of good judgement have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seih* most manifestly preserved, that the *Egyptians* worshipped *Seih*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition in honour of whom they called a principall Province *Seheithica*. We also find in *Bithynia* the City of *Sehia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Egyptians* did the *Græcians* borrow this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquity preceding their owne: and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gave the same names to their owne Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

§. V.

Of the three chiefeſt Jupiters, and the strange ſtory of the third.

BUt of all those amies of *Jupiters* remembred by the Antients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Jupiter*, the sonne of *Aether* and *Dies*, so called because the one had reference to his celeſtiall conditions (for *æther* is as much as shining or pure fire): the other discovered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the sonne of *Cælam* or Heaven, for the same former respect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The

The third, of whom all the *Græcian* fables were devised, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken of *Jovans* Father, from the Greeke word *Zeus*, it signifyeth life, but somewhat strained. *Boccus* in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberall, mercifull, loving, and faithfull (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howsoever they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howsoever deserved) as the worthyest, that ever were, acquired by their well deservings. *Jovis omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui, The Ancients called all Kings Jupiters*; as *Thucydides* in his *variabistoria* confirmeth; *Rebus olim Jovis vacarunt omnes*; In old times all Nations called their Kings *Jupiters*. But where this last and most remembred *Jupiter* was borne, it is uncertaine. Somewhere are that make him of *Crete*: others that he was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Nat.com. l. 2. c. 2.* *Ops*, to bee fostered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: because it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titan*s permission, hee should put to death all his male children, lest the *Titans* might bee interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is sayned that *Saturne* devoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

*Haud sit pinguior,
Cruda sepulchrum quod sit ipse filius.* | *Saturne* to be the fatter is not knowne,
By being the grave and buriall of his owne.

This composition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Sybil* also witnesseth in these words;

*Conceptis verbis, Titan jurare coegit
Saturnum, de se natumque nutriti ulum,
Quo possint regnare senis post fata Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturne* sweare
No sonne to nourish, which by reigning might
Usurpe the right of *Titan*s lawfull heire.

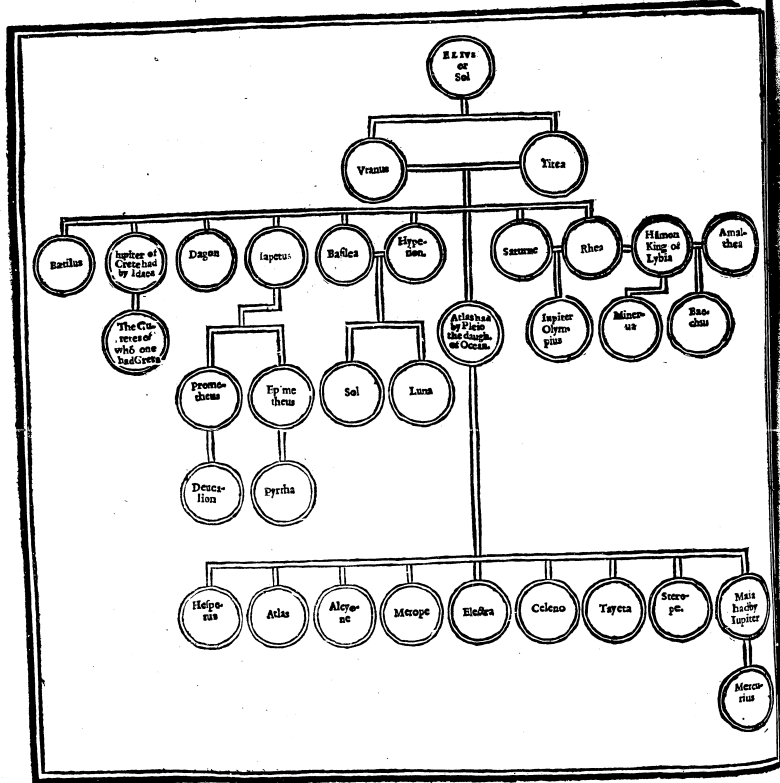
But *Ops* the mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (first called *Lysianias*) into *Crete*, as hee did afterwards his two brothers, *Nepune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in *Gnosus*, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Crista* the King, or by the *Curetes*, a people and nation thereof.

Others challenge him to bee of *Thebes* and a *Thebane*: others call him an *Arcadian*: others make him of *Messena*. The like contention is found among the *Greekes* touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme that hee was fed by *Honi-bees*: in recompence whereof hee changed their blacke coats and skines into yellow; a reward well fitting such a god: others, that he was nourished by *Beares*: others, by *Goats*: and of all these the idle *Greekes* have many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge that *Saturne* had broken his faith, hee set on him, and tooke him and his wife prisoners, whom *Jupiter* againe rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the father and the sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the lesse powerfull, fled into Italy, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after hee was once ſetled and became potent, hee gave himselfe over wholly to palliarize and adultery, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of Sodome with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Juno*, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame; *Niohe*, *Laodamia*, and *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitrion*, by whom hee had *Pelagum*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountaine *Taygetus* tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Savina*: by

Euseb. l. 2. c. 7.

Bacchus; the warres of the Giants in the one story, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdome of Egypt given by *Hercules Libicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Ifis*, and the cymballs of *Bastia*, with many petty circumstances, needrely enough resembling each other, howsoever not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would have all these to be *Phœnicians*, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true storie, and no allegorie. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giving to *Uranus* or Heaven for daughters, *Fate*, & *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogy hee addes *Elinus* or the *Sunne*, as father of *Uranus*, and among the children of *Uranus*, *Jupiter*, *Betvlus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Uranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigna*, and of *Illus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The pedigree of them is this.



§. VI.

of Cham, and other wicked ones, whereof some gate, some affected the name of Gods.

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the son of *Saturnus Babylonius*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembered: for long after these times were the Greeks but Salvages, if they seek no farther off for their Gods.

But the Egyptians, even after the flood, began (somewhat before this *Chaldaean Jupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their owne *Mizram*, *Jupiter Chammon* or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the Greeks deduce ab *arenis*, from the sands, is ridiculous (saith *Pencer*;) neither yet is his owne much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth heat: because the said Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was seated in Libya, where the aire is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Jupiter* among the Greeks and Romanes the most renowned, it is certain that he was borne not long before the warre of *Troy*, as by many of his sonnes is made manifest; namely, *Cassor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpædon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom *Troy* was destroyed.

Now seeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondered at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: for by what reason could the same *Deity* be denied unto *Laurencia* and *Flora* which was given to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was.

§. VII.

That the wifer of the antient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

BUT that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other antient and excellently learned, beleevd in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (over-busily) have mixed their owne inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in Hell, where hee faired that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the bookes of *Moses*, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which *Iustine Martyr* remembereth many in that treatise converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though hee dissembled in some things for feare of the Inquisition of the *Arcopagites*, yet Saint *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirifice iis delectatus est, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*, And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God, saith *Iustine Martyr*. Now howsoever *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the *Chaldeans*, neglecting the Jewes, and bookes of *Moses*; *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reason to beleve the contrary, thinking that from thence hee tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or favouring of Divinity: and the same opinion had Saint *Ambrise* of *Pythagoras*.

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not under the right Authors names) those things which hee had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the severity of the *Arcopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poison, I cannot judge. *Iustine Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Plato's* feare, whose words, among many other of the same effect, are these; *Plato Mosis mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docuerat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum non putavit, veritus Arcopagum*; *Plato* fearing the *Arcopagites* thought it not safe for him among the Athenians to make mention of *Moses*, that hee taught that there is but one God. But for that Divinity which hee hath written in *T. 1. m. 20. id ipsum de Deo discimus quod & Moses*; Hee discoursed and taught the same of God (saith *Iustine Martyr*), which *Moses* did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answer *Moses*, *Ego sum existens* (which is) *I am*; and, *existens misit me ad vos*; *I am hath sent mee unto you*; herein did *Plato* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Moses* used the word *qui* and *Plato* the word *quod*; *Moses enim qui existit inquit,* *Plato quod*

Euseb. præp. Evange.

lib. 11.

Cyril. cont. Ju-

lian.

Origene. cont. Cel-

sum.

Ambr. ad hebr.

Ep. 6. lib. 1.

Arcopagus or do-

mus seu mons

Mosis, Mors

his hill: a house

wherein capitall

matters were

tried: so called

at first, because

Mars therein

first pleaded his

cause for the

murder of His-

toribus.

August. in Attic.

Nais. Com. l. 2. c. 7.

Iust. Mart. adm.

Gene. fol. 8.

14. m. sup.

Exod. 3. 12.

quod existit; for Moses saith, Hee who is; Plato, That which is. Now of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or expresse the same, hee giveth this testimony: *Censorem Universitatis iam difficile est invenire, quam inventum impossibile digne profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Universe, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily.* And what can bee more agreeable to the Majesty of Gods Nature, than this property by Plato acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil he is no cause at all: and againe, Charitas Dei fuit causa factiois mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things.* Apuleius the Platonist; *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam naturae dignitate: & nihil est Deo similis & gratus, quam vir animo perfectio bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not only by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God than a man of a perfect heart.* THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cepit; Because he never had any beginning.* ZENON, that God beheld even the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Moses story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

*Cælum terraq; unius forma fuit:
Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenitas;
Arbores, aves, fera, quaq; affert mare,
Genusq; mortalium.*

Heaven and Earth one forme did beare:
But when dis-joined once they were
From mutual embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
The still remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we finde the same excellent understanding in *Orpheus*, who every where exprest the infinite and sole power of one God: though he use the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoide the envie and danger of the time: but that hee could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which hee doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDULA) quos ORPHEUS canit, non decipientium demonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virinum divinarumq; sunt nomina; The names of those Gods whom Orpheus doth sing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evil comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall and divine virtues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to *Musæus* and the Hymne following, teachus: *Respicens vero ad divinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum advertit, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascendere viam, & solum apicem mundi regem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse vero in his versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes imuetur.*

Then marking this may sacred speech, but truly lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one,
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone
All else; in which hee's still: nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet hee fees all.

And againe the same Author,

*Jupiter omnipotens, & primus & ultimus idem;
Jupiter est caput & medium: Jovis omnia munus.
Jupiter est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.
Jupiter & mas est, & famina nescia mortis.
Spiritus est cunctis, validi viri Jupiter ignis.
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna est Jupiter ipse.
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam primus oculis, magno post numine, sacrum
Cor referans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.*

The first of all is God, and the same last is he.
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.
God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the male and female too, shall never die.
The spirit of all is God, the Sunne and Moone, and what is higher.
The King, th' original of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast hee all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Græcians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Justine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Ensebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Pleſius*, *Danaus*, and others. For *Cleanthes the Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties: *Bonus, justus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, intus, gloriosus, charitas, &c.* Good, just, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, severe, free, alwaies doing good, safe without feare, glorious, and selfe-charity. *Epicharmus* affirmed that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was onely and ever-where where powerfull: agreeing with *Democritus*: *Rex omnium ipse solus; Hee is the onely King of kings*: and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator summus, atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deserts.* This God (saith *Antisthenes*) cannot bee resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne; *Nisi in patria illa perenni, ejus imaginem nullam habes: Save onely in that everlasting Countrey, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also *Xenophanes Colophonius*: *Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals*: and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensque quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini pater, nihil soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mighty, as is manifest to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none; save onely to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light.* Finally, *Plato* saith, *Totius rerum natura causa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neq; tempore ullo comprehensus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternall preserver of living creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expresse what he is.* Therefore was it said by *Saint Hierome*, *Si enim cunctos Philosophorum revolvas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, ut apud Platonem, fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud Zenonem, Stoicorum Principem, in eros & immortales animas, &c.* If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in *Plato*, God the Creator of the world: in *Zeno*, Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortall soules, &c. And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wisdome of all Ages, wee shall finde that there never was man of solid understanding or excellent judgement: never any man whose minde the Art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that hee hath found by an unresistible necessity, one true God, and everlasting being, all for ever causing, and all for ever sustaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, than that Egyptian *Hermes*, howsoever it fayled afterward in his posterity: all being at length by divellish policie of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Devill perwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

§. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculously confounded.

BUt all these are againe vanished: for the inventions of mortall men are no lesse mortall than themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell starveth, water quen- cheth, and want of ayre suffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Junoes* Jealousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it selfe, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their stately Temples of Stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous build- ings erected to *Baal*, can no where bee found upon the earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in Phoenicia that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in Libya, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske coun- saile or helpe from *Jupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become specklesse, and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeite Egyptians, and couzening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Devill gave way to these his over-throwes and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repay- red, and re-edified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it received the last and utter subversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idolls and Ornaments therein by the Eu- baean Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians utterly sackt: Thirdly by *Pyrrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the armie of *Xerxes*: Fifthly, by the Captaines of the *Phoenices*: Sixthly, by *Nero*: who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe set up at the common charge. But whatsoever was gathered betweene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian armie made spoile of, de- facing as much as the time permitted them: notwithstanding all this, it was againe glo- riously rebuilt, and so remained till such time as *Julian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the successe of his Parthian enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols hercin, molten downe, and lost in the earth.

The like successe had the Jewes in the same *Julians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem: for while they were buied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrowne by an earth-quake, and many thousands of the Jewes were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others slaine, and scar- tered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the Jewes, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hee, *Alypius* and the Ruler of the province of Judaea, being by *Julian* buied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neere the foundation, and oft consuming the Worke-men, made the enterprize frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the lastrefuges of the Devill to maintaine his Kingdome.

NOW the Devill, because hee cannot play upon the open Stage of this World, (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as ever, findes it more for his advantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectuall adoration of himselfe than ever. For where- as he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idoll of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. Heetels them that truth is the Goddesse of dangers and oppressions, that chastity is the enemy of Nature, and last- ly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taste; so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth e- very sense: for true wisdom (saith hee) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtay- ning of power to oppress, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Politician* finde in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or feare of Gods future judgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens soules, that

hee will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endavours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged poverty and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine pre- sence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the en- trance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and over-grown with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening, worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the o- ther: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joyes) at the other our cruelties, covetousnesse, li- centiousnesse, injustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) waiting for us. And as the Devill our most industrious enemy was ever most di- ligent: so is he now more laborious than ever, the long day of Mankind drawing fast to- wards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of NOAH'S Flood.

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noahs Flood.



THIS destruction it pleased God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (saith *Josephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Succedens cum suis in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his children, and travailed into another re- gion.* And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himselfe, *Berosus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and un- naturall wickednesse, and that they were contemptores & religionis & deorum; contempters of religion and of the Gods: among which mighty men (saith Berosus) junus erat qui deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat: Noah: There was one more wise and reverencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was Noah: who with his three sonnes, Sem, Japhetus, and Cham, and with their Wives, and the Wife of Noah, (namely *Tirca* the great, *Pandora*, *Noela*, and *Noegla*) preserved themselves in the Arke. This Arke God commanded *Noah* to prepare: And God sayd unto Noah, Make thee an Arke of Pinetrees: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within and without with Pitch. For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruell Generations were already fashioned in the Clouds, which soone af- ter should swallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the aire, *Noah* and his family excepted.*

But this universall grave of waters, and generall Deluge hath not bene received by all: for divine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things to which their own reason cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet: Whilst the truth li- eth wrapped up in obscurity.* Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this overflowing, and have judged that this flood of *Noah* fell but in some particular pla- ces and kingdomes: moved so to thinke, because in elder ages there have bin many other floods (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholas Damascenus* writeth in this man- ner, as his words are cited by *Josephus*. *Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluvii tempore liberatos, & quandam simul in Arca deventum in hujus vertice basisse, lignorumq; reliquias multo tempore conser- vatas, qui fortasse is fuit de quo etiam Moles Judoorum legislator scribit: thus saith this Au- thor. There is (saith he) above Minyada (or the country of *Armenia*) an exceeding high moun- taine in Armenia, called *Barison* which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were sa- ved in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an arke, and rested upon the top of the mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof, and this might be the same of which Moles the Law-giver of the Jewes makes mention. And of this opinion*

were the *Thalmodists* (saith *Annim*) that many Giants saved themselves upon Mount *Sion*.

But *Berosus* (who, after *Moses*, was one of the most antient, howsoever he hath been since deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Flood, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *An te aquarum cladem famulosam, qua universus perist Orbis, &c. Before that famous deluge, the world was destroyed by which the World universall perished: witnessing withall, that Noah with his wife Tisea, and his three sons with their wives (in all eight persons) were only saved.*

§. II.

Of the Flood in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not Noahs Flood.

But from the vanity of the Greekes, the Corrupters of all truth (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the error first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perwade the world that there was no Flood preceded the Flood of Ogyges, King of the Thebans in Bæotia, or rather of Attica; and therefore (saith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogygm id appellat Poeta, tanquam percussus dixeris, ab Ogyge venissismo: The Poets gave the name of Ogygia to things exceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.*

But let Ogyges be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that hee lived but in *Jacob*'s time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was born 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion that Ogyges was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sant tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autumant hunc: unde sit Cadmus qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, above jugulato sic nuncupatus, quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. Thebe are (saith hee) who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Egypt, whereby he should be Cadmus, who travelling into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Beefe slaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.*

But this Flood of Ogyges fell in the yeere of the World, 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Flood of Noah in the yeere 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. betwene these Floods, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeere and time of this overflowing in Achaia, or rather Attica, bee not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whosoever makes it most ancient, findes above 500. yeeres difference betwene that and the generall flood.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirms that this tempest fell upon the Athenians, but 1040. yeeres before Rome was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than Rome; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere, 3280. Now the generall Flood preceded the building of Rome (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Flood of Ogyges (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if hee place Ogyges in his true age) the difference betwene these two Floods must bee 520. yeeres, to which wee (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of Ogyges was not the same of Noah (except wee call Noah, Ogyges *Prifus*, as some doe) it appears by this, that the Flood of Ogyges then King of Attica or Ogygia, did not extend it selfe any farther than the banks of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Aegean* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witnesse, that the City of Joppe in Judæa was founded before the Flood; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phinuc*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Flood of Ogyges spred it selfe over any part of Syria, much lesse over all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica about *Athens*, and that of Achaia in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*): of which *Ovid*:

Si quæres Helicæ & Bura, Achæidos urbes, invenies sub aquis.

Bura and *Helice*, on Achaian ground
Are sought in vaine, but under Sea are found.

Of this Flood of Ogyges was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cæus*, the sonne of *Titan*, being beloved and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python* to follow & affright her, wherefore she travelled: till at length arriving at the Ile of *Ortygia*, she was there received; in which she was delivered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins: whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in Ogyges his reigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhæled such thicke mists and fogges, that in Attica, and along the Coasts of the *Aegean* Sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre, or be perceived by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dried, and these vapours dissipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* espied the light of the Moone somewhat before day, and in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which significth manifestation.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Flood of Ogyges, being so great, as Histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Bookes *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint *Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as never was seene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adrasius Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of Ogyges.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planer, I do not remember, that I have any where read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the Greekes, or elsewhere in those dayes as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitude, I see no reason, why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesse mists and fogges than those which covered Greece with so long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightened by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planer would, unto our eyes, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now living, who by the helpe of perspective Glasses hath found in the Starres many things unknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have beene discovered in *Venus*, by his late observations. Whether some warrie disposition of the ayre might present as much to them that lived with Ogyges as *Galileus* hath seen through his Instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discoverie of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error: One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Flood of Ogyges, was (as appeareth by this of Saint *Augustine*) accompanied with such unusuall (and therefore the more dreadful, though naturall) signes, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Flood of Noah, which was generall, and altogether miraculous, may seeme to have had no other token, or fore-shewing, than the long preaching of Noah himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Flood came suddenly, and tooke them all away.

§. III.

Of DEUCALIONS Flood: and that this was not NOAH'S Flood: nor the Umbri
in Italie a remnant of any universall Flood.

A Second Flood of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of
Deucalion in Thessalia; of which S. Augustine out of Varro: *Hic temporibus* (as
VARRO scribit) *regnante Atheniensibus CRANAUS, successore CECROPIS* (as autem
nostri, EUSEBIUS & HIERONYMUS) *ad huc eodem CECROPE permanente, diluvium fuit,*
quod appellatum est DEUCALIONIS: (that is) *In these times* (as VARRO reporteth)
CRANAUS the successor of CECROPIS governing the Athenians, or (as our EUSEBIUS and
HIERONYMUS say) CECROPIS yet living, that Flood (called DEUCALIONS) happened.

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he useth
these words: *Eduxit ergo MOSES ex Egypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis*
Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus,
apud Argivos Tripas: MOSES led the people of God out of Egypt about the later time
of CECROPIS King of the Athenians, Ascatades reigning over the Assyrians, over the
Sicyonians Marathus, and over the Argives Tripas. So as leaving the curiositie of a
few yeeres, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Flood of Deucalion was either at the e-
gression of the children of Israel out of Egypt, or neere it: and then after Noah 753
yeeres, according to Functius, who makes Cecrops to live in the yeere of the World 2409,
or if we follow Mercator, then 739. yeeres after Noah, and in the yeere of the World
2395. But if Deucalion were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to Codo-
manus, then giving unto Deucalion 40. yeeres of age when this Flood happened, it falleth
within one yeere of Mercators account. But Deucalion by all approved Historians is
said to have bene 82. yeeres old at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dates the
time of this Flood of Deucalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phædon's time, by
the reign of Crotopus, King of the Argives; but Crotopus lived King of the Argives five
yeeres after Israel departed Egypt, which makes twenty yeeres difference, according to
Functius, who will have this Flood and Burning to have fallen 14. yeeres before Moses
left Egypt: for he gave of the Worlds yeeres to the Flood and Burning the yeere 2440:
and to Moses his egression the yeere 2454. And yet Cedrenus thinks that Moses was
more ancient, and lived with Inachus; but that cannot be true: for then had the Flood
of Deucalion, and the burning of Phædon, preceded the Flood of Ogyges, which is denied
by all: for that of Thessalie (called Deucalions) followed that of Attica (called Ogygis)
at least 250. yeeres, or thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologie makes it 230. & so doth
P. Orosius: Eusebius about the 50. yeere of Moses life, and Cyrillus about the 67. and
both after Noahs Flood 770. yeeres: for these be Clemens Alexandrinus his words: *Fuit*
autem in Græcia tempore quidem Phornei, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio qua fuit
tempore Ogygis: There happened in Greece in the time of Phorneus, who lived after
Inachus, the Flood of Ogyges. Now if the Flood of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or
1016. yeeres before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius and Orosius; (as before) then
is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it falls out, that Ogyges Flood
happened before the Hebrews left Egypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the
difference between the opinions of Eusebius and Orosius. And for my selfe (who rather
follow those Chronologers, which give 60. yeeres more to Abraham after the Flood,
than the rest) I reckon the times which come between these Floods in this sort. The
generall Flood was in the yeere of the World 1656. Jacob was borne in the yeere of the
World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Flood to Jacobs birth, there were con-
tinued 513. yeeres. Ogyges Flood happened 100. yeeres after Jacob was borne; and there-
fore after the generall Flood 613. yeeres. Now Deucalion was borne in the yeere of the
World 2356. and had lived 82. yeeres, when his Kingdom of Thessalie was overwel-
med; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Flood was after Noahs Flood ended, 782.
yeeres. And hereto Annus his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres between the
generall Flood and Deucalions birth; in which add 82. yeeres of his Age (as before)
and then the Flood of Thessalie followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that
Xenophon are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundum annos*
Sphaerici, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta a Thessaliam vidit
inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalion, in the second
yeere

cedren. li. f. 34.

Clem. Alex. li.
f. 10. c. 10.

Euseb. in Chron.

yeere of SPHERUS, are numbered 700. yeeres, and when DEUCALION was 82. yeeres old,
he saw Thessalie drowned. This Flood happened in the Winter time about Parnassus:
witnesseth Aristotle in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom Saint Augustine so often
citeth for his excellent Learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Flood of Deu-
calion to have happened in the time of Cranaus, who succeeded Cecrops: Orosius thinks
it somewhat later, Amphytrion reigning in Aibens, the third from Cecrops: Onely this
of Deucalion was very great, and reached not onely over Thessalie it selfe, and the Regi-
ons adjoining Westward, but it covered the greatest part of Italie: and either the
same, or some other particular Flood then happening, oppressed Egypt, saith Eusebius.
And therefore did the Greekes eyther thinke it, or saie it to be universall; and Deucalion
then King, saving himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of Thessalie (of all other
the highest, saith Solinus) was by reason thereof (as Strabo witnesseth) said to be the
preserver of Mankind. That this Flood covered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus
make it probable, who affirme, that the people then inhabiting Italie, were therefore
called *Indeuca*: quia ab imbris diluvii superfluent; and therefore also were they esteemed
the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezenius in his
second: which Umbri these Authors make the parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines to
be the Parents of the Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Brutii, and all others inhabiting anciently
the banks of the Mediterrane Sea. But that these Umbri were not the Inhabiters of
Italie before the Flood of Noah, and soooke name by saving themselves upon the
Appenine Mountaines, the Scriptures teach us; shewing who, and who onely then were
preserved, which is sufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the first
people which after the generall Flood inhabited Italie, were the Camenes; (so named
from Camefe, whom Cæsar in originibus, another of Annus his Authors, names for a
son of Jannus) which people lived altogether a savage life; till such time as Saturne
arriving on those Coasts, devised Lawes to governe them by: the memorie of whose
Acts in that Region, Diodor and Thallus among the Greekes, Nepos Cæsius and Varro
among the Latines, have preserved; and of whom Virgil:

*Primus ab æthere venit SATURNUS Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, & regna exul ademptis,
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus ælia
Composuit, Legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.*

SATURNE descending from the Heavens high,
Fearing the Armes of JUPITER his Sonne;
His Kingdome lost, and banish't thence, doth flee:
Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne
To live together; and by Lawes: which done,
He chose to call it Latium.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones, and after them, of the
Sicani: Nations, which againe fought to dis-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

Tum manus Ausonia, & gentes venire Sicani.

Then came th' Ausonian Bands, and the Sicanian Tribes:

Of these Sicani (which left Spaine, and far downe in Italie) Thucydides and Plinie give
testimonie: who were againe expelled by the Ligii, saith Thucydides. After all these
evacuations & replantations, came the Umbri, descended of the Gauls (saith Annus), not of
those Gauls of France, but of those of Scythia, who commanded a great part of Italie,
even all Hætruria and Campania; as Herodotus, Plinie, and Dionysius have assured us: & there-
fore this Flood of Deucalion was long after that of Noah. For all those Nations were plan-
ted in Italie, & dispossessed of Italie againe, before the Umbri were ever heard of or had being
in that Kingdom: was first called Camesene, then Latium or Saturnia, then Ausonia, then
Umbria; before the Umbri (in whose time Deucalions Flood happened) possessed the same,
about 306. yeeres before the Warre of Troy; Lycæon then governing Arcadia: who being
the father of two and twenty sonnes, the youngest called Oenotrus invaded Italie, who
gave it the name of Oenotria. This name it held untill Italus of the same Nation changed
it into Italie, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of Troy. After these,

Cæsar. li. 1.

Pline. li. 3. c. 10.

Thucyd. li. 2.

Annus ex Sa-
muele Thales

Herod. li. 1.

Pline. li. 3. c. 10.

Dionys. li. 1.

Pausan. Arcad. li. 8.

Virgil. Georg. li. 1.

came the *Pelagii*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixth, speake at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Umbri*, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had possist and past over the *Apennine* Mountaines) they added divers others, whereof *Tellina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation as these *Umbri* in those parts, I doe not affirme; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinks, that the name was derived from the Greeke word *Ombros*; but that these *Umbri* of *Italie* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*): it shall be shewed hereafter.

§. III.

Of some other Records testifying the universall Flood: and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

Saint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Universall Flood, because they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembered) made all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Familie, which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of divine Letters was not received, find no Parent of more antiquitie, than such as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Gracians*, so did others vaunt themselves to be *Indigena*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldeans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* Flood, as *Berosus* witnesseth; and *Nicolas Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heere-say, that some *Giants* saved themselves upon the Mountaines *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approved: using the word *Sermo est*; That such a speech there was. And *Eusebius* remembereth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writteth, that *Sisithrus*, to preserve himselfe from a Flood fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hills of *Armenia* by ship: *ad Armeniam navigio confugebat*: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which he also did a second time, but at the third returne the birds feet were covered with muddie and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* Flood.

Cyrollus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall Flood. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the storie of the Flood universall, which (saith he) happened long before the *Gracian* inundations. Fryer *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembereth a third Flood, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Flood for the first, which happened (saith he) under the old *Ogyges*: Sub *prisco* *Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Cule* and *Promethens* then living 344 yeere before that of *Attica*; in the 34. yeere of *Niliacus* King of the *Affrians*, though I doe not beleeve him as touching the time. But this Flood covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, especially all the Region subject to *Promethens*; & hereof came the fable of the Violence on *Promethens* his Liver, afterward shewed by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in these words: *Fluvium propter cursum velocitatem, profunditatemque, aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum, Hercules cum consilio magnitudine, tum virtute, voluit vestigio comprehensisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum convertisse*: Unde & *Græci* quidam Poetæ rem gestam in fabulam vertentes, *Herculem tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI jecur deprecensum occidisse*; This Flood (meaning of *Nilus*) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those days called the Eagle: but *HERCULES* by his great judgement and vertue did againe empty and straighten this River, so far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certaine Greeke Poets (converting this labour and worke of *HERCULES* into

fable) devised, that *HERCULES* slew the Eagle which fed on *PROMETHEUS* Liver; meaning that he delivered *Promethens* of that sorrow and torment, which for the losse of his People and Countrey (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered.

A fourth Flood chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe fort writteth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuerunt: prima novimebris inundatio terrarum sub prisco Ogyge: secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*): the first, which was universall, of nine Moneths; and this happened under the first *Ogyges*: the second was *Niliaca*, & of one Moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Promethens*, *Egyptians*: a third of two Moneths, under *Ogyges* *Atricus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thesalia*, under *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Booke and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samaritæ* for his Authors, remembereth a Flood in *Asia* the lesse, and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellepont* breaking in over the Land.

But there have bin many Floods in divers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembered, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same yeere, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous overflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venician* Territories, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the Land, after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrecht* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Flood to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. *Thiemo* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that of a Flood in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italie*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicily* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixth, also in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembereth a perilous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Vignier* a French Historian speaketh of a great Flood in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with so dreadfull a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgement Day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about *Nismes* there were removed divers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne up and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate, and Vessels of other Metall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Goths* invaded that Province, in the yeere 1156.

§. V.

That the Flood of *NOAH* was supernaturall, though some say it might have bene foretold by the Starres.

NOW howsoever all these Floods, and many other, which have covered at severall times severall Regions, not onely in these parts of the World, but in *America* also (as I have learned of some ancient Southfayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that universall Flood (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especiall commandment of God himselfe, who at that time gave strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes, by whatsoever union, could performe, without receiving from the Fountaine of all power strength, and faculties supernaturall. *Henricus Mecliniensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus* in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Alba Masar*, observeth, that before the Flood of *Noah*, the like conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturne* happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the Ship of *Argos*; by which the Flood of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watric Signe, and the House

Alfo di Concordia Theolog. & Astrolog. Gen 7. 11.

* The word *regnum* properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carryed down-wards, dasheth and breaketh; of *depression*, *allud*, or *frangit*. Hence because Windows do not only open, but also shut, the word hath bene expounded (*W. ad. 10*) for Barres or Flood-gates.

of the *Moone*, which is the *Ladie of the Sea*, and of *Moyfture*, according to the rules of *Astronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Genesim* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Flood by divine revelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further, that by * *Cataractæ Cæli*, Englished the Windows of Heaven) *Moses* meant this great and warric conjunction; the word (*Cataractæ*) signifying flowing downe or coming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heavens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked ways wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who understood, that the words *Cataractæ Cæli*, or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for these warric Signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus*, and the *Moone*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His owne words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Cataractas Cæli vocasse, nisi partes illas Cæli, quæ generativa sunt Pluviarum & Inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c. as* afore said. As yet (saith he) I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by those words (*Cataractæ Cæli*, or Windows of Heaven) unless be thereby understanding those Celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendered the Raine, and Inundations of Waters, such as are the warric Signes of *Cancer*, &c.

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable Wisdome this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as afore said) adde vigor and faculty, and gave to every operation increase of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountains, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing ayre into water by the ministration of his Angels, or whosoever else best pleased his All-powerfulnesse.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the universal Flood: And what are *Cataractæ Cæli*.

GEN. 7. VERS. II.

Now if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God reſteth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new *ſpecies*) which granted, it may ſeeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters ſufficient to cover the habitable World ſitcene Cubits above the higheſt Mountaines. Of this propoſition, whether God hath ſo reſtrayned himſelfe, or no, I will not diſpute; but for the conſequent (which is) that the World had want of water to over-cover the higheſt Mountaines, I take that conceit to be unlearned and fooliſh: for it is written, that the Fountains of the great Deepe were broken up (that is) the waters forſooke the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatſoever was diſperſt therein, pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let us conſider, that the Earth had above one and twentie thouſand miles, the Diameter of the Earth, according to that circle, ſeven thouſand mile, and then from the Superſicies to the Center ſome three thouſand five hundred miles. Take then the higheſt Mountaine of the World, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaines of *Armenia* or *Seythia*, or that (of all other the higheſt) in *Teneriff*; and I doe not find, that he that looketh higheſt, ſtretcheth above thirtie miles upright. It is not thenimpoſſible, anſwering reaſon with reaſon, that all thoſe waters mixed within the Earth three thouſand five hundred miles deepe, ſhould not well helpe to cover the ſpace of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth ſome one hundred and ſixtenc times: for the Fountains of the great Deepe were broken up, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we conſider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayre over and above it, we ſhall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleaſed God to condense but ſo much of this Ayre, as every where compaſſeth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in thoſe Elements; it will not ſeeme ſtrange to men of judgement, yea but of ordinary underſtanding, that the Earth (God ſo pleaſing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Beroſus* and others, That ſuch a conjunction there was, fore-ſhewing that deſtruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Cataractæ Cæli*, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needes no other anſwer than that obſervation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the graveſt *Aſtrologian* it was obſerved, that in the yeere 1524. there ſhould happen the like conjunction as at *Noahs Flood*; than which (saith he) there was never a more faire, drie, and reaſonable yeere: the like deſtruction was prophesied of the yeere 1588. But *Pius* Earle of *Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any ſuch conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other myſterie in the word *Cataractæ Cæli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* uſing the word *Windows of Heaven* (if that be the ſenſe of the word) to expreſſe the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For whoſoever hath ſene thoſe fallings of water, which ſometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not brake into drops, but fall with a reſtleſſe violence in one body) may properly uſe that manner of ſpeech which *Moses* did; That the Windows or Flud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That waters fell contrary to cuſtome, & that order which we call naturall. God then looſened the power retentive in the uppermoſt ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: Behold (saith *Job*) he withholdeth the Waters, and they drie up (or better in Latine, *Et omnia ſiccantur*; And all things are dried up) but when he ſendeth them out, they deſtroy the Earth: And in the 26. Chapter: He bindeth the Waters in the Clouds. But theſe Bonds God looſed at that time of the generall Flood, and called up the Waters which ſlept in the great Deepe; and theſe joining together, covered the Earth, till they performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vaſt Caves, and the reſt (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

§. VII.

Of ſome remainder of the memorie of *NOAH* among the Heathen.

NOAH, commanded by God, before the fall of thoſe Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wives, taking with them of every Creature which tooke life by generation, ſeven of the cleane, and of the uncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, ſignifieth quietneſſe: after others, and according to the prophesie of his Father *Lamech*, ceſſation; to whom afterwards gave many Names, anſwering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, The firſt *Ogyges*, becauſe in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was alſo a great Flood of *Achaia*: *Saturne* they called him, becauſe he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Promethew*, who was ſaid to ſteale away *Jupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and underſtood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others thinke, that he was ſo called for his excellent wiſedome and foresight. He had alſo the Name of *Janus*, (ideſt) *vinofus*, becauſe *Jain* ſignifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And ſo *Tullian* findes him written in *Libris Ritualibus*, in the Bookes of Ceremonies, preceeding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other antient ſayned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: for it was in uſe before there was any Latine Nation, or any King-dome by that Name known. Of the antiquitie of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this teſtimony: *Janus ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus peſtoribus nondum hæſerat ullæ regnandæ capitales, &c. Vinum & Far primus populus docuit Janus ad ſacrificia: primus enim Aras & temeria & ſacra docuit*; In the time of *JANUS* (saith he) there was no Monarchie: for the uſe of rule had not then folded it ſelfe about the hearts of men. *Janus* firſt taught the people to ſacrifice Wine and Meale: he firſt ſet up Altars, inſtricted Gardens and ſacred Groves, wherein they uſed to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. A greater teſtimonie than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agree ſo well with the Scriptures. For firſt, whileſt *Noah* flouriſhed, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the firſt that tooke on him ſovereigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Flood was the firſt that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the Firſt-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the firſt that rayſed an Altar, and offered ſacrifice to God; a thankſgiving for

for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) because he beheld the times both before & after the Flood, *Quia præterea noverit, & futura prospexerit*, saith *ARNOBIVS*: Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of *Janus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, *The Seed of the World*: because as out of that confused Heape was drawne all the kinds of Beasts and Plants; so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the person of *Janus*:

*Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,
Aspicere quàm longi temporis afficam.*

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great yeeres
By those old-times, of which I sing, appears.

He was also intitled *Caelum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodisens* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in respect of the Flood. For the *Greekes* called *Liber*, and his Nurles *Hyades*, of Rayne, because *Noah* entred the *Arke* when the *Sunne* joynd with the *Starrs Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Necke of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noahs* Flood. He was also by others furnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the sonne of *Neptune*; because he lived in safetie on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name, of *Dionysus*, quasi *divos ueniens*, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-braine*, or *Wit-finger*; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwife, and derive that name a *Patre & Loco*, *Of his Father, and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Nysa*, a Towne of *Arabia felix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Tauropagus*; because he first yoked Oxen, and tilled the ground: according to that of *Moses*; *And Noah became an Husbandman*. Now howsoever the *Greeks* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwife *Dionysus*) it is certaine, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stolen from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Bœus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Struckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N* being changed into *B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Flood: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables devised, of which *Diodorus* complaineth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was furnamed *Nysus*, of the Mountaine *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecians* *Bacchus* never came, whatsoever themselves faime of his enterprises: and these Mountaines of *Nysa* joyne with those of *Paropamisus*, and those other *Easterne* Mountaines, on which the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the Flood.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Rivers and Mountaines; which oftentimes forgot that it was done in his regard, because the many Names given him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* upon the banks of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomie*, *Danrus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Pannonia*. Thus much for the Name.

§. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the *Arke*: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

Now in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Arke*; it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I find any approved Author that hath written thereof: onely *Georgius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neere the Mountaines of *Caucasus*, because on those Hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among the people, called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials & Sepulchers wrought over with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God & Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which also he addeth the conveniencie of Rivers, to transport the Timber which he used, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only

Onely this we are sure of; that the *Arke* was built in some part of the *Easterne* World; and to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Flood. For *Noah* did not use any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwise move, than the Hulke or body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moved from the place where it was fashioned and fet together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to passe upon the Earth, and the Waters ceased*. And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible winde at all, which could drive the *Arke* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted up. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum, a flat bottom*, and not raysed in forme of a Ship, with a sharpene off forward, to cut the waves, for the better speed.

This kind of Vessell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greekes* *Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes he arrived, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinks that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnassius*, the Inventor of *Auguration*.

Pencernus findes the word (*Parnassus*) to have no affinitie with the *Greeke*, but thinkes it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nabas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Divination* or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leafe before cited.

Josephus calls the *Arke* *Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*; but herein lyeth the difference betwene *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Arke* of the *Sancitury*, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe upon the Waters.

Lastly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Crest in the middle thereof, and the sides declining like the Roofe of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noyfullnesse of the many Beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the *Arke*.

Of what Wood the *Arke* was built, it is uncertaine. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once, and in this place onely used, is diversly understood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbins*, Cedar; the *Septuagint*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Other will have it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worne at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any special kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised to establish his covenant. *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the use to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes ate not; and he avoweth, that he saw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still found in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after; proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrefying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carrie, and of a sweete favour, lasting also better than any other wood, and because neere the place where the *Arke* rested there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountaines of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: which hath, besides the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, & therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Petrus* conceiveth, that the *Arke* had divers sorts of Timber, and that the bottome had of one sort, the decke & partition of another, all which may be true or false; if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabines: thereby to sever the cleane beasts from the uncleane, and to preserve their severall sorts of food, and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without

Ecclesi.

without the helpe of a Compasse, or the North star. The Pitch which *Noah* used, is by some supposed to have bin a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodom* and *Gomorah*, now the dead Sea, or *Alphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard Wax.

§. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacite.

De Civit. Dei.
lib. 5. c. 26.

THe Arke, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites, fifty of bredth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion, it had fixe parts of length to one of bredth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which *S. Augustine*: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesia, que fit saluaper lignum, in quo pendit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Iesus Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisq; ejus significat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt* (saith he) it is a figure of the City of God travailing in this World as a stranger, (that is) of the Church, saved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator betweene God and Man, the Man *Iesus Christ* did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height and breadth, answereth the shape of *Mans* body, in the truth whereof the coming of *Christ* was fore-told and performed.

By what kinde of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath bin a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kinde of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palme-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian Cubit*, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth fix common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens measures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length than it was in elder times.

S. Augustine considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Arke held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost fixe of the Common: For, measuring the Arke by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacite of that Vessell built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptoleme Philo-pater*. But *S. Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his judgement as touching the Geometrical Cubit; and found, upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fishes into the Arke, because they were kept living (saith *S. Augustine*) in their owne element. *Non fuit necesse conservare in Arca que possent in aquis vivere; non solum merula Piscis, verum super-nantantia, sicut multa alites: It was not needfull to conserve those Creatures in the Arke, which could live in the Waters; and not onely Fishes which can live under water, but also those Fowles which sit and swim on them.* And againe *Terra, non aqua, maledicta, quia A D A M non hujus, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters which God cursed; for of the forbidden Fruit of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did A D A M eat.* So as *S. Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as afore said) that so huge a Frame needed not.

Athen. dignop.
lib. 4.
Plutar. in vita
Demetrii.Aug. de Civit.
Dei lib. 5. c. 27.

And if we looke with the eyes of judgement hereunto, we shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the Species, which now seeme differing, and of severall kinds, were not then in *rerum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated againe by others: as the Mules, the *Hyenas*, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other

by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beasts and Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northern parts; it may be supposed by a superficiall consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed Skinnies, or Feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and weare plaine russet or blacke; they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of Europe, and the Owne of India; and even those Dogges which are become wilde in *Hispaguia*, with which the Spaniards used to devour the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattell, and doe also offend their teare at under their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Islands of Caribana; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of Virginia. The Dog-fish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of Species, then were the Negro's, which we call the Blacke-Mores, non animalia rationalia, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Gyants of the South America should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting, and the best Melons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers, by being set in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the kinds precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Arke, after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance we cannot give to the difference betweene them and us) then did the Arke containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in bredth, and 50. foot deepe.

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Os*, King of *Basan*, had bin nine Geometrical Cubites long; it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliath*, who had the length of six Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had bin Geometrical, then had bin 54. foot in height, and upwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliath* bin nine foot long, and fure weightier and bigger than all *David*'s bodie, who carried away.

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had beene used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cubits of length, five of bredth, and three of height) have reached the length of 27. foot high, and so must their Priests have ascended by steps or Ladders or have performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement given in these words: *Thou shalt not goe up with steps unto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discovered thereon;* and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make 45. foot; that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office: Wherefore may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometrical, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doublelesse) might give much the more capacite to the Arke; though it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the Horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this means there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to receive, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the waters, might according to their present quantites be contained in a Vessell of those dimensions which the Arke had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our nowall measure: whence it followeth of necessity, that those large Bodies which were in the days of *Noah* might have roome sufficient in the Arke, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saved, (that is seven of the cleane, two of the uncleane, with necessarie food) might have place in the Arke; But no hath very clear-

Asiatick Indians

Deut. 3. 11

1 Sam. 17. 4

Exod. 26. 26

learnedly declared: the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred Cubites, which multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubites, sheweth the whole Concavities to have bene.* 450000. Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seeme to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roofoe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubite) contained 7500. cubicall Cubes, was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatnesse we seeke roome for 89. distinct Species of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. severall kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustaine them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beeffe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeves, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seven of a kind entred into the *Arke*, namely, three couples for breed, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twentie kinds were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great Beasts cleane, & six and fiftie uncleane, estimable for largenesse as ninetie one Beeves; yet for a supplement (lest perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued as a hundred and twentie Beeves. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Arke* sixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for suppley, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threecore and foure Wolves. All these two hundred and eightie Beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke*, & their severall Cabbinnes; their meate in a second: the Birds and their provision in a third with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessaries.

§. X.

That the Arke rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucasus) betweene the East Indies, and Scythia.

†. I.

A preterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the use of this question to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

VVHat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leave to others to dispute: he received the Commandment from God a hundred yeeres before the waters fell; and had therefore choyce of time and leysure sufficient for the number of Decks and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into foure, *S. Augustin* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this faith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a full poole might be made as well within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove the foolerie of the *Hebrewes*, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystal to receive in Light, & keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seek most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is, in what part of the World the *Arke* rested after the Flood: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the Seate of the terrestriall *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the World Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Flood; and all storie, well generall as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

†. II.

A proposall of the common opinion, that the Arke rested upon some of the Hills of Armenia.

ANd first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the Flood, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* travailed to their first settlement on

plantation, I am resolved (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my Humour or newnesse of opinion, or singulartie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall & first truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke staid upon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hills *Gordai* or *Gordiai* in *Armenia* the greater: (as the words *Gordai* and *Kardu*, seeme to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the same which the *Chaldean* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adjoining, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiver of the *Hebrewes* wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia felix* of that name; and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* calls *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Aegla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of *Armenia* *Gordiai*, and *Curtius Cordai*; *Ptolomie* *Gordai* and *Gordiai*: of which the Countrie next adjoining is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Berosus* conjectures) for *Milyda* or rather *Minni*: which word is used for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni of Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* calleth the *Cardyes* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thobath*: whence the River of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordiai* (that which summounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* calls *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* significeth a place of descent: but this our *Iosephus*; which name (saith *Junius*) was of the event, because of *Noahs* coming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any hill from whence on every side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place of *Iosephus* *Kubaris* (which name is *Kubaris*) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because *Epiphanius* 1. c. 4. sayes, the place is called *Ararat* (as it were the descent or coming downe) and *Epiphanius* 1. 1. contr. *Hares*. calls it *Ararat*, which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue significeth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the *Labyrinth* may seeme to be derived; and *Act. 6. 9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Egyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra* tenu. Yet this opinion hath bene conceived from age to age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without further examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly be given, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, up and downe, than to any of the rest adjoining.

†. III.

The first argument against the common opinion, That they that came to build Babel, would have come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as Armenia.

BUt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordian* mountaines.

In the first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeere, or in the 131. after the flood, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chush*, and *Chaldea*. If then the *Arke* had first found in *Armenia*, it is very improbable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that country should have spent so many yeeres in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* is onely interjacent, which might by easie journeyes have bene past over in twenty

twenty dayes; and to hasten and helpe which passage, the navigable River of *Tygris* offered it selfe, which is every where transpassable by boates of great burden: so as where the Defart on the one side resisted their expedition, the river on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, where the *Arke of Noah* was first supposed to settle it selfe; Then if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surpris of a second flood (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundeth ill to the care of reason, that they would have spent many yeeres in that low and overflowne Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Rivers which imbroyder or compass it: for the effects witnessed their afflictions, and the workes which they undertooke, their unbeliefe; being no sooner arrived in to *Shinar*, but they began to provide themselves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the first knowne Citie of the world, founded after the flood about 131. yeeres, or (as others suppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they undertooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, To get us a name (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to usurpe dominion over the rest.

Gen. 10. 10.
Babyl.

†. III.

The second argument, That the Eastern people were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glory.

For a second Argument: The civillitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath bin, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade us, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) have had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to understand, That the place of *Philoftratus* in *vita Apollonii Tiamati*, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous words: when he saith, that the wisemen, which dwell betwene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, use not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they twene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, use not themselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning sent from *Jupiter*. By which means there it is said, that *Hercules* *Egyptius* and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because he brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and savage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient than *Seth* or *Enoch* were: for they are said to have written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the flood. But from the Eastern world it was that *John Cuthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gersan* a *Frenchman*, betwixt both the letters and invention. And notwithstanding that this myserie was then supposed to be but newly borne, the *Chinians* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phenicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the *Greekes* had neither any civil knowledge, or any letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witnessed, who about an hundred yeeres since discovered those Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinians* account all other Nations but Salvages, in respect of themselves; And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of *Alex. Macedon* may justly be called to witness, who found more Cities and sumptuositie in that little Kingdom of *Perus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, than in all his other travails & undertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatnesse had not travailed so far to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrey, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-rising, we shall finde that those Nations reporteth of the uttermost *Angle* and *Iland*, thereof, wee shall finde that those Nations have sent out, and not received; lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civil, the farther West the more Salvage.

And of the Isle of *Japan* (now *Zippingari*) *Venerus* maketh this report: *Incola religionis, literis, & sapientia sunt addictissimi; & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, civillitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be such by those who have bin employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and divers to other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.*

†. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which *SEMI RAMIS* found in the East Indies.

But for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what age she lived, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three Millions to invade *India*, so to which he adjoynd also 500000. Horses; and 100000. Waggones: whereof if we beleeve but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countrey after the flood. Now as touching the time wherein shee lived: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betwene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let us then see with whom shee encountered in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling, her owne, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witness of *Diod. Siculus*. *STAUROBATES avit majoribus quam quae erant SEMIRAMIS copijs: STAUROBATES gathering together greater troups than those of SEMIRAMIS*. If then these numbers of *Indians* had beene encreased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinaar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of *Staurobates* must have beene made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication naturall, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Armie victorious over *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had beene so late as *Babel* overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if wee allow 65. yeeres time after the Flood, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to *Cush* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: *Gestor* and then thirty yeeres to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Shiba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and five yeeres to his five elder brothers, which make sixtie five, and then twice thirty yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five yeeres; there will then remaine six yeeres to have bin spent in travailing from the East, ere they arrived in *Shinaar* in the yeere after the Flood 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the yeere 101. and the confusion to have beene at *Pelegs* birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in the Ayre; and not on those low and marsh grounds (which require found foundations) in the Plains of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that yeere 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* usurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere

de Turris ex-
structa. fol. 173.

after the Flood, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *Babel* lasted forty yeeres; (according to *GLYCAS*) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus*. Men labouring in vaine 40. yeeres to finish it. By which account it falls out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Flood, ere a *Colonie* was sent into *East India*; which granted (the one be-
yeeres after the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly be believed that *Stravobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Emperesse of all the part of that world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

†. VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers considerations in the person of NOAH.

Fourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the flood, and had lived therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that space 130. yeeres after the flood, without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conductor of those people, by *Noah* defined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western world; (which *travailes Noah* put over to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then covered with many yeeres, planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him; which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke*, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia felix*, where he should (if the tradition be found) have left certaine Colonies: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*, then into *Spain*, where they say he ferted other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his sonnes wives: from thence into *Italie*, where they say he found his sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subjects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendment, they say he banished him out of *Italie*. There be but the fancies of *Berosus Amnianus*, a plaine imitation of the Grecian fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to trauaile farre in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the flood, the same lay waste and over-grownne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in those yeeres were growne up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that *Noah* never came into the valley of *Shinuaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italie* or *Spain*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man revered both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would never have permitted his children and issues to have undertaken that unbelieving presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and prevalent perswasions he would have bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the authority which he received even from God himselfe, he would have held them in that awfull subjection, as whatsoever they had vainly conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the personal commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority over his children and people. Certainly, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankind was by themselves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he sent those numbers, which came into *Shinuaar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) under *Nimrod*, or those upon whom he usurped. *Nauclerus* and *Calesinius* take the testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for current, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Jostan*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Jostan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the sonnes of *Sem*: *Jostan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to have dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sem*'s issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other

adjoining to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldea* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Jostan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe; it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moves me to believe, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinuaar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankind, and the chosen servant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfe, and rested a part with his best beloved, giving himselfe to the service and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile soile, where he planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth; after which, and his thanksgiving to God by sacrifice, hee is not remembered in the Scriptures, because he was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

†. VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of *ANNIUS* the Commentor upon *Berosus*: who finds diuers places where the *Arke* rested; as the *Caspian* and *Gordian* hills which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some place of *Scythia*.

It remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of *Frier Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Berosus* and others, laboureth marvailously to prove that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested upon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caspri*; which mountaines separate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines *Gordiai*, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with error, which have carefully over-seene, printed, and published *Prolinius* Geographie, in which they are altogether disfevered. For that last edition of *Mercators*, lets these hills five degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainly, if we looke into those more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we shall find nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in those the mountaines *Caspri* stand seven degrees to the East of the *Gordiai*, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authority *Annius* strengtheneth himselfe, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like dispute. *Aberrant vero omnes, non negligentia, sed regnum sitis ignorantia. They have all erred (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to prove that the *Arke* of *Noah* stood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the same he citeth *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who avoweth that 250. yeeres before *Ninus*, the earth was overflowne with waters, & in *Scythia* *Sagarnatum mortale genus*; and that in *Scythia* the stocke of most all men was renewed. The same Authour also teacheth that the *Umbræ* before remembered (who were so called, because saved from *Deucalions* flood) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his venisse JANUM cum DYRIM, & Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum*; From these *Scythians*, he saith, that *JANUS* came with *DYRIM*, and with the *Galli* the progenitors of the *Umbræ*: And againe, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythia tribuitur*; Certainly, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway given to the *Scythians*. And herein truly I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia*, *Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* under tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Plinie* called the *Umbræ* which long since inhabited *Italie*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to prove that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did first inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he saith anation of *Scythians* called *Araxeæ*, taking name of the mountain *Araxat*, neere the River of *Araxes*. And because his Authour *Cato* helpeth him in part

there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he tra-
vailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a Wanderer.

†. IX.

An answer to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them
from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

And that all the children of Noah came together into Shinar, it doth not appeare
saying that it may be inferred out of these words (from thence) because it is writ-
ten: So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no o-
ther sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those
were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, & to the West-
ward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not
together into Shinar; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem edificavit
altissimam, quasi per eam caelum essent ascensuri*: Certaine of them built a most high Tower,
as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.

†. X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and
the height of the Hills there.

But before I conclude this part, it is necessary to see & consider, what part of Scrip-
ture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Arke
of Noah was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of Armenia. For the Text
hath only these words: *The Arke rested on (or upon) the Mountaines of Ararat, or Ar-
menia*, saith the marginal note of the Geneva: the Chaldaean Paraphrast calls it *Kardu*; of
which, the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith Epiphanius. Now this Ararat (which
the Septuagint do not convert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine
of Armenia, because Armenia it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name,
and secondly out of the height (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion
taken, That the Arke first laye thereon.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is Ararat of Armenia alone, nei-
ther is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Mountaines
of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the Arke found the highest Mountaine
of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also uncovered, before Noah came out of
the Arke. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that
they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in
the Bookes of the Sybils it is written, that the Mountaines of Ararat are in Phrygia, up-
on which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the Flood. And the better to particu-
larize the place and seat of these Mountaines, and to prove them in Phrygia, and not
Armenia, they are placed where the City of Calenes was afterward built. Likewise in the
same description there maketh mention of *Marjyas*, a River which runneth through part
of Phrygia and afterward joyneth it selfe with the River *Meander*, which is farre from
the Gordiaean Mountaines in Armenia. We may also finde a great mistaking in JOSE-
PHUS (though out of BEROSUS, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that JOSE-
PHUS sets Ararat between ARMENIA and PARTHIA, toward ADIABENE, and affir-
meth without, that in the province of Ceron (by others Kairos and Arnos, so called by
reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people want
that they had in those dayes reserved some peices of Noahs Arke. But Parthia toucheth
no where upon Armenia, for Armenia bordereth ADIABENE, a Province of ASSYRIA: so
that all Media and a part of ASSYRIA is between Parthia and Armenia. Now whereas the
discoverie of the Mountaines Gordiaei was first borrowed out of BEROSUS by JOSEPHUS; yet
the Text which JOSEPHUS citeth out of BEROSUS, differs far from the words of that BEROSUS,
which wandreth up and downe in these dayes, set out by ANNIVS. For BEROSUS, cited by
JOSEPHUS, hath these words: *Ferunt & navigii hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Gor-
diaeorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abratum secum reportare, quo vice amuletici
hujus homines uti solent*: (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remai-
ning in Armenia upon the Gordiaean Mountaines; & that diverse do scrape from it the Bitu-
men or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet. But ANNIVS his

Edition

Edition of the Fragment of BEROSUS useth these words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordia-
montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen
collere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem*: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the
waters, rested on the top of the Gordiaean Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts
remain, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: so as
in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diversly written. The
ancient BEROSUS writes Gordiaei with a (C.) and the Fragment Gordiaei with a (G.) the
one that the Bitumen is used for a preservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the o-
ther in Sacrifice. And if it be said that they agree in the generally, yet it is reported by
neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approved Author: for one of
them, useth the word (*ferunt*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that so it is reported, the
other, that so it is said; and both but by heare-say, and therefore of no authority nor
credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after
it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, these Mountaines which Ptolemie calls Gordiaei, are not those Moun-
taines which himselfe giveth to Armenia, but he calleth the Mountaines of Armenia
Moschici. These be his owne words: *Montes Armenia nominantur ii, qui Moschici ap-
pellantur, qui protenduntur usque ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui
Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretch-
along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians; also the Hill which is called Paryardes:
which Mountaine Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiaei or
Baris, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the Gordiaean Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from
the Northernmost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians,
and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and
Turkie, doe still remaine Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Moun-
taines of Gordiaei, otherwise Baris, Kardu or Lubar (which Ptolemie calleth Torgodionae)
are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.*

†. XI.

Of Caucasus, and divers farre higher hills than the Armenian.

For the best Cosmographers with other, that have seene the Mountaines of Armenia,
find them farre inferiour, and under-set to divers other Mountaines even in that part
of the World, and else where: as the Mountaine Athos between Macedon & Thrace,
which Ptolemie calls Olympus, now called Lucas, (saith Castaldus) is farre surmounting
any Mountaine that ever hath beene seene in Armenia: for it casteth shade three hun-
dred furlongs, which is seven and thirtie miles and upwards: of which Plutarch: *Athos
adumbrat latera Lemniae bovis: Athos shadoweth the Cow of Lemnos*. Also the Mount of
Olympus in Thessalie, is said to be of that height, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or
Raine overtop it. Again, the Mountaine of Antandrus in Mysia, not farre from Ida,
whence the River Scamandrus floweth, which runneth through Troy, is also of a farre
more admiration than any in Armenia, and may be seene from Constantinople. There
are also in Mauritania nere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of Atlas, of which HERO-
DOTUS: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius ver-
ticem oculi mortalium pervenire non possint: Upon this Coast there is a Mountaine called
Atlas, whose height is sayd to be such, as the eye of no mortall man can discern the top there-
of. And if we may believe Aristotle, then are all these inferiour to Caucasus, which he ma-
keth the most notorious both for breadth and height: Caucasus Mons omnium maximus,
cuius aequum ad ortum sunt, acumine atque latitudine, cujus juga a Sole radiantur usque, ad con-
tinentium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu Caucasus (saith ARISTOTLE) is the greatest Moun-
taine both for breadth and height of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightened
by the Sun-beames, usque, ad continendum (which is, saith Macrobius) betweene the first crowing
after mid-night and the breake of day: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine
holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot believe either:
for the highest Mountaine of the World knowen, is that of Teneriffe in the Canaria:
which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but
the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Suns company at any such late houres. Besides
these Mountaines which Aristotle calleth Caucasus, are those which separate Colchis from*

Iberia;

Iberia; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth divide both *Colchia*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountaine, which himselfe calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hills which funder *Colchia* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River (it is manifest) yeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

†. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this storie we should take *Ararat* for *Armenia*.

So as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Sybilis* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authority, those men have great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* should fit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or in *verum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hierome*) signifieth high Towers: and so may all high Hills be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hills of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) than to any Hills of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordiai* stand: for *Ptolomie* distinguisheth the Mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordian*, and calleth those of *Armenia* *Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is feared neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side, *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moschici* are those Hills which disjoyn *Colchia*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of *Armenia*, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvaile that the same Ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, should keepe the same name all along: and even in *India* be called *Ararat*.

Lastly, we must blow up this Mountaine *Ararat* it selfe, or else we must digge it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it else where, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) set it East from *Shinaar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountaines which divide *Italie* from *France*, is called the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spainie* is the *Pyrenian*; but as these, being continuations of many Hills, keepe one name in divers Countries: so all that long Ledge of mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, until they encounter and crosse the Mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxia*, *Caspia*, *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Hemiochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diversely called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* calls by one name *Caucasus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountaines which cut afunder *America*, even from the new kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountaines of *Ararat* runne East and West, so doe those marvellous Mountaines of *Imaus* stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Plinie* called these former hills *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hills of *Ararat*. The reason of severall names given by *Ptolomie*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and dis sever; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: having

Plinie in his
description of
§. 64. §. 627.

vying all these Kindomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of *Asia* (both the lesse and the greater) have three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which funder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the lesse on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the River of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the mountaines on her West-banke, and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*; (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertaine appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*; and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, until they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselves *Coatras*, though betweene the upper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at *Marada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Easterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves *Qrontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the River of *Bagradas* riseth, which divideth the ancient *Persian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hircanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the River *Margus*, afterward yeelding her selfe to *Oxus* (now *Abia*): and drawing now neere their wayes end, they first make themselves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*; and lastly of *Caucasus*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hills called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolomie*) that is, betweene *Paropanisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caspian* and *Pontus*.

†. XIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines *Caucasi*, and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

Now in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and River *Janus*, & the Mountaine *Nyseus* (so called of *Bacchus* *Nysens* or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Flood; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his *Indoscythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth, that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34. 35. & 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judaea*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and under these Mountaines *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: & it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, wherethe searchers of the land, by *Moses* direction, found bunches of equal bignes at *Escol*. Now as it is noted, The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hills, *Curtius* witnesseth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaines of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe and his Armie ten daies together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

†. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of divers chiefe points.

And therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also traverse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name

Ls. 427.

name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giveth to this ledge of high Hills, even from *Cilicia* to *Paeonius* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hills of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all betwene *France* and *Spain* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hills for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moses* gave them; the diversitie of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it watheth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and over against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betwene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Dura*, *Adriaticum*: betwene *Athens* and *Asia*, *Aegeum*: betwene *Sestos* and *Abydus*, *Hellespont*: and afterward to *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Denealedonycum*: and on this side, the *Brittaine* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this question we must appeale to that Judge, which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words beare literally, because they are used to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sense is plaine (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selves any new or strange exposition; And (withall) to resolve our selves, that every word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Booke. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as Saint *Augustine* hath taught us touching the Gospel of *CHRIST JESUS* (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit; That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospel (the Disciples of Christ having written it) than if he had scene the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his owne body, setting it downe.*

Gen. 11. 31.

The wordes then of *Moses* which end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode*: which proveth without controversie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the East into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* rested and tooke land to the East-ward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places wheresoever *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries; he alwayes precisely nameth toward what quarters of the world the same were seated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Jofan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth; *And Cain dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden*: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he useth these words; *Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountaine East-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: having Bethel on the West-side, and Hai on the East*: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written; *And Abraham went forth journeying towards the South*: also when *Ezechiel* prophesieth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these Nations of *Togorma* were of the North quarters; and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that *she came from the South to visit Salomon*: And the *Magi* (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer presents unto *Christ*. And that all Regions, and these travailes were precisely set downe upon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Judea*; *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Celofrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palestina*, and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journeying from the East, nor so neere unto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred *soto calo*, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fortie five; and those *Gordian* Mountaines, whereon it was supposed that the *Arke* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are situated in thirtie five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betwene East and West) the *Gordian* Mountaines stand in 75. degrees, and the

Gen. 10. 30.

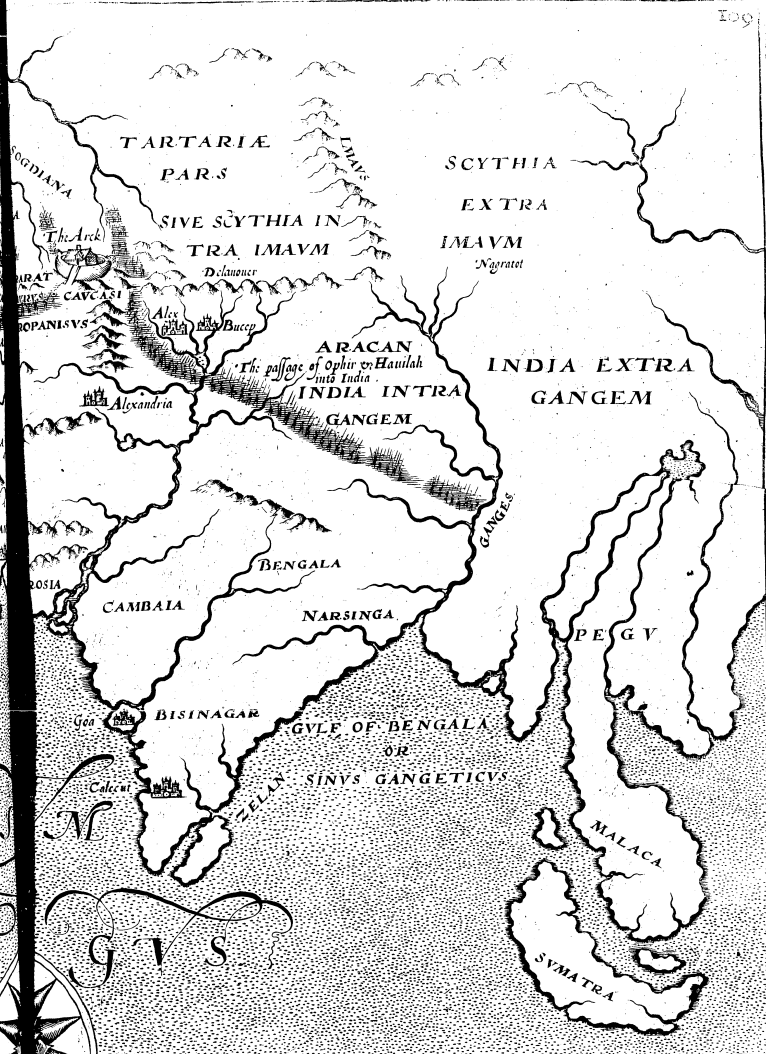
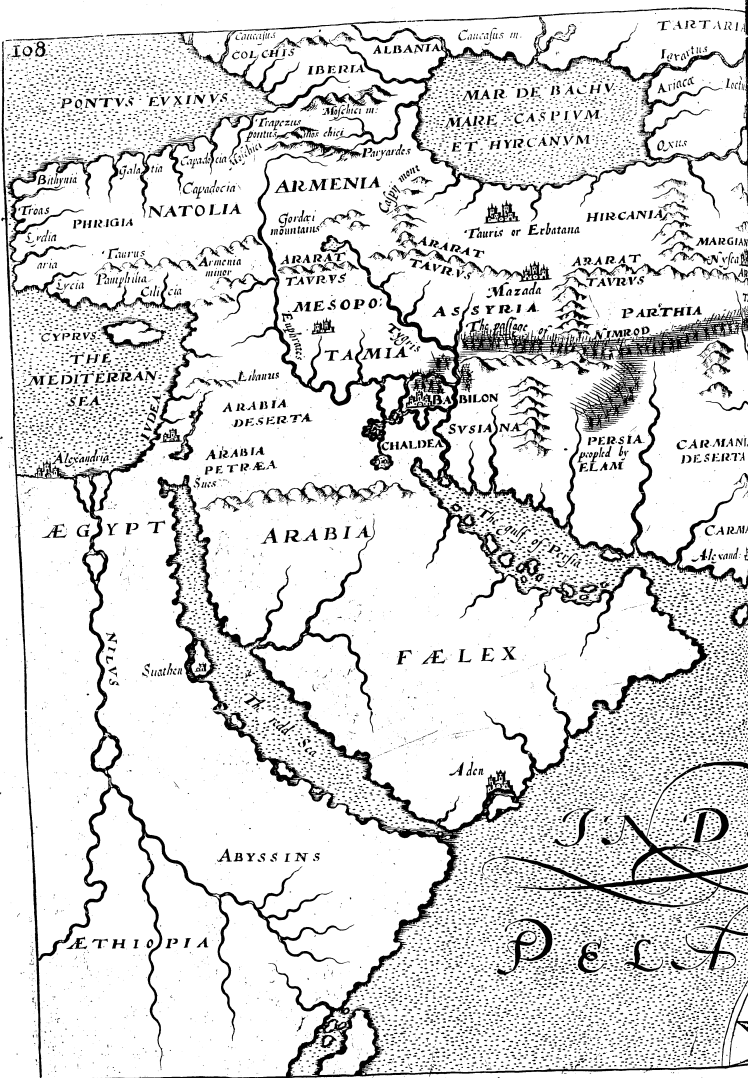
Gen. 11. 6.

Gen. 11. 8.

Ezech. 38. 6.

Matth. 23. 42.

Matth. 23. 42.



the Vally of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* North-west, nintie five degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had bene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compasse. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne us, *In scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabe, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings.* And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not beleve Writers (of litle authority) who also speake by heare-say and by report, *ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the flood; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first civilly, which had *Noah* himselfe for an Instructor: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also which overtopped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that those parts were first planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his words who in plaine termes hath told us, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne Mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moses* the Mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountaines of the North-west, as *Berosus* first faied, whom most part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentiful warme East where *Noah* rested, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero Noacho agriculturae studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamque rem sua ipsius lingua Ilh-Adamath (hoc est) yeluris vir appellatur celebratusque est; The studie of Husbandrie pleased Noah (saith the excellent learned man Arias Montanus) in the knowledge and order of which it is said, that Noah excelled all men: and therefore was hee called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth.* Which also sheweth, that he was no Wanderer; and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning again in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where he was first delivered out of the prison of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preserve him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Flood; and of the Sons of
NOAH, SHEM, HAM, and JAPHET, by whom
the earth was re-peopled.

§. I.

Whether SHEM and HAM were elder than JAPHET.



F these Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. Saint *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Japhet* for the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we finde every where in the Scriptures, and especially in *Moses*, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in yeeres, but in vertue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversie; The *Latine* translation, and so the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. v. 21. in these words: *Unto SHEM also the Father of all the Sonnes of HEBER, and elder brother of JAPHET, were children borne.* But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagins*, placeth the same words in this manner: *to SHEM also the Father of all the Sons of HEBER, and brother of JAPHET the eldest sonne, were children borne.* So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it bene as plaine for *Japhet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in

Aug. de Civit.
Dn. 1. 6. c. 3.

Chaldaea at Ur; and from thence (called by God) he rested at Charran in Mesopotamia; from whence after the death of Thare he travelled to Sichem in Palestina: and yet there had passed between Shem and Abraham (reckoning neither of themselves) seven Descents, before Abraham moved out of Chaldaea; where, and in Babylonia, all those people by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence Nimrod went out into Assyria, and founded Nineve. Indeed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as we can know) were, in that Age of the Issues of Ham; the blessing of God given by Noah to Shem and Japheth taking lesse effect, untill divers yeeres were consumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of Chus, Mizraim, and Canaan, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt, for many Descents together.

§. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in JAPHETH'S portion: of BEROSUS his too speedie seating GOMER, the sonne of JAPHETH in Italie; and another of JAPHETH'S sonnes TUBAL in Spaine: and of the Antiquitie of Longynque Navigation.

TO begin therefore (where Moses beginneth) with the sonnes of Japheth, among whom the Isles of the Gentiles were divided: which division, as well to Japheth's sons as to the rest which came into Shinaar, was (if the division were made at Phleg's birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeeres after the Flood one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of Japheth were the Isles of the Gentiles, which include all Europe with all the Ilands adjoining, and compassing it about: Europe being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea Hellespont and Egeum, Bosporus and Euxinus cut it off from the great Continent of Asia, as also because Europe it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, saving that it is fastned to Asia by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the Meditterran to the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and Britiish, Germane, and Balticke Sea, with that of Glaciale to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the Cyclades or Isles lying between Greece and the lesser Asia, and the Isles of Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, or Candia, Sicilia, Corsica, Sardinia, Malta, the Isles of Brittainie and Zealand, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of Japheth, with the part which he held in Asia, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by Noah, Dilate Deus JAPHETH; Let God spread abroad (or increase the Posteritie of) JAPHETH, and let him dwell in the Tents of Shem. For though Junius here useth the word (allicuius) and not dilate: and the Geneva persvadeth; yet the Septuagint have dilate or amplificare; and such was the blessing given to our Fathers, which God promised to Abraham and his Seede for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of Shem was blessing by God to the Posteritie of Japheth: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to Japheth's sonnes, of whom Gomer is the eldest. This Gomer (if we may beleve Berofus and Anniius, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth yeere of Nimrod's Reign depart from Babylonia, and planted Italie: which also Funfius confirmeth in these words, Anno decimo NIMROD, &c. in the tenth yeere of NIMROD'S Reigne, GOMERUS GALLUS planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the same NIMROD'S Reigne TUBAL seated himselfe in Aufuria in Spaine (now called Biscaj) which was in the 140. and in the 142. yeeres after the Flood, according to BEROSUS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues the children of Noah did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with Nimrod into Shinaar. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as Nimrod had erected (and as Funfius himselfe out of his Author Berofus witnesseth) ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium; To the heighth and magnitude of the Mountaines. Sure that both this Citie and Tower was almost builded, the Scriptures witness: But

the Lord came downe to see the Citie and Tower, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let us then but allow a time sufficient for the making of Bricke to such a Worke, of the greatest height (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was. For where the universall Flood covered the highest Mountaines fiftene Cubits; Let us build us a Citie and Tower (saith NIMROD) whose top may reach unto the Heaven: meaning, that they would raise their Worke above fiftene Cubits higher than the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters, forcibly over-bearing and over-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet Hieremy, speaking of Babylon in these words: Thou that dwellest upon many waters, It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, Glycas upon Genesis giveth forty yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Tower was neere finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written, So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adjoining, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was throwne down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceived not one another's speech. Now to thinke that this worke in the newnesse of the World (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeeres; and that Tubal and Gomer in the same yeere could creepe through 3000. miles of Desert, with Women, Children, and Cartell: let those light Beleevers, that neither tie themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason approve it, for I doe not. And if the Arke of Noah was 100. yeeres in building, or but neere such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. yeeres, it were more than foolishnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Flood to the arrivall at Babel, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeeres, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the East. Again, if all Asia set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of Diana, and yet they consumed in that Work 400. yeeres (or be it but halfe that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Tower of Babel could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few yeeres remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of judgement weigh with themselves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cartell, to travell 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Deserts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 1000. yeeres than of 100. dayes. For in the West Indies, of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places wherethey found neither Path nor Guide, they have not entered the Countrey ten miles in ten yeeres. And if Nimrod's people spent many yeeres by the account before remembered in passing from the East India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, untill they came into Shinaar which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance betweene those places containyng 36. Degrees, which makes 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) & did all the way keep the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene Babylon and Biscaj is much more: for the bodie of Biscaj lyeth in ten Degrees, and Babylon or Shinaar, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from Shinaar to Aufuria or Biscaj is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if Nimrod tooke divers yeeres to find Shinaar, which was but 2160. miles: or (supposing that the Arke rested in Armenia) little above 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeeres to Gomer and Tubal to travell 3000. miles, to Countreies lesse knowne unto them by far, than the Land of Shinaar was to Nimrod. For Paradise was knowne to Noah before the Flood: and so was the Region of Eden by Moses afterward remembered; but what hee understood of most part of the World else it is unknowne. And therefore did Anniius ill advise himself to plant Gomer in Italie, and Tubal in Spaine, in the tenth and twelfth of Nimrod's

Hs. 66. v. 8.

roads Reign: Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be borne at once? But it may be objected, That the Sonnes of *Japheth* might come by Sea, and so save this great travail through Desarts by Land. But wenever reade of any Navigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke so great a people as we may justly suppose those Conductors carryed with them, will not easily believe that there were any Vessels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whose milke they lived and fed their Children: For Milke and Fruit were the banquetting Dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Herds and numbers of their Cattell: who had Flockes of Sheepe, and great Drowes, and Herds of their owne, and their owne Sheep-herds and Heardsmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, he might have made good choice within the Streights, and not have gone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Provinces in that Tract: past the Streights of *Gibraltar*, disdayned all *Andalusia*, and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countreies, and have fought out the iron, woody, and barren Countrie of the World (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the *Argonautæ*, there were scarce any Vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the world: and yet that which *Jason* had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance such as they use this day in *Ireland*: which although it carryed but foure and fifty Passengers, yet it was farre greater than any of the former times: *Er at enim antea parvarum navicularum usus: For in former times they used very small Vessels.* I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gave themselves of old to far-off Navigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the invention of Ships unto them:

Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4. fol. 115.

Yt. 11. l. 7. Strabo l. 6.

Primatatem ventis credere doli Tyrus.

Tyrus knew first how ships might use the Wind.

Diod. Sicul. l. 4. c. 4. fol. 115.

Tibull.

Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Euseb. de prep. Evang. l. 1. Tit. de coronat.

And for those Boats called *longæ naues* or Gallies, *Pliny* saith that *Ægeas* ascribed the device to *Phæolus*: and *Philostephanus* to *Jafon*: *Ctesias* to *Savvyras*; and *Sapbanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Ægeon*: to which invention the *Erythrai* are said to have added certain numbers of Oares: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to have increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to have brought them to foure Banks: the *Quing*, *Remi* first to have beene used by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which vessels in those parts of the World, the *Romans* served themselves in the *Punicke* Warre. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these Gallies on *Sesiosiris*, though *Semiramis* used them in the passage of her Armie over *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the invention; and yet *Tertullian* (on the contrarie) gives it to *Minerva*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Egyptians* used to coast the Shores of the Red Sea upon rasses, devised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittains* had a kind of Boat (with which they crosse the Seas) made of small twigs, and covered over with Leather: of which kind I have seene at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naues excoriorum circumfusa in Oceano Britannico* (saith *Tertor*): of which *Lucan* the Poet.

Primum cana salix, made facta vimine parvam
Texitur in puppim, casq; induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum superciliarum amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusq; Britannus
Navigat Oceano.

The moystned Osyer of the hoarie Willow
Is woven first into a little Boar:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes hide, upon the billow
Of a proud river, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-swelling *Poe*
Sailes the *Venetian*: and the *Brittaine* too
On th' out-spreed Ocean,

And

And although it cannot be denied, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Navigation were first revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference betweene the *Arke* of *Noah*, and such Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew; that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long Voyages to Sea, at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as also common reason can tell us, that even now when this Art is come to her perfection, such Voyages are very troublefome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or use of Ships fit for any long Navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of Navigation would not have beene dead for so many hundred yeares after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joynd both Nature, Reason, Policie, and Necessitie: and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibilitie.

§. III.

Of *Gog* and *Magog*, *Tubal*, and *Meshech*, seated first about *Asia*
the lesse, out of *Ezechiel*, CAP. 38. 39.

NOW although many Learned and Reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus* was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Josephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errors withall, so was he in the Plantation of the World very grosse and fabulous; whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his testimonies for current, have beene by him farre misse-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the first sonne of *Japheth* posselt, as also *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog*: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names have troubled many Commentators, saith *Marth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this Plantation. Hee takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or Chiefe Conductor in their Attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Japheth* Issues posselt, all *Asia* the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezechiel* speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie upon the former Prophecies in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophesieth of the uniting of the two Kingdomes of *Israel* and *Juda*, after their deliverie from captivity.

By which Prophecies of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; *And DAVID my Servant shall be King over them, and they shall have one Sheepheard*, (that is) they shall be united as they were in *Dauids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophesieth against those Nations, which should seek to impeach this Union, and disturbe the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infected the *Israelites* after their returne, and fought to subiect them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Celsyrians*, next bordering *Palestina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the lesse, which lay North from *Judas*. The words of *Ezechiel* are these: *Sonne of man, set thy face against Gog, and against the Land of MAGOG, the chiefe Princes of MESSECH (or MOSOCH) and TUBAL: and afterward; Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of MESSECH and TUBAL: and in the sixth verse; GOMER and all his Bands, and the house of TOGORMA of the North quarters.* Herein *Ezechiel* having first delivered

the

In Ezech.

Ezech. 16.

Strabo lib. 13.

Strabo lib. 13.

Strabo lib. 13.

Strabo lib. 13.

the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vanitie assayle Israel. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were in the North quarters of *Juda*, and how seated and joynted together. *Gog* signifieth in the Hebrew (saith Saint Hierome) *speculum* or *covering of a house*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith he) *Antichristus erit Diaboli regnum sub specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devil under humane forme*. He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the Letter (*M*) being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: so hee taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So farre *Pintus*; at least in this not a misse, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation: with which agreeth this observation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog* (saith he) in Hebrew is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*H*) which is used but for an *Emphasis* (which the Hebrews call *Heliasedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech*, (or *Mosch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: Behold I come against thee *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*. This must needs bee meant by the Successours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Jewes* their Tributaries only, but indeavourd by all means, and by all kinde of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the Hebrews profest) and the acknowledgement of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. Saint *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike because they invaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who sayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominatd from him whom the *Greekes* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having slaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygeum* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis* *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum flugnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicanor* set it about the Rivers of *Hilus*, and *Manasder*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after he had subdued the Countrey about the River *Rhodus* which runneth into the *Helleffus*, called the Promontorie *Trapeze* after his owne name *Gyges*. These Opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Junius*. For *Magog*, saith he, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyater* obtained, and after him his Sonne *Cresus*; who (as *Junius* further notes) having mastered all those Regions as farre South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the Citie *Gigaria* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Calosyria*, whose people were the ancient Enemies of the *Jewes*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Calosyria*, *Plinie* affirmeth, saying; *Calosyria habet Bamyce, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur: Syris verò Magog; Calosyria habet in it Bamyce, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur*. He further telleth us that the monstrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes* *Derecto*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yet hee expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as founding nothing elegantly in the *Greeke*. But if wee may beleve *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Orellius* is doubtful whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palestina*, and were both subjeunto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now I doe not condemne the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Josephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might also bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Calosyria*, and the North parts adjoining bee meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to bee denyed, that the *Scythians*

in old times coming out of the North-east waited the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and posselt *Calosyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Judaea*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolomies*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successours of *Seleucus*, the Successour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrim* thinks that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to have beene called *Bambyce*, as we have said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name: now the known name is *Aleppo*: for so *Belonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermayde *Atergatis*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Derecto*.

If then we conferre the words of *Ezechiel*, in the third verse of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meshech* and *Tubal*; and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Judaea*: with whom also *Ezechiel* completh *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were Northern Nations in respect of *Judaea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spain*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Calosyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Josephus*, and whosoever else hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Josephus* referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* passe into *Spain* (to wit) from that piece of Land betweene *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part posselt by the *Georgians*) then is his judgement of better allowance. For without any repugnance of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceesse of time these people might from their first habitation, passe into the Countre neere the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in After-Ages into *Spain*.

Josephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Tubelors*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (saith *Justine*) they passed into *Spain* to search out the Mines of that Region: having belike understood that it was a Southerly Countre, and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Calybes* lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them:

*Hægens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant;*

The *Calybes* plough not their barren foyle
But undermine high Hills for Iron Veines:
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle
For Merchandize, which their poore lives sustaines;

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever finden an affection to returne thither, and to re-peopple it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawne to passe over the Streights into that Countrey: and after by the *Moors* who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth yeere of *Nimrods* Reigne, *Tubal* past into *Spain*, and therein built Saint *Pual*: a poore Towne, and a poore device, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde *Mosch* or *Meshech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarm* not farre off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarm* their assistants. And that *Meshech* inhabited *Asia*, *Frontinus* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these be his words: *Mesachus, qui à MOSE MESACH: prisca Messos ab Adulamento usq; ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua vultus Messos, &c. hæc est Asia Magog principatus; Mesachus, whom MOSE called Mesach, placed the ancient Messians*

Mesians from the Mount Adulas, unto the Coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Maçica, &c. this is the principall Countrey of Magog. And this doth Annus also avow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mesch and Tubal: and therefore that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadocians, is very ridiculous; Spaine lying directly West, and not North from Judaea. Also Ezechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mesch and Tubal jointly. And for a finall prooffe, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how farre soever stretched) Ezechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude and a mighty.* Then if any man believe that these troupes came out of Spaine, over the Pyrenes, and first passed over a part of France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued againe about the Hellespont, or else compassed all Pontus, and Euxinus, to come into the lesser Asia, which is halfe the length or compass of the then knowne World; he may be called a strong believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary, it is knowne, that Seleucia was a Province neighbouring Palestina or Judaea, and that Hierapolis (or Magog) joyntly unto it: whose Princes commanded all Syria, and Asia the lesse, (namely, the Seleucida) and held it, till Scipio Asiaticus overthrew Antiochus the Great: after which they yet possesse Syria till the time of Tigranes: and whether Mesch be in Cappadocia, or under Iberia, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the same Dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be said. First, he seated himselfe with Togorma, not farre from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward he proceeded further into Asia the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all Germanie, rested long in France and Brittainie, and possessed the utmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as Melancthon well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *Utmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great Ocean, thence did they returne upon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our Antiquities M. William Camden hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie Robbers; necessity informing them to spoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere joynd, as afterwards in the feares which they possessed. For that the Warlike nations of Germany were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the Gauls, the authoritie of Caesar affirming it, is prooffe sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer Conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into Asia the lesse, and occupied those parts, which had formerly bene held by their Progenitours. I say not that they claymed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in Asia, because in late Ages they returned thither; unless he will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre parts have invaded and conquered the Land of Shinaar, may by that Argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning Samoths, for his excellent wisdome surnamed *Dio*, whom Annus makes the Brother of Gomer and Tubal (which Brother, Moses never heard of, who spake his knowledge of Japheths sonnes) they must find him in some old Poet: for Functius, a great Berosian, confesseth: *Quis hic Samoths fuerit incertum est; Who this Samoths was, it is uncertaine;* neither is there any prooffe that he was that same *Dio*, whom Celsus saith the Gauls suppose to be their Ancestors, yea, and Vignier confesseth with Functius: *Mays on ne sçait qui il estoit; No man knowes who he was.*

§. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus his fiction, That the Italian Janus was Noah.

BUT before I goe on with Noah his Sonnes, I thinke it is necessarie to disprove the fiction which Annus hath of Noah himselfe, an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wrested) by those Authors of whom

himselfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of Berosus, Fabius, Fictor, Cato, Lavinius and others. For Annus seeks to perfwade us, that Noah (surnamed Janus) was the same which founded Genoa, with other Cities in Italie, wherein he lived 92. yeeres. This to disprove, by Moses silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of Babel, Erech, Achad, Chalne and Nineve by Nimrod, Noah was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disprove the authoritie of that Berosus, on whom Annus groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, Tatianus the Assyrian, in his Oration against the Greekes, avoweth, that the ancient and true Berosus wrote onely three Bookes, dedicated to Antiochus the successor of Seleucus Nicanor: but Annus hath deviled five Bookes, wherewith he honoureth Berosus. And whereas Berosus handled only the estate of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, Annus hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the World. And if we may believe Eusebius better than Annus, then all the Kings of the Latines (before Aeneas) consumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from Noah to Aeneas arrivall into Italy there past 1126. (after the least rate of the Hebrew account) and (after Codoman) 1291. For Janus (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with Ruth, who married Boaz, in the Worlds yeere (as some reckon) 2717. after the Flood 1064. and Noah dyed 350. yeeres after the Flood: and so there past betwene Janus of Italie and Noah surnamed Janus 704. yeeres. For Saturnus succeeded Janus, Picus after Saturnus, Fannus after Picus, and Latinus followed Fannus: which Latinus lived at once with Tautanus the 27. King of Assyria; with Pelagius of Peloponnesus; with Demophon of Athens; and Sampson Judge of Israel. Now all these five Kings of the Latines having consumed but one hundred and fiftie yeeres; and the last of them in the time of Sampson: then reckoning upwards for one hundred & fiftie yeeres, and it reacheth Ruth, with whom Janus lived.

True it is, that the Greekes had their Janus; but this was not Noah: so had they Ion the sonne of Xuthus, the sonne of Deucalion, from whom they draw the *Tones*, who were indeed the children of Javan, the fourth sonne of Japheth. For the vulgar Translation (where the Hebrew word is Javan) writes Greece, and the Septuagint, Hellen; which is the same. So had they Medus the son of Madae, whom they make the Parent of the Medes, though they were descended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) Madai the third son of Japheth.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the Brittain Language hath remayned among us above 2000. yeeres, and the English speech ever since the invasion of the Angles, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange if either Noah (by them called Janus) had left in Italie his Grand-child Gomer after him, or Tubal in Spaine, that no plaine resemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have bene found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall Plantations of Janus, Gomer, Tubal, &c. in Italie, Spaine, or France, are meerey fabulous. Let the Italians therefore content themselves with the Gracian Janus, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of Troy but 150. yeeres (saith Eusebius) which was in the time of Latinus, the fift King: which also Saint Augustine and Justine confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Peïta* (others *Camisena*), the wife of this Janus, who instituted the holy Fire of the Vestal Virgins in Rome (the Latines and Romans taking from Janus all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleve that Noah himselfe (who is said by Moses to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungratefull, to set up or devise any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any Ceremonie contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

§. VI.

That GOMER also and his sonne TOGORMA of the Posterity of JAPHETH, were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spread Westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.

TO turne now to the sons of Noah, and the Worlds Plantation after the Flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere; it was in such a manner as that they might repayre to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: because the Land was yet Defart, and over-prest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, & rotten Marishes. As when Nimrod seated in Babylonia, Chus took the South part of Chaldeas, down the River of Gehon, by which he might passe to & fro from Babylon to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the race of Shem, inhabiting at Ur or Orchoa near the Lakes of Chaldaas, might by the same river get up to Babylon, and receive succour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon Gehon Southward, Moses in the description of Paradise calleth the Land of Chush: because the Dominion and Empire, was then in the hands of Nimrod a Chusite, by whom the children of Shem (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while opprest, till God afterward by the seed of Abraham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimrod, and braham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimrod, and braham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimrod, and braham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimrod, and braham made them his owne Nation and victorious.

which River his people might also passe to and fro to Babel.

The Imperiall seat of which Region of Havilah or Susian, was anciently called Chush, or Chusan, afterward Susa. Chush himselfe tooke the Bankes of Gehon, and planted those Countries Westward, and Southward towards Arabia the Stony, and the Defart, where Ptolome placeth the Citie of Chusidia, first Chusia.

Ptol. Asia lib. 4.

Seba, and Sheba, with the rest that planted Arabia felix, had Tygris, to convey them into the Persian gulf, which watheth the bankes of Arabia felix on the East side: so as those sons of Chush might take Land downe the River as they pleased. Also the Citie of Ninive was by Nimrod founded on the said river of Tygris; and from thence a Colony past to Charran, standing also upon a navigable branch of Euphrates. In like manner did Japheths sonnes settle themselves together, and tooke their seats in Asia the lesse from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the Gentiles. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal, late downe first of all in that part of Syria, to the North of Palestina and Phancia: and from thence Gomer or his children past on into Asia the lesse, as those of Magog and Tubal did; from whence the Tubalines spread themselves into Iberia: & the Magogians more Northerly into Sarmatian. The first Gomerians, and first Planters in Asia the lesse, held the Country of the Cymmerians (whence Herodotus) the same Region which was afterward by the Gallo-Greeks called Galatia, to whom Saint Paul wrote his Epistle so intitled. This Nation of the Cymmerians (whom the invincible Scythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountaines about Albania (called Cymmerini) and to the Citie of Cymmeria in Phrygia: also Bosphorus Cymmerius took appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Citie of that name, called Cymmerian: which Plinie saith (mistaking the place) had sometime the name of Cerberion, but Cerberion was a Towne in Campania, so called of the unhealthfull waters favouring of Brimstone, which Augustus caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake Lucrinus.

lib. 4.

The children of Tubal ranged as farre as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were Neighbours, which others write Meshech. The Prophet Ezechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Meshech and Tubal. For these Meschs (which Ptolome calleth Moschi) inhabit Syracena a Province of Armenia, directly South from the Mountaines Moschici, in the Valley betweene the Mountaines Moschici, and the Mountaines Parionides: out of whose North part springeth the River Phasis, from the East part Araxes, and from the West Euphrates: and of this Meshech are descended also the Moscovians (first Melanchon) and it may be, that in proceſſe of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For Meshech (saith Melanchon) significth extendens, enlarging or stretching forth.

forth. Togorma also at first did inhabit amongst his parents and kindred: The Togormians were also called Giblei, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a Tetrarchie of Phenicia, the same which Plinie calleth Gaben: from whence Salomon had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of Hierusalem. Thence the Togormians stretched into the lesse Armenia, whose Kings were hence called Tigranes, and their Cities Tigranokarta: of which Cities Tigranes, subdued by Lucullus the Roman, built one. Hieropolymitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbary, forgetting the prophesie of Ezechiel against the Tyrians: They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy Faeces, horses, and Judg. 17. 14. horse-men, and mules, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterranean Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But Josephus takes them for the parents of the Phrygians; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards; but it was from Iberia, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of Nimrods reigne. The Jewes conceive that the Turkes came of those Togormians, because their Emperor is called Tigor. The Chaldeans make them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Laonicus affirmeth, that the Turkes descended of the Crim Tartar, which borders Muscovia. But for these subdivisions it were infinit to examine them. Onely of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the flood, is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must Note, that those grand-children of Noah which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse understanding, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies sent out, their proper habitations could be hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the same of others, who tooke on them the Conduccion and Dominion over the rest.

From Madai the third sonne of Japheth, were the Medes. The Grecians bring them (as before) from Medus the sonne of Medea.

§. VII.

Of Javan the fourth son of Japheth: and of Melch of Aram, and Meshech of Japheth.

OF Javan the fourth sonne of Japheth came the Iones, which were afterwards called the Greekes: and so the Latine & Greeke Interpreters for Javan write Greece, as in Esay: Et mittam ex eis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italian, & Greciam: And I will find those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. The Geneva here useth the word (Tarshish) for Tarsus, a City in Cilicia, though Tarshis in many places betaken for the Sea. The Tigurine and the Geneva use the names Tubal and Javan, and not Italy and Greece: keeping the same Hebrew words. Of the Iones were the Athenians, though themselves dreame that they were Aborigines, or men without Antecessors, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into Asia the lesse, of whom came the Iones of those parts. Others derive the Athenians from Ion the son of Xuthus, the son of Deucalion; but the antiquity of Javan marres the fashion of that supposition, who so many yeeres preceded Xuthus, Ion or Deucalion. Pausanias tels us that Xuthus stole out of Thebais with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at Athens, he was graciously received by Erichon, who gave him his Daughter in marriage, of whom he received two sonnes, Ion and Achaeus, the supposed Antecessors of the Athenians: (For Attica was called Ionis, saith Plutarch in the life of Theseus; who, when he had joyned Megara to Attica, erected a pillar in that Isthmos or Strait, which fastneth Peloponnesus to the other part of Greece: Writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: Haec non sunt Peloponnesus, sed Ionia; These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia: and on the other side which looked towards the South, and into Peloponnesus, this: These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.

Thucyd.

Strabo our of Hecataeus affirmeth that the Iones came out of Asia into Greece; which is contrary to the former opinion: That the Iones of Greece transporting certaine companies into Asia the lesse, the name of Iones was thereby therein retained. And though Strabo knew no more thereof than he learned of the Greekes themselves, yet I finde this conjecture of Hecataeus reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknowne, yet sure I am that Asia the lesse had people before Greece had any: and that Javan did not flie from

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Babylon

Babylonia into Greece, but tooke *Asia* the leſſe in his paſſage; and from thence paſt over the neereſt way, leaving his owne name to ſome maritime Province on that ſide, as hee did to that part of *Greece* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelfe beleeveth, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the ſon of *Xanthus*: for ſo much he had learned from themſelves; which was alſo the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times caſt themſelves into that part of *Asia* the leſſe, oppoſite unto them, which they held for divers yeeres. And howſoever the *Greekes* vaunt themſelves to be Fathers of Nations, and the moſt ancient; yet all approved Hiſtorians (not their owne) deride and diſprove their pride, and vanity therein. For this diſpute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) reſted betwene the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*; as *Juſtine* out of *Trogus*; in the warre betweene *Pexorus* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded farre the reigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is alſo maniſeſt, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all ſavages, without law or religion, living like brute beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith *Saint Auguſtine*) lived together with *Noſes*.

Lib. 1. de Civ. Dei.

The fixth ſonne of *Japheth* was *Meſhech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Meſech*: (a part of thoſe Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*.) But this we muſt remember, that betweene *Meſech* the ſonne of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Meſech*) the ſonne of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diverſly written. *Montanus* with the *Vulgar* writeth *Meſech*, the ſonne of *Aram*, *Mes* in the *Geneva*, *Maſh*; *Junius*, *Meſch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Pſalme*; that eyther *Meſhech* the ſonne of *Japheth*, was the parent of thoſe people, or gave name to that Province wherein *David* hid himſelfe: or elſe (which may rather ſeeme) that it tooke name from *Meſch* the ſonne of *Aram*. For *David* bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) ſuſeth theſe words: *Woe is me that I remaine in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habitum inquam Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* gives it this ſenſe: *Woe is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt: habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldaean* otherwiſe, and in theſe words: *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum*: O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among thoſe of *Asia*: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians. But howſoever or which ſoever convention be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petraea*; and the *Chaldaean* putteth *Asia* in ſtead of *Meſech*, but the *Hebrew* it ſelfe hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſch* the ſonne of *Aram*, 1. *Chron.* 17. is called *Meſhech*, it is indifferent whether this Nation took e name from *Meſhech* or *Meſch*, both bordering *Judaea*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Excehiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Meſoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcovian*: ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. And ſure I am that *David* never travelled ſo farre Northward (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Meſoch* the Father of the *Muſcovians*; and herein alſo *Melanchton* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, though with ſome better advice of judgement; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Pſalme*, (*Hei mihi quid exulo in Meſech*) to ſignifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem in ſignem eſſe*: That the ferity of that Nation exceeded; which fierceneſſe or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the ſame ferity or cruelty which thoſe Northern *Muſcovians* had, may aſwell be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country tooke name of *Kedar* the ſecond ſonne of *Iſmael*, of whom a people of equal fierceneſſe to any of the world were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people): the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen.* 16. v. 12. And he ſhall be a wilde man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, & every mans hand againſt him. Now the *Arabia* the *Deſart* (ſaith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians* *Cochlei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedrei* Southward, both which joyne together upon the *Nabathæi*. So it appeareth (as before

before) that *Meſech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Mageg*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyne to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the leſſe, commanded by the Succellors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But (as I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Cappadocia*) might paſſe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and given names, both to *Maſſegai* in the one, and to the Mountaine *Mofchici* in the other, and from thence might fend people more Northerly into *Muſcovia*, & ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſavage Nations over-grown and uncultivated, doe (for the moſt part) they a late plantation, even as Civility, Letters, and magnificent Building, witneſſe antiquity.

Tiras, the ſeventh ſonne of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the ſonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirme. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeake of the ſonnes of *Gomer*, which were three,

Aſcanex, *Riphat*, and *Togorma*.

§. VII.

Of *Aſcanex* and *Riphat*, the two elder Sonnes of *Gomer*.

Aſcanex was the Father of thoſe which the *Greekes* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no reaſon why. *Eufebius* makes *Aſcanex* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*; but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Rivers of *Hilas* and *Cio*: *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were defended of the *Aſcanex*: (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanex*, prepoſito articulo die *Aſcanex*) & that the word ſignifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the lake *Aſcania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer* like unto God: becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *Os kumer*: ſq; *Deo ſimilis*; in face and body like one of the Gods: *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſucha River, together with the Hills *Gargara*: as, *Ilus ducit amor trans Gargara, tranſq; ſonaniem* *Aſcanium*: Appetite leads them both over the Mountains *Gargara*, and the roaring *Aſcanius*. But this *Pliny* maketh more plaine in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoining to *Myſia*, and is neere the border of the *Trojan Empire*: and the Lake *Aſcanex* he directs us to finde by the deſcription of *Pruiſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth farre within the Countreys of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruiſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles; in which way this Lake lyeth, even betweene *Pruiſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanex* to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus* of *urbibus* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Aeneas*: ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Proſperus* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a River, and a Towne in *Phrygia*, neere unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruiſia* (before ſpoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes*.

Now, whether theſe places tooke name of *Aſcanex* the ſon of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the ſonne of *Aeneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Aeneas* ſon, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn: and it ſeemeth that the Countreys whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Asia* the leſſe, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanex*; by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which decieve not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* wee ſhall learne of what Nation the *Aſcanex* were, whoſe words are theſe: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations againſt her, call up the Kings of Ararat, Mimi, and Aſcanex* &c. againſt

against her, &c. meaning against the Babylonians. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Interpreters consent, to called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name, (saith *Junius* and others before him :) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phenicia*, and *Palästina*; and therefore *Metopopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the story of *Jacob* and *Esaü*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Assanex* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the spoyle of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shall erre much to call *Assenex* Germany or *Almaine*: for we heare of no swart *Ruttiers* at that siege. But the *Assenex* were of those Nations which were either subject or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Josephus*, who calls them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jewes*, who will have them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphab* the second sonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Percius* thinke that he wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary; but that he might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no room or soyle in those dayes for all the soones and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphab*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Josephus*) called the *Paphlagonians*: and *Riphei* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Gyants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, The greatest number of the *Sarmatians* were the *Heneti*; who spake the ancient *Polace*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the love of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Russia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croft thwart the Land, and peopled *Ilyria*, desirous (saith *Melanchton*) of a warmer soile of Fruit and Wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betwene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Russia*. This Nation, after they were posselt of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, disturbed the plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore, it seemeth to me, that of *Riphab*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus*, first seated in *Paphlagonia*, but in course of time Lords of *Piskula* and *Albis*. The name (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which lived by White-meats and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third sonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have spoken already; now therefore of *Javans* children, which were four:

Elisa, *Tharhis*, *Cethim*, *Dodanum*.

§. IX.

Of foure sonnes of *Javan*: and of the double signification of *Tharhis*, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.

OF *Elisa* or *Elipha*, came the *Aoles*: and of this *Elisa*, all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, saith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Aoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greekes* were descended in generall of *Javan*, it is probable that the *Aoles* & the *Elei*, tooke name of *Elisa*, his eldest sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Isles of *Elisa*; *Hyacinthus* & *Purpurea* de insulis *Elisa* *salta* (sum opemimum rum: Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Isles of *Elisa*, was thy covering. The *Chaldeans* for *Elisa* write *Italia*: but the *Phalgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keepe the word *Elisa*: and so I thinke they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in *Italia*

in those dayes, nor since, that I can read of: but those Isles of *Elisa*, were by a better conjecture the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coast of *Getulia*.

Tharhis, the second Sonne of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharhis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharhis* in *Cilicia*, underlands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldean* *Taraphast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharhis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of *Salomon* went every three yeares to *Tharhis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldean* *Taraphast* translates *Tharhis* (*Africa*). But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Ezion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, neere unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petraea*, *Idumaea*, or of the *Chusites*; and they sayled to the higher part of the East India. For it had beene a strange Navigation to have spent three yeares in the passage betwene *Judea* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have beene sayled in fixe or ten dayes. And if so great riches might have bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon have entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this sort written: in the first of *Kings*: Also King *Salomon* made a Navie of Ships in *Ezion-Gaber*, which is beside *Elath* and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of *Edom*: and Hyam sent with the Navie his servants: that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of *Salomon*: and they came to *Ophir*, and fet from thence 420 Talents of Gold, &c. But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the world like unto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word used for the Sea in generall) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phanicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharhis* had the greatest Shippes, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharhis* used often for the Sea. And whereas it is said that the Shippes of *Salomon* went every three yeares to *Tharhis*, that phrase is not strange at all; for wee use it ordinarily wherefoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are fet out every yeare, or every three yeares to the Sea, and therefore *Tharhis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but used for the Sea it selfe. But in this place *Tharhis* is truly taken for *Tharhis*, the chiefe City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharhis* the second sonne of *Javan*, or by his Successors in memory of their first Parent. To this City arrived *Alex. Macedon*, before he gave the first overthrow to *Darius*, and casting himselfe into the River to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharhis* was *S. Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sonnes inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adjoining) *Javan*, who was to passe over the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Tones* on that shore: gave the Islands betwene *Asia* the lesse and *Greece*, to *Elisa*, and left *Tharhis* upon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of whom that City tooke name.

The third sonne of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romanes* and *Italians*, saith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voyce plurall (saith he) and signifieth *percussors*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esaü* 27. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæ calamitas ab Elai prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse everiores Tyri ex terra Cithim*: This calamity (saith *Melanchton*) was foretold by *Elai* the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Destroyers of *Tyre* were come out of *Cithim*. And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, which came to them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also *Cithim* might be taken for *Italy*, saith *Beroaldus*) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophecie, which tooke effect by the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who after 7. Moneths siege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces seven thousand princiall Citizens; strangled two thousand, and changed the freedome of 13. thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appeare plainly in the first of the *Maccabees*, in these words: After that *Alexander the Macedonian*,

the sonne of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Josephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Countie of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witnesseth *Laertius*;) which City *Pinitus* upon *Exochel* affirmeth, that it stood in Saint Hieromes time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times be so called also; and yet because *Tharbis* was the very next and in that sense might Cyprus be so called also; and yet because *Tharbis* was the very next Port to Cyprus, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharbis*: and finding that the Hebrews were called the Islands of *Cethim*: were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent Colonies over the *Aegan* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*. 10

Dodanim the fourth sonne of *Javan*, and the youngest Brother (by the most opinions) fate downe at *Rhodes*, as neere *Cethim*, *Tharbis*, and *Elisa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are used indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew (*D*) and the Hebrew (*R*) are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all Hebrews affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted foyle in Cyprus: so *Dodanim* (seated in a far less Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodanim* himselfe, yet his Posterity might give it that name in the memory of their first Parent, as it hapned all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountaines, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many years after: every of their Families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Rivers, as to things (after their judgements) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the sonne of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldaa*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the sonnes of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe) travelled Southward in *Arabia felix*, and South-westward into *Arabia petraea*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adjoining to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner tooke the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palestina* adjoining. The sonnes of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the sons of *Shem*, which spread themselves towards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were four:

Chush, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

§. X.

That the seat of *Chush* the eldest son of *Ham*, was in *Arabia*, not in *Aethiopia*: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded on the mistaking of this point.

†. 1.

Of Josephus his Tale of an *Aethiopian* wife of *Moses*, grounded on the mistaking of the seat of *Chush*.

That *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Psalm, verse 51. Then Israel came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the land of *Ham*: and in the 78. Psalm, He slew all the first-borne in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of *Ham*. There is also

also found a great City in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis*: (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder sonne of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I have already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proved that *Chush* could not be *Aethiopia*: yet seeing it cometh now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther prooffe to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the *Septuagint* and *Josephus* have herein failed, that *Chush* could not be *Aethiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desert: which Regions *Chush* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first fate downall together. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. v. 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speake of *Nabuchodonosors* Conquests. For whereas *Josephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place Num. 12. v. 1. as also elsewhere, understand *Chush* for *Aethiopia*, we must give credit to *Moses* himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that *Josephus* was grossly mistaken, or vainly led by his owne invention. For *Josephus* presuming that *Chush* was *Aethiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, Num. 12. ver. 1. is called a woman of *Chush*) was a woman of the land of *Aethiopia*, saith that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Aethiopia*, fell in love with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtaine *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it selfe, and to deliver it into *Moses* hands. The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Josephus*. After he hath described the strength of the *Aethiopian* City *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Chambyfes* called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum Moses desideret exercitum otiosum aggreferet, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Aethiopum Regi filia duxque nomine Tharbis, &c.* which tale hath this sense in English: When *Moses* was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged durst not sally and come to bandy-strokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The *Aethiopian* King had a Daughter called *Tharbis*, who at some assaults given, beheld the person of *Moses*, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that *Moses* had not only up-held and restored the falling estate of the *Egyptians*, but had also brought the conquering *Aethiopians* to the very brink of subversion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, she made meanes to send unto him by one of her truest servants, to offer her selfe unto him, and become his Wife; which *Moses* on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession; whereunto she condescending, and *Moses* having taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

†. II.

A dispute against the tale of *Josephus*.

His Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Josephus* fashioned, & therein also utterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Aethiopia*: as he names *Aethiopia* it selfe to have bin the Country of *Moses* his Wife, when (indeed) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Aethiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne, teach us, laying, that the *Sabaens* are *Arabians* & not *Aethiopians*; except *Josephus* can persuade us, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wisdom of *Salomon*, were a Negro, or Blacke-Moore. And though *Damianus à Goes* speake of certaine Letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Prefter John*, of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Aethiopian* King would persuade the *Portugals* that he was descended of the Queene of *Saba* and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Son by that great Princeesse: which had it beene true, it is likely that when *Sihac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem*, his Brother (the Sonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who joyned upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aide and succour to *Roboam* against *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to have beene an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach

us, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Jethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, over against the body of *Egypt*, and neere *Ezion-Gaber*, where *Salamon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumaea* joyneeth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North, to *Arabia Petraea* by the East, to the *Mediterranean* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if we marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appeare that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it selfe, he had formerly lived fortie yeares; where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing up in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Josephus* confesseth, and *Saint Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side, this Text makes much against *Josephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second Therefore *Moses* fled from *Pharao*, and dwelt in the Land of *Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Ethiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expresse, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, When *Moses* kept the sheepe of *Jethro* his Father in Law Priest of *Madian*, and drove the Flocke to the Desert, and came to the Mountaine of God in *Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Ethiopia*, every Infant knoweth. And if we may beleve *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Josephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Country and Friends) neither had he the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was she a *Negro*, but a *Madianitess*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd to call *Moses*, and after him *David*, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For *Moses*, sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel* from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whose Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

From hence also came *Jethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumaea*, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weightie charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Familie. And if *Jethro* had beene an *Ethiopian*, it had beene a faire progresse for him to have passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to have found *Moses* in the border of *Idumaea*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that favoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petraea* (which joyneeth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandered forty yeares, and did by these late travailes of his, seeke to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milke of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandments.

Lastly, this opinion of *Josephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrisamenus*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne words have this beginning: *Menitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse Moses, &c.* *Apollinaris* also lyeth, in affirming that *Moses* had two wives: and who doth not perceive these things fained by them? for it is manifest that the Wife of *Moses* was *Zephora*, Daughter to the Priest or President of *Madian*: and that *Madian* cannot be taken for *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt*, being the same that joyneeth to *Arabia*: so farre *Chrisamenus*.

†. III.

Chush ill expounded for *Ethiopia*. *Ezech.* 29. 10.

NOW as *Chush* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Ethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Ethiopia*: so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Ethiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* was never in *Ethiopia*. Behold (saith *Ezechiel*, speaking of the person of this great *Assyrian*) I com

upon thee and upon thy Rivers, &c. I will make the Land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the Tower of *Seveneh*, even to the borders of the blacke *Moors*: which last words should have beene thus converted: From the Tower of *Seveneh* to the borders of the *Chush* or *Arabians*: between which two is situated all *Egypt*. For to say from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Ethiopians*, hath no sense at all, *Seveneh* it selfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joyning to *Ethiopia*, or the Land of the blacke *Moors*. So as if *Nabuchodonosor* conquest had beene but betweene *Seveneh* and the border of *Ethiopia*, it were as much to say, and did expresse no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Country, lying betweene *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyne together; or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to expresse by these two bounds, the Conquest of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syena* is the South bound of *Egypt*, seated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Ethiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* never entred into any part of *Ethiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Ethiopia* for *Chush*.

†. IIII.

Another place of *Ezechiel*, cap. 30. vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

AND as the former; so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort converted: *In die illa egredientur nuncii a facie mea in trivertibus ad conuertendam Ethiopea confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *English* by the *Geneveans*: *In that day shall there messengers goe forth from me in ships to make the carelesse Moors affraid*. Now the *Latine* for (ships) hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should have beene (as in the former) amended by using the word *Chush* or *Arabia* for *Ethiopia* or the blacke *Moors*, every man may see which meanly understandeth the *Geography* of the World, knowing that to passe out of *Egypt* into *Ethiopia* there neede no Gallies or Ships, no more than to passe out of *Northampton* into *Leicestershire*: *Ethiopia* being the conterminat Region with *Egypt*, and not divided so much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonosor* should send Gallies alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by which an Army might be transported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Strong* (sparring the long wearisome march over all *Egypt*, and the Desert of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby surprize them unawares in their security and confidence. For when *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Seveneh* within a mile of *Ethiopia*, he needed neither Gallie nor Ship to passe into it; being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleasure, he could not have done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and steepy Mountaines) called *Catadupe Nili*, were at hand.

Lastly, as I have already observed, the sonnes of every father seated themselves as neer together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Asia* the lesse; *Javan* and his sonnes in *Greece*, and the Islands adjoining; *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the Sonnes and Grand-children of *Chush* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers first seat) inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguous unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrewes* had never any acquaintance or fellowship, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Ethiopian* blacke *Moors*, as is already remembered in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

†. V.

A place, *Esay* 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking *Chush* for *Ethiopia*.

AND as in these places before remembered, so in divers other is the word *Ethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chush*, which puts the story (where it is so understood) quite out of square; one Kingdome thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part

of Scripture, *Eſay* 18. *Va terra Cymbalorum alarum quæ eſt trans flumina Aethiopia*; or according to the *Septuagint* in theſe words: *Va terra navium alarum quæ eſt trans fluvios Aethiopia*: *Woe to the land ſhadowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Aethiopia, ſending Embaſſadors by ſea, even the veſſels of reeds upon the waters. Va terra umbroſe ore*; ſending Embaſſadors by ſea, even the veſſels of reeds upon the waters. The former Translators underſtand it in *Woe to the Land of the ſhadowy coaſt*, ſaith *Junius*. The other, that the coaſt of the Sea was ſhadowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpoſe: That this Land here ſpoken of by the Prophet *Eſay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that ſent this meſſage to the *Iſraelites* which *Eſay* repeateth, and by the former tranſlation every man may ſee the tranſpoſition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is tranſported unto the other ſide of *Aethiopia*, & *Aethiopia* ſet next unto *Judæa*, when it is the Land of *Chuſh* and *Arabia* indeed that lyeth betweene *Judæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Aethiopia*, which is ſeated under the *Equinoctiall* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall queſtion, (to wit) what Region that ſhould be, of which the Prophet ſpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Aethiopia*. Nam de *ignota agi regione dici nequit*; For it cannot be ſaid that he treateth of an unknowne Region. Now if *Aethiopia* it ſelfe be under the *Equinoctiall* line, with whom the *Jewes* had never any acquaintance, why ſhould any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Rivers of *Aethiopia*? except we ſhall impiously thinke that the Prophet ſpoke he knew not what, or uſed an impertinent diſcourſe of thoſe Nations, which were not diſcovered in 2000. yeares after, inhabiting as farre South as the Cape of good Hope, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona eſperanza*.

†. VI.

That upon the like miſtaking both *Terrahca* in the ſtory of *Senacherib*, and *Zera* in the ſtory of *Aſa* are unadvuſedly made *Aethiopians*.

And by this tranſlation is the ſtory of *Senacherib* utterly miſtaken in the cauſe of his retreat. For *Senacherib* was firſt repulſed at *Peliſum*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judæa*: when having certaine knowledge that *Thirrahakeh*, (which all the Interpreters call King of *Aethiopia*) was on the way to ſet on him, he began to withdraw himſelf: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he ſent threatening Meſſengers to *Ezechias* King of *Judæa*, perſwading him to ſubmit himſelfe: the Tenor whereof is ſet down in the ſecond of *Kings* in theſe words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of Aſhur? Where is the god of Hamath, &c.* By which proud Embaſſage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jeruſalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jeruſalem*, commanded by *Rabſakeh*, with the other which lay before *Peliſum*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mattered the moſt part of all thoſe Cities in *Judæa* & *Benjamin* with a third Army, (which himſelfe commanded) being then at the ſiege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumor of that Arabian Army led by their King *Thirrahakeh* (whom *Joſephus* calls *Tharſiceus*) *Rabſakeh* haſted from the ſiege of *Hiernſalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, & ſet downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthropolis*, as ſome have ſuppoſed. But while he had ill ſucceſſe at *Peliſum* and feared *Thirrahakeh*, God himſelfe whom he leaſt feared, ſtrook his Army before *Jeruſalem* by the Angel of his power, ſo as 18000 were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrahakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Joſephus* himſelfe makes it plaine. For he confeſſeth in the tenth Booke, the firſt Chapter of the *Jewes* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacherib*'s knowledge, that the Army which was a ſcore (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jewes*) marched towards him by the way of the Deſart: Now the Deſart which lay indifferent betweene *Hiernſalem* and *Peliſum*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which alſo toucheth on the three *Arabias*; to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part: the Deſart, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to ſuccour either *Peliſum* or *Hiernſalem*. But that there is any Deſart betweene *Peliſum* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet beene heard of, or deſcribed by any *Cosmographer* or *Hiſtorian*. So then this deſcription of the ſecond of *Kings*, verſ. the ninth, hath the ſame miſtaking as the reſt. For here the word (*Chuſh*) is alſo tranſlated *Aethiopia*; and in this ſenſe have all the Interpreters, (but *Junius*) expreſſed the beginning of the ninth Verſe: He

He heard alſo men ſay of *Thirrahakeh* King of *Aethiopia*, &c. whereas it ſhould have beene ſo converted with *Junius*: *Audiens autem de Thirrahakeh Rege Chuſhi*: He heard alſo of *Thirrahakeh* King of the *Chuſhites*. For they were the *Chuſhites* and *Arabians*, whoſe Houſes and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very ſmoake of *Juda* flaming was blowne, being their neereſt Neighbours: and ſo were not the *Aethiopian* black-Mooreſes under the *Equinoctiall*, whom neither war nor peace (which diſcovereth all Regions) ever found out, ſaith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Aethiopia* than *Zera* was, who invaded *Aſa* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thouſand Chariots. Indeed, how ſuch an Army & thoſe Chariots ſhould paſſe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how theſe Regions are ſeared, and how farre diſtant, judge. For Princes doe not eaſily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there ever ſuch ſtrength of Black-Mooreſes heard of in that part of the World, or elſewhere. Neither are theſe *Aethiopians* ſuch travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zera* alſo called King of *Aethiopia*. But the word *Chuſh* being firſt ſo converted for *Aethiopia*, the reſt of the Interpreters (not looking into the Yeates of Kingdomes, or the poſſibilities of attempts, or invaſions) followed one another in the former miſtakings.

†. VII.

A farther expoſition of the place, *Eſay* 18. 1.

Concerning theſe words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*, *Navium alarum; Winged ſhips*, (ſo the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine* ſayles whiſtling in the windes, or *terra umbroſa ore* (after *Junius*) the Land of a ſhadowed coaſt, or the Land ſhadowing with wings, as our *Engliſh* Geneva hath it. The two firſt interpretations of the *Septuagint* and *S. Hierome*, have one ſenſe in effect. For the ſayles are commonly called the wings of a ſhip; and we uſe to ſay ordinarily when our ſhips ſaile ſlowly, that ſhe wattereth wings: (that is) when her ſayles are either worne or too narrow; and we alſo uſe the ſame phraſe of the winde whiſtling in the ſayles. And it may be that the *Egyptians* employed ſo many of thoſe ſmal ſhips, as their ſayles were ſaid to give a ſhadow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Eſay*) aſſureth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth ſignifie both to ſhadow and to gingle (which is to make a kinde of *Cymbaline* ſound; ſo as the meaning of this place ſaith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which doſt promiſe to others ſafe-guard, under the ſhadow of thy wings*; which (indeede) ſeemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*; and this phraſe is often elſewhere uſed, as in the ſixteenth *Psalme*: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me; Defend me under the ſhadow of thy wings*. The Boates of reede ſpoken of are of two kindes; either of baſket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittaine*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built upon both ſides with Canes. Of the one I have ſcene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of *Egypt*.

†. I.

That *Mizraim* the chiefe planter of *Egypt*: and the reſt of the ſonnes of *Ham*, were ſeated in order, one by another.

The ſecond ſonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, (who according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabit. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſſed *Chaldea* on the Weſt ſide of *Gehon* chieſly: and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entered *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the South-eaſt ſide of *Judæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) paſt over into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held the Sea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Paleſtina*: and theſe four brothers poſſeſſed all that Traſt of Land from *Gehon* in *Chaldea*, as farre to the Weſt as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petrea*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilea*, *Samaria*, and

and *Judaea*; with the two *Egypt*s, whereof the neather is bounded by *Mempbis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) stretcheth it selfe toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Aethiopi*ans or black-*Moors*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward, *Phut* peopled; which brother had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons againe, and all the sons of the rest of *Noah*s children, for themselves.

†. II.

Of the time about which the name of *Egypt* began to be knowne: and of the *Egyptians* *Lunarie* yeeres, which made their antiquities seeme more fabulous.

THis flourishing Kingdome posselt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, & became *Egypt*, at such time as *Egyptus* (otherwise *Ramestes*, as some thinke) the son of *Belus*, chased thence his elder brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danaï*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the Flood, in the time of *Josua*, as *S. Augusline* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odyssey* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Troian Warre*. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon* (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first booke against *Apion*) numbrell all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure, who consumed 393. yeeres. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after *Josua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the Flood. But where *Josephus* in the same booke taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or *Shepherds*, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom also he calleth his Ancestors, (meaning the Ancestors of the *Jewes*) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* saith, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many yeeres.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of 13000. yeeres; and that the Stars had four times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rise among the *Athians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moone*; whereof *Ovid*:

*Ante Jovem genitum terræ habuisse feruntur
Arcades: & Luna gens prior illa fuit.*

The *Arcadians* the earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moone* did shine, or *Iove* was bred.

But for those 13000. yeeres it may well be true; seeing it is certaine that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeeres by *Moneths*, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. yeeres, whether we take their *Moneths* or *Lunary* yeeres to have bene of the first kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 29. dayes and twelve houres; or after any other of those five diversities of their *Lunary* yeeres.

†. III.

Of certaine vaine assertions of the Antiquity of the *Egyptians*.

GErardus *Mercator* in his *Chronology*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall Flood: and that therefore the first of the other fiftene reached the Creation, or soone after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this answer: That therem *Mercator* was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynasty* was at once with the generall Flood: which *Eusebius* maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynasty* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, *Salus*, to have bene in the yeere of the World 1846. which

Eusebius findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynasty* was begun but in the 292. yeeres after the Flood, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynasty* to endure 115. yeeres, *Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at lesse than 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but fixe yeeres, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeeres.

Now *Annus* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all these 15. *Dynasties* lasted but 162. yeeres: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the flood: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to preceede the flood, and the 16. to have bene then in being at the time of the flood, *Annus* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of fallshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annus* had forgotten his former Opinion and assertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod*, with the sonnes of *Noah*, came into the Valley of *Shinaar*: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of *Babel*: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed *Gomer* into Italy, and *Tubal* into Spaine, in the tenth yeere of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arrivall into *Babylonia*) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes *Egypt* posselt, and a government established in the very first yeere of the arrivall of *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neere in question: for from thence (that is, from *Babel*) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.

†. IV.

Against *Pererius*: that it is not unlikely, but that *Egypt* was peopled within 200. yeeres after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Flood.

BUt whereas *Pererius* seeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the *Egyptians* touching their *Dynasties*, (which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I doe not find any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius* (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that *Egypt* should be peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Flood, I doe verily beleeve the contrary: and that not onely of *Egypt*, but the better part of all World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these; *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Egyptum usq; habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c.* For how could the children of *Adam* be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred yeeres of the World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill *Egypt*? for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) we must also confesse, that there were then both the *Assyrians* and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving beleeve, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainly any mans opinion out of any crossing or cavilling humour: for I thinke it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate resolvednesse, to maintaine factions needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this opinion, that *Egypt* was not planted so soone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Flood, I say, that there is no reason why we should give a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, than to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Flood double, and (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would have bene revenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues, built a City, (called *Enoch*) after the name of his first-borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of *Shinaar* with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the City and Tower of *Babel*: and that to this increase there was given but 130. yeeres by *Berosus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*,

Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeeres) as well *Assyria, Syria,* and *Egypt* might be possesse before the Flood, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeeres after the Flood, came into *Shinar* and *Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it selfe denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Army of three Millions, (and the left not all her Kingdoms empty) doe well prove, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few yeeres after the Flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. yeeres after the Flood of *Noah*. And these Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdoms, from *Media* to the *Mediterranean Seas*; when there had now past from the flood to the time of this her invasion, somewhat less or more than 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one halfe be true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entered (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also be peopled. Now if we may beleve *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epiomix* d by *Justin*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For thus be his owne words, speaking of *Ninus*. *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Egypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanax king of the Scythians*: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witness, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterward the *Bactrians*; yea, all the whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbrell the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen; and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroaster* Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for forreigne authority: for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was possesse by *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell us. And sure, to prepare and cultivate a fertile and overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few daies: and therefore it must be inhabited in a lesse time than 200. yeeres after the Flood; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Flood. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Flood; so as not onely *Babylon*, and *Assyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palastina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be comprehended, which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Flood: even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne world; especially, where death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld living Nations of his owne body.

¶ V.

of some of her reasons against the opinion of *Peregrinus*:

For what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres? Surely, we have reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather than that they were not spread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of four lives in this Age of the World: wherewith one exceeds 50. yeeres, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we finde no want of people; may we know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not give them food. What strange heapes then of foules had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. yeeres, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have bene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conquest* (saving such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have bene increased. For (to omit, that the *Gyants* and mighty ones of the first Age observed no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that those Lovers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flye from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men carelesse of life, and fearelesse of death, than the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this envious old Age of the World minglith together, and soweth with the seedes of Mankind?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alleaged for sufficient Authours, whom *Peregrinus* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Josephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated neere *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palastina* (which is also a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betwene his death and the Flood, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeeres. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to be rejected. Therefore *Saint Hierome* for such Authours gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let us choose what is good in them, and reject the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall Flood: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and *Gyants* which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and subjected the universall World: and though that phrase (*of all the World*) be often used in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*, That there were dwelling at *Hierusalem Jewes, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven*: yet by the words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plain, that his words & sense were the same: for he addeth, from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting; which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at adventure, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easie to travel over before the Flood, than after it. For *Peregrinus* himselfe confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Flood; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) inclosed for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke over, in the first Age, than after the generall overflowing.

¶ V.

†. VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. v. ultimo, whereupon Pererius grounded his opinion.

LAtly, whereas *Pererius* draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*; And out of these were the Nations divided after the flood: *Quo significatur* *isalem* divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium; By which it appeareth (saith *Pererius*) that there was no such division before the Flood; which hee also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of *Genesis*, because the division of tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, *quo significatur*, &c. seemeth to me very weak: The Text it selfe, rather teacheth the contrary: For out of these (saith Moses) were the Nations divided in the earth after the Flood; inferring, that before the Flood the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Flood, or to any plantation or division in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the Flood, but *Noahs* Sonnes, wherein doth that necessary division controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had never bene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as *Berosus* sayes well, that when Mankind were exceedingly multiplied, *Ad comparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat*, They were driven by necessity to seek new Habitations. For we finde (as it is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Flood, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not have sustained those numbers, with their increase, for any long time; all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof, *Mauritania* and *Lybia*, being also at that time fully peopled. And if we beleve *Berosus*, then not onely those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Flood) *Spain*, *Italie* and *France* were also planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 1650. yeeres before the Flood, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the world was overflowed, there were people in all the World which offended.

†. VII.

A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of *Phut* (another Sonne of *Ham*) which peopled *Lybia*.

THerefore, for the Antiquity of the Egyptians, as I do not agree with *Mercator*, nor judge with the *Vulgar*, which give too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities: so I do not think the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that *Egypt* being peopled before the Flood, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after *Adam*, there might remaine unto the Sonnes of *Mixraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of stone or metall) of their former Kings or Governours: which the Egyptians having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Flood, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferred. And that the memory of Antiquitie was in such sort preserved, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the use of Letters and the Art of Astro-nomie was knowne to the *Babylonians* 3634. yeeres before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was borne 10347. yeeres before the Flood, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fires as also of *Christ* his coming in judgement, as *Saint Jude* hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgements, and every man to his owne reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mixraim*, and that it took the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus* the sonne of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterranean* Sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the severall branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the River, gave it the forme

of the Greeke letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a *Triangle*. That branch, which ran toward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next unto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: The other branch, which yielded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded betwene *Memphis* and *Syene* neere *Aethiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates, and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the Greeks; *Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Josephus* calls *Egypt* *Mersin* of *Mixraim*: and *Herodotus* affirmeth that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Phut the third sonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of Land to his brother *Mixraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutici*, (saith *Josephus*) & *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyrus*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush*, & *Lud* were contermini and Associates with the Egyptians.

§. XII.

Of the eleven sonnes of Canaan, the fourth sonne of *Ham*.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleven sonnes.

CANAN (the fourth sonne of *Ham*) possesse all that Region called by the *Romanes* *Palestina*; in the Scriptures *Galilea*, *Samarita*, and *Judaea*; in the later times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set downe by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar until Azzah, and as thou goest unto Sodome and Gomorrhah, and Admah, & Zeboim, even unto Lajsh*. Now howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted, *Moses* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* and *Gomorrhah* the East, and the other Cities named stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right Line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermost Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the sons of *Canaan* which possesse this Country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heib* or *Chethus*.
3. *Jebusi* or *Jebusani*.
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgeshi* or *Girgesu*.
6. *Hevi* or *Chivens*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkus*.
8. *Seni* or *Sinaus*.
9. *Arvadi* or *Arvadus*.
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus*.
11. *Hanathi*, or *Hamaibens*, or *Chamaibaus*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hebities*, *Girgesites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or from some of this.

†. II.

Of the portions of *Zidon* and *Heib*.

Zidon the first borne of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phoenicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asher*: for *Asher*, *Labulon*, & *Nephthali* had a great part of the ancient *Phoenicia* distributed among them; but the *Asherites* could never obtaine *Zidon* it selfe.

Gen. 10. 16.

Gen. 23.

Gen. 27. 46.

2 K. 17. 6.

The second sonne of Canaan was *Heb* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*: or *Hittites*, one of those seven principall Nations (commanders of Canaan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Berfabe*, and towards *Hebron* near the Torrent *Befor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the uttermost limit of Canaan, having the Defart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Berfabe* (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the Northeast as *Hebron*, & *Mamre*; & of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her selfe to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth*. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong and fierce Nation, whose entertainment by the kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the seventh of the *Kings*; *Israel hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites*.

§. III.

Of the *Jebusites* and *Amorites*:

Iebuseus, the third sonne of Canaan, of whom came the *Jebusites*, and whose principall seat was *Jebus*, (afterward *Hiernusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Country neere it, till such time as *David* by Gods assistance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of Canaan, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountaines of *Galaad* on the East, and *Jordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (overthrowne by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations disperfed within the bounds of Canaan: as behinde *Libanus* in the edge of *Calofyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being in the Mountaines of *Juda*, and in *Idumaea* neere the Metropolis thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: *For the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full*. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of a Cedar, and hee was stronger than the Oake*.

†. IIII.

Of the *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, and *Harkites*.

The fift sonne of Canaan was *Gergesius* or *Gergeson*, (otherwise *Girgass*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolemy* fees the City *Gersa*, which *Iosephus* calls *Gesera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that *Christ* dispossessed the possessed with Devils; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine, filled with the evill spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergesius* also built *Beritus* (sometime *Geru*) afterward *Felix Julia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phenicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gave many large privileges.

Hevens the sixth son, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* neere *Emath*. These *Hevites*, howsoever the *Capharim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembered) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Jesus*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times served (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God*.

The seventh sonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (over against *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archus*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

†. V.

†. V.

Of *Sini* and *Arvadi*.

Sineus the eight son, *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorsa*, which *Ptolemy* finds in *Judea*, not far from *Jebus*, to the South thereof, saith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which *S. Hierome* calls *Sin*: *Ptolemy*, *Smyra*; *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Smyrus*; *Brochard*, *Syon*; (called *Synochis*) neere *Arca*. *Pererius* thinks that *Sineus* inhabited the Defarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* written with the letter C. otherwise *Kenai* who descended of *Hobab* the son of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the Wildernes of *Pharan*. But these *Cinei* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephthalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinei*, *Balaam* prophecied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*.

The ninth sonne was *Aradeus* or *Arvadeus*, who in the Ile of *Aradus* built the City *Arados*: opposite against which Island on the Maine of *Phenicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antarados*. To this City came *S. Peter* (saith *Clement*) and in this Ile preached the Gospell, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we finde no such worke of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skillfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were skilful Mariners*.

†. VI.

Of *Zemari*.

OF Samareus, or *Zemari*, the tenth son, there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Calofyria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Josias* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is also *Samarajim* (of the same orthography) upon the Mountaines of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chr. c. 13. v. 4*. which the *Latine* converteth amisse (saith he) by *Semerom*. The *Hierosolymitan* Paraphrast makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emussani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemisseni*, in *Calofyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded *Samarita*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproveth: *And he bought the Mountaine Samaria or Shemerom of one Shemer, for two talents of silver, and built in the Mountaine; and called the name of the City which hee built, after the name of Shemer, Lord of the Mountaine, Samaria*. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoever the *Samaritanes* were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Jewes* stood up, they always called themselves *Jewes*: when it suffered or sanke, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*, and partly of the *Naturals*.

†. VII.

Of *Hamathi*.

The last of Canaans sons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the Hebrew) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*, (saith *Beroaldus*): of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was present. *Iosephus* & *S. Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which standeth on the River *Orantes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountaine *Cassius* and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucia*, of which *Saint Peter* was Bishop, and in which *Saint Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne; but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth betwene

2 Sam. 8.9

Cap. II, v. 24.

Cap. 18. & 19.

Apamea and *Emefa* in *Casistotis*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emefa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas *S. Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephthali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emefa*, hath all the Province of *Ladicea* between it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces *Ladicea* and *Libanica*, are between *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: and therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephthali*, as in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proved. For *Iosua* counting the lands that remained unpossit, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermom*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is used, that *Emath* was not in *Nephthelim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *David* accepted the presents of *Tabu King* of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not have received, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Mose* and *Iosua*: for *Emath* is indeed situate on the other side of the Mountaine of *Hermom*, which joyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iosua* the 19. v. 35. and written in the *Latine* conversion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was *S. Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountaines, and the City in *Nephthelim* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (understanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeed belongeth to the *Nephthalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Affedim*: which Citi *S. Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Iosephus*, *Hamath*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathin*; of which (as I take it) *Rabsakeh* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*: Where is the god of *Hamath*?

6. XIII.

of the sonnes of Chush (excepting Nimrod) of whom hereafter.

The sonnes of *Cush* were, { *Seba,*
{ *Havila,*
{ *Savia,*
{ *Raama,*
{ *Sabteca,*
{ *Nimrod.* } And the sonnes of *Raama* were, { *Sheba,*
{ and
{ *Dedan.*

†. I.

That most of the sonnes of Chush were seated in Arabia the happy: and of the Sabaans that robbed Job: and of the Queene that came to Salomon.

Seba or Saba was the eldest sonne of *Chush*, the eldest sonne of *Ham*; to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the sonne of his brother *Rama*, or *Regma*, (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*;) his name is written with a single *S* (*Samech*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma* withan *S*) asperate, which is the Hebrew *Shim*. *Seba* the eldest sonne of *Chush*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma*, possesse both the shores of *Arabia Felix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as necessarily his Father *Chush*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Persia*; of which *Pliny* *Sabaei*, *Arabum populi*, propter thura clarissimi ad usum; maria porrectis gentibus habitans: *The Sabaeans*, people of *Arabia*, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas, (to wit) the *Persian*, and the *Arabian* or Red Sea. This Countrey was afterwards called *Arabia*, & populi mixtionem, faith *Poisselux*. To this agreeeth *Ptolomy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or Red Sea, & the City *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*, with whom also we may leave *Sabia*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomy*, because

because he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabei*) neere the *Persian Sea*; and *Masfabathai* which defended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama*, into *Carmania*, for which I fee no reason. *Jeseph*, who only attended his owne fantasies, hath banished *Saba* or *Sebta* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinks it strange, that the *Sabei*, which stole away *Jobs* Cattle, should runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petraea*, and finde out *Job* in *Traconitis*, betwene *Palestina* and *Calosyria*, 1200. miles off. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the *Sabei* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the *Persian Sea*, could by any meanes execute the stealth upon *Job*, which soever *Beroaldus* shall take for neereft. But these were the *Sabei* of *Arabia* the Defart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie *Saba* is seated: the same which *Prology* calls *Sare*, now *Semifacae*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Defart, came those *Magi* or *Wisemen*, which worshipped *Chriſt*, faith *Melchior*, whose words are these: *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia* (as *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambrose* supposed) *nor out of Arabia* the happy, as many wise men doe beleeve, but out of *Saba* in *Arabia* the Defart: which *Citie*, when myself was there, was (as I judged it) called *Semifacae*. And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, is appeareth that these *Sabei* were Neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Persian Sea*, as those on the Red Sea) are so dis-joyined with large Defarts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattell, both in respect of the Mountaines, of the lands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: *Ubi nec homines, nec bestiae videntur, nec arves, imo nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosif, altissimi, asperissimi*. Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, nor not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but only sharpe, and high, fonic, and craggie mountaines. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to visit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabei* on the East side of *Arabia Felix*; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that she was Queene of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, betwixt *Idumaea* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba*, which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Felix*, being his neighbour, might without any far travel enter his Territories, free from all danger of surpris by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that *Sheba* or *Saba*, *Saba*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabeca*, were all the possessors of *Arabia* the Happy, and the Defart: only *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Cush*, who held *Arabia Petraea*. Now for *Saba*, there is found of his name the City of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the fame *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomy*, who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found fixtie Temples. *Ezechiel* joyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were by Merchants*. And that they were the Eastern *Arabians*, their merchandise witnesfeth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradis*. For *Josephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopi*ans about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopi*ans *Aisabari*, they be not worthy any further answer than hath already beene given: especially seeing these Cities, preserving the memorie of the names of *Saba*, and of *Saba* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cush*, with little alterations are preserved. In *Arabia* the Defart is found the Citie *Saba* or *Save*, (now *Semifasce*) with the Citie of *Rhegama* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomie* himselfe called *Raamani* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Happie is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which also keepeth the found of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Sapha* or *Saprah*, not far from the East-coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chiefe Citie in the bodie of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoyning, *Sabai*: and to the South thereof againe toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Saba*. To all these his brothers and nephewes which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by Boate even unto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, let neere the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolomies* time.

†. II.

Josephus his opinion of Dedan, one of the issue of Chush, to have been seated in the West Æthiopia, disproved out of Ezechiel and Hieremy.

And whereas Josephus (whom in this S. Hierome followeth, as not curious herein) sent Dedan the son of Raamah into West Æthiopia, it is strange that Ezechiel should couple Sheba, Raamah, and Dedan together; Dedan in the 15. Verse, and Sheba, in Raamah in the 22. Verse, to be the Merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Æthiopia, which is distant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother) above four thousand miles. Besides which, the merchandise that the Dedanites brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Blacke-moors. For they of Dedan (saith Ezechiel) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and these Westerne Æthiopians never saw cloth, till the Portugals, seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrey being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civer Cars, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: & all these they exchanged for linen, or iron chiefly.

But in those dayes the West part of Africa within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination: and, being under the burnt Zone, was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the Negroes of the West Æthiopia, which inhabite about Serra Lione, or Niger, could either passe by Sea or Land to Tyre, in the bottome of the Mediterian Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that Dedan also dwelt by the rest of the children of Chush, which sears they held by that name in the time of Hieremy the Prophet, let us heare Hieremy his owne words: *Flye ye Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Ekau upon him.* Hereby it appeareth, that Dedan was a Neighbour to the Idumeans: and Idumæa is a Province of Arabia Petraea; and Dedan which dwelt on the North part of Arabia felix, joyned in that part to Petraea, the seat of his Grand-father Chush; which neighbourhood and fellowship of Dedan and the Idumeans, is also confirmed by Ezechiel: *I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.*

§. XIII.

Of the issue of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie, Chap. 9. Vers. 7.

After Chush, it followeth to speake of Mizraims sonnes, whose names (saith Saint Augustine) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. Ludim, the elder son of Mizraim, was the Father of the Lybians in Africa: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the sonnes of Shem there is also Lud; but he is differenced from Lud the sonne of Mizraim by the singular number: the sonne of Shem being written Lud; the sonne of Mizraim, Ludim; and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that Ludim the sonne of Mizraim was the Parent of the Lybians in Africa, and that he was seated not farre from Mizraim his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremy, who joyned them in this sort together: *Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Blacke-moors, and the Lybians which beare the shield: for those Nations assisted the Egyptians, being of one Parent descended.* And in Ezechiel, Phut and Lud are joyned together. Æthiopia (or Chush) saith Ezechiel, *e. 30. v. 3. and Phut, and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the sons of Chush, (which were the Chusites) the sonnes of Mizraim, (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians (descended of his sonne Lud) with other the Inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, shall fall together.* Hierosolymitanus finds also in Africa a Nation of the Lydians. And I beleeve it: because Hieremy joyneth the Lybians, and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Lybia in Africa is by the Hebrewes called Ludim (saith Arias Montanus) though 2 Chron. 12. 3. they seeme to bee called Lubim or Lubai; a name somewhat neerer the word Lybies, and by which it may seeme that the true writing

writing is, not *Lybes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pimut (upon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of Lud, nor to be meant of the Lybians at all: for he will have this threatening to be meant against the people of Lyda, a City (saith he) between Egypt and Palestina, which opinion I could not mislike if the City of Lyda were so seated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda with a double D, and is the same City which was afterward Doispelis, in which S. Peter cured Æneas of the palsy) standeth neere the Torrent Gana, not farre from Joppa the Port of Hierusalem. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might have Lud for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre asunder; as after the names of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus, many Cities called Alexandria, Seleucia, and Antiochia, so of divers others. S. Hierome maketh Lehabim to be the Father of Libya, who was the third sonne of Mizraim; and so doth Josephus; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of Mizraims sonnes have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, saving Caslubim and Caphthorim, of whom came the Philistims, whom the Scriptures call Peliste.

These Caslubim inhabited Casiotia, a Region lying in the entrance of Egypt from Palestina, in which the Lake Sirbonis, and the Mountaine Casius are found, not farre from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphthorim seated neere Caslubim in that Tract of Egypt called Sethrotis, not farre from Pelusium. Strabo calls it Sethrotis; Stephanus and Pliny, Sethroitis, of the City Sethron: which Ortelius takes to be the same which Ptolemy calls Hercules parva. Of the Caslubim and Caphthorim came the Philistims, which are called by the Septuagint Allophyl (which is) Alienigenæ, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palestina tooke name. For the Hebrewes (saith Isidore) do not use the letter (P) but in stead of it (ph). Their principall Cities were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gassai, Ascalonites, Azotii, Gethai, and Accaronites: Isidore affirms, that Ascalon was first called Philistim; and of that City the Country adjoining. But where Isidore had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the Philistims was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abrahams wife; with whom Abraham made a covenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is written that he was also King of the Philistims, in these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims unto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or some ancienter Abimelech governed the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The Philistims commanded that Tract of land upon the mediterrani Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of Pilgrims (otherwise Casarea Palestina, or Straton's Tower) which was the South-border of Phenicia, to Gasa, or to the River of Egypt. The Anakims or strong Gyants were of these Philistims: & Goliath was of Geth, one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith Lysanias. They mastered the Israelites at severall times above 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by Samson and Samuel; but in the end this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on themselves.

It is objected, that because these Cities and the Countreies adjoining, were held by the sonnes of Mizraim, therefore did the Israelites dispossesse the sonnes of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this faith Peverius, that although the Palestines or Philistims held it in the time of Josiah, yet at the time of the promise it was posselt by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomy. The Hevites dwelt in the Villages unto Gaza. And what marvel, if the Canaanites being the greater part, the denomination were from them? For tharthe Philistims were of Caphthor, and so of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, besides Moses, the Prophet Hieremy witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the issue of Caphthor: and in like manner in the ninth of Amos, the Philistims are said to be the reliques of Caphthorim: Have not I brought up Israel out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philistims from Caphthor, and Aram from Kir?* So I reade this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, *Philistinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene*, this conversion Beoradus condemneth; where Caphthor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a City directly West from Egypt, betwene Prolomais or Barce and Apollonia: but Kir in Asia under the Assyrians: Junius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene: and so hath the Geneva.

But

Of which see in
the second
Booke, Chap. 7.
§. 3. †. 5.

Cap. 16. v. 9.

But *Peterius* calls *Caphtrorim* Cappadocia, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean Cappadocia in Palaestina, and not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Asia the lesse. For whether they inhabited *Sethreites*, or Cappadocia of Palaestina, it is not certainly knowne. And in this manner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, as well as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglasphalaser* King of the Assyrians carried away the inhabitants of Damascus into Kir: and so *Iosephus* seems to understand this Kir for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the Assyrians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samaritans or Israelites, and other Nations. And hereof it came that Kir was called *Syro-Media*: because the Syrians by the Assyrians were therein captived.

§. XV.
Of the issue of Sem.

†. I.
Of *Elam*, *Assur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Lud*.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the Hebrewes: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these five sonnes, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him & *Aram*; the rest are barely spoken of by rehearfall of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found *Ninive*) was also said to be the Father of the Assyrians, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the Assyrians, sometimes the Babylonians obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (saving *India*) which I beleeve *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Opbir* and *Havilah* the sons of *Jectan* afterward repaired, *Hi filii Sem ab Euphrate fluvio partem Asia usque ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*: These sons of *Sem* (saith *S. Hierome*) held all those Regions from *Euphrates* to the *Indian Ocean*.

Jof. Ant. l. 1. c. 7.

Cap. 8. v. 12.

Ptol. Asia lib. 5.
v. 21. §. 2.

Of *Elam* came the *Elamites*, remembered, *Acts 2. ver. 9.* and the Princes of *Persia*; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the Persians became Masters of *Babylonia*: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish *Elam* from *Persia*, and make the *Elamites* a people apart. But *Susa* (which the Scriptures call *Susan*) in *Elam* was the kings seat of *Persia* (witnesseth *Daniel*). And I saw (saith he) in a vision, & when I saw it, I was in the Palace of *Susan*, which is in the Province of *Elam*. This City is embraced by the River *Eulaus* (according to *Ptolemy*) in *Daniel*, *Ulai*: and seated in the border of *Susiana*.

Assur (as most Historians beleeve) the second son of *Sem*, was Father of the Assyrians, who disdain the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from *Babel*, and built *Ninive*, of equal beauty and magnitude with *Babylon*, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath bene in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speake much: for the Assyrians so often invaded and spoiled the Israelites, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with

with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the Assyrians of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfulllest Princes among them, had yet the Mountaine *Taurus* for the utmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. Have the gods of the Nations delivered them whom my Fathers have destroyed: as *Gozan*, and *Haran*, and *Reseph*, and the children of *Eden* which were at *Elassar*? Where is the King of *Hamaib*, and the King of *Arphad*, & the King of the City *Sepharuaim*, *Hena* and *Ivab*? All these were indeede but petty Kings of Cities, and small Countries as *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamaib* or *Emath* in *Ituraa*, under *Libanus*: the Isle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yet, *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palaestina*, and *Phenicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I have omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because he established the first Empire from whom the most memorable story of the World taketh beginning.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldeans*, saith *Saint Hierome*, and *Iosephus*; but it must be those *Chaldeans* about *Ur*: for the sonnes of *Cham* possesse the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the Hebrewes: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth sonne of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and *S. Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither from his friends.

†. II.
Of *Aram*, and his Sonnes.

Aram the fifth and last Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Iosephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moses* was borne; the same which others call the son of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Nabarajim*, which is as much to say: as *Syria duorum fluviorum*; *Syria* compassed with two Rivers, (to wit) *Tigris* & *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes* *Mesopotymia* simply.

Arise and get thee to *Padan Aram* (saith *Isaac* to *Jacob*) to the house of *Beihuel* thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife. *Strabo* also remembereth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his owne words converted witnesseth: *Quos nos Syros vocamus*, *ipsi Judaei Syri Aramensis & Arameos vocant*; Those which we call *Syrians* (saith he) themselves call *Arameniens* and *Arameos*.

Against this opinion, that *Aram* the sonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in general; (and not onely of those in *Syria inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some read, *Genes. 22. 21. Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kenuel*, the sonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the History of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuel*'s Posterity could be famous) we finde *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Nabarajim*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seemes) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks in his notes upon *Gen. 25. 20.* that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolemy* calls *Ancolauritis* (so called from the River *Chaboras*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous use of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Nabarajim* (which latter appellation question lesse comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seeme to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region: because the two Rivers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appear in the name of two Cities in *Ptolemy*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*; the other upon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of *Aram* were, *Hul* or *Hus*,
Gether, and
*Mes*ch or *Mes*.

Hul or *Hus* inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City, saith *Josephus* and *S. Hierome*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Josephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliker* was the Founder thereof, though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest son of *Aram* dwelt neare unto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adjoining to *Arabia* the Desert, and to *Batanea* or *Tracanis*, whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the Land of Hus*. *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Jordan*, in the East Region of *Tracanis*, adjoining to *Basan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Jordan* West: having in it many Cities and people, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all sorts of people and all the kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*, descended of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nabor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith *S. Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hul the second son of *Aram*, *S. Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third son, Parent to the *Acarnanians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leave the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desert of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Polimie* setteth the City of *Choll*.

Gether (saith *Josephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Josephus* gave all *Noahs* children fathers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine owne opinion, I alwayes keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* seated himselfe neare his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucus*, where *Ptolomy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Plinie* called *Gindareni*.

Junius also giveth to *Mes* or *Mes*ch the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neare the mountaine *Mafus*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be knowne than by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himselfe and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeares after; and therefore there is no reason to cast them, in the Desert parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these sonnes of *Aram*, and the sonnes of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein every one also sought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities therein built their owne names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdainning the greatness of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Nova Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are unaccessible to Strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Chap. 8. §. 7.

Mes the fourth son is made the Parent of the *Maonians*: of whom something hath bin spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third sonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelab*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sonnes, *Phaleg* and *Joctan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth divided.

†. III.

Of the division of the Earth in the time of *Phaleg*, one of the sonnes of *Heber*, of the issue of *Sem*.

THE many people which at the division (at *Phalegs* birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Perrinus* out of

of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the year after the Flood 101. and lived in all 239 yeares; which numbers added makes 240. And therefore was it so many yeares after the Flood, ere the children of *Noah* severed themselves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth) so many people could be increased, *Perrinus* gives this answer, That if 70. persons of the Family of *Jacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeares, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soone after the Flood the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth*? What strength this answer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. yeares time: and the sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* tooke that name after the division, in memory thereof: as *Josephus* and Saint *Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the division were at *Phalegs* death (which hapned in the year, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. yeares before his birth) then was the division 38. yeares after *Ninus*, who governed 52. yeares: in the 43. yeare of whose reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. yeares before this division (as this division is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then was the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers have not bene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Arius* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atq; armis præstanti, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*, received *Babylon* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seven Children; vanquished all those Regions betwene *Nilus* and *Tanis*, the *Egyptians*, *Phoenicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyracanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembered out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with 400000. prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they fought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the division had bene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was never meant that the earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And surely whatsoever mens opinions have bene heerein, yet it is certaine, that the division of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neyther at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in yeare 101. after the Flood, which was the yeare that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten yeares after he arrived, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth division) must have lived without a name, except the name had bin given him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principall man in this division had his first name upon this accident changed, is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, Saint *Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the division which followed: to this I say, I doe not finde that *Heber* deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne: for division and disperſion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophecie (if any such had bene) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell amongst the *Hebrewes* themselves.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative prooffe) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon *Phaleg* tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

†. IV.

Of the sonnes of *Jochan*, the other sonne of *Heber*.

The sonnes of *Jochan* were

1. *Elmedad*.
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph*.
3. *Afemath*, or *Charzar*.
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraab*, or *Jerath*.
5. *Hadoram*.
6. *Uzal*, or *Uxal*.
7. *Dicklach*, or *Diela*.
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal*.
9. *Abimacl*.
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba*.
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir*.
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab*.

ALl those sonnes of *Jochan* (according to *Saint Hierome*) dwelled in the East parts of the world, or *India*, even from the River *Copbe* or *Choss*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being generall: *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest unto Separ a Mount in the East*. Of all these thirteene Sonnes, there were onely three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah*. Concerning whose names, to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the sonnes of *Chus*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Seba*, his grand-child by his wife *Retura*. But *Seba* the sonne of *Chus*, and *Seba* the sonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we have left in *Arabia Felix*: and *Havilah* the son of *Chus* upon *Tigeris*. *Saba* the grand-child of *Abraham* was (as some have thought) the Father of the *Sabeans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ*, maketh mention. *Primum Sabei; post hos sunt Passagarda; prope vero hos sunt Tasci*. The first are *Sabeans*: after these be *Passagarda*; and neere these the *Tasci*. And whereas it is written: *But unto the Sonnes of the Concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his sonne (while he yet lived) Eastward to the East-Country*: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham*, wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East-Country in respect of *Judea*; which also *Ovid* setteth under the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abrahams* sonnes seated themselves on the borders of *Judea*, I rather choseth to leave *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desert, where *Pytolomy* setteth a City of that name.

But *Saba* the sonne of *Jochan*, the son of *Heber*, (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it selfe. For *Dionysius* after in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which he wrote in Greeke Verse, amongst the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabei*: *Taxili bos inter medios habitans; Sabeus; in the midst of these dwell the Sabei, and the Taxili, faith Dionysius*.

†. V.

Of *Ophir* one of *Jochans* sonnes, and of *Peru*, and of that voyage of *Salomon*.

O*phir* also was an Inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as *S. Hierome* understands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull with gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccas*. *Iosephus* understands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Cheylonis*, or *Peninsula*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* & *Malacca*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iland, as *Saint Hierome* doth

but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the second of the *Chronicles* are these: *And he over-layed the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim*. *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembered by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: *And the gold of that Land is good*: finding a Towne in *Characene* a Province of *Sustiana* called *Barbatia*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence those Kings subjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *David* preserved for the enriching of the Temple.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plessis*, who also tooke *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this question may be a subject of no further dispute, it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am, that at least *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountain so called. But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever since, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosta* the *Jesuite* in his naturall and morall History of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) tooke that name of *Jochan*, who as he supposed navigated from the utmost East of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Jucatan* is nothing else in the language of that Country, but [What is that?] or [What say you?] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages answered *Jucatan* (which is) *What aske you*, or *What say you*? The like hapned touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South side of *Trinidad* & *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hills a farre off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as, *high Hills* or *Mountaines*. For at *Paria* begins that marvellous ledge of *Mountaines*, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and so hath that Country ever since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same hapned among the *English*, which I sent under Sir *Richard Greeneville* to inhabit *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvages answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as *You wear good clothes*, or *gay clothes*. The same hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iland *Trinidad*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that selfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered, *Cacri*, which signifieth an Iland. And in this manner have many places newly discovered beene intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we must leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout such an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it selfe (towards *Persia*) in *Havilah*, now *Sustiana*, and all alongst that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certaine Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the East *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomons* ships made from the red Sea (which was three yeares in going and comming) it seemeth they went to the uttermost East, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeede these that now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that navigation in two yeares, and sometimes less: and *Salomons* ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the use of the Compaasse was knowne, it was impossible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull

for the Spaniards themselves (had it not bin for the plenty of gold in the East India Ilands, farre above the mines of any one place of America) to faile every year from the West part of America thither, and there to have strongly planted, & inhabited the richest of those Ilands : wherein they have built a City called Manila. Salomon therefore needed not to have gone farther off than Ophir in the East, to have sped worse : he could he navigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

Toſtatus also gathereth a fantastical opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be a Country, whose Mountaines of gold are kept by Griffins : which Mountaines Solinus affirmeth to be in Scythia Asiatica, in these words : *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent universa, alites ferocissima, Arimalpi cum his dimicant, &c.* For whereas these Countries abound in gold, & rich stones, the Griffins defend the one & the other : a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other, with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimalpi make warre. These Arimalpi are said to have beene men with one eye onely, like unto the Cyclopes of Sicilia : of which Cyclopes, Herodotus and Aristotle make mention : and so doth Lucan in his third Booke : and Valerius Flaccus : and D. Scivulus in the story of Alexander Macedon. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleve none of them. And for these Arimalpi, I take it that this name signifying One-eyed, was first given them by reason that they used to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes ; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But Solinus borroweth these things out of Pliny, who speaks of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called Gyslotron, or the Cave of the Northeast winde. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories or other things done : so might these tales of the Griffins receive this Morall : That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would content themselves with a quiet & moderate estate, and not subject themselves to famine, corruption, violence, heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be belied in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in America, many high and impassible Mountaines, which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited onely with Tygres, Lyons & other ravenous and cruell beasts : unto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to finde the same warre, which the Arimalpi make against the Griffins : not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seeke to defend that metall, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young-ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said that the Alegarios, (which the Egyptians call the Crocodyles) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland : for many times the poore Indians are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearle. And though the Alegarios know not the pearle, yet they finde favour in the flesh and blood of the Indians, whom they devour.

†. VI.

Of Havilah the sonne of Joctan, who also passed into the East Indies : and of Mesha and Sopher named in the bordering of the Families of Joctan : with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the World.

OF Havilah the sonne of Joctan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which Ophir passeth into the Ilands adjoining. And whereas Ganges is said to water Havilah, it is meant by Havilah in the East India, which tooke name of Havilah the son of Joctan : but Havilah, which Person compasseth, was so called of Havilah, the son of Chus, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture : *Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that Saul ever made Warre in the East India, no man hath suspected. Foran end we may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of Joctan, these three, Saba, Havilah, & Ophir, though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill Masius or Mesh, Gen. 10. 30. (to wit) betwene Cilicia and Mesopotamia ; yet at length either themselves or their issues removed into the East India, leaving the other

other Families of Joctan, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to have beene from Mesh unto Sephar. And although S. Hierome take Mesh to be a Region of the East India, and Sephar a Mountaine of the same (which Mountaine, Montanus would have to be the Andes in America) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to Judea, is never farther extended than into Persia. But Mesh is that part of the Mountaine of Masius in the North of Mesopotamia, out of which the River Chaboras springeth which runneth by Charran : and in the same Region we also finde for Sephar (remembered by Moses) Sippara by Ptolomy, standing to the East of the Mountaine Masius, from whence Joctan having many sonnes, some of them might passe into India, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in proceſſe of time.

The other fashion of planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountaine in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is used : as in Numbers 23. Balac the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountaine of the East ; which was from the East part of Mesopotamia. For Balac brought Balaam out of Mesopotamia, (witnesseth this place of Deuteronomie :) *Because they hyred Balaam the sonne of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Nabarajim, to curse thee :* for Aram Nabarajim was Syria fluviorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the World after the flood doth best agree (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of Reason and probable conjecture ; the Guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to goe after ; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither have I any end herein, private or publique, other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himselfe hath disguised all things : so the factious and hiring Historians of all Ages (especially of these latter times) have by their many Volumes of untrue reports left Honor without a Monument, & Vertue without Memory : and (in stead thereof) have erected Statues and Trophies to those, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſſe ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and dissolving Nature of Time hath worn out or changed the Names and Memory of the Worlds first planters after the flood (I meane the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the foot-steps of Antiquity (as appeares by that which hath bin spoken) are not quite worn out nor over-grown : for Babylon hath to this day the found of Babel ; Phœnicia hath Zidon, to which City the eldest son of Canaan gave name ; so hath Cilicia, Tharsis ; and the Armenians, Medes, Iberians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, the Syrians, Idumeans, Libyans, Moors, and other Nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulneſſe some signes of their first Founders and true Parents ;

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishing of Government.

6. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of Families to Regall, and from Regall absolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.

IT followeth now to entreate how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had scarcity of People) under-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (Elder) was alwayes used both for the Magistrate, & for those of Age & Gravity the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleventh of Numbers : God commanded Moses to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, & Govern

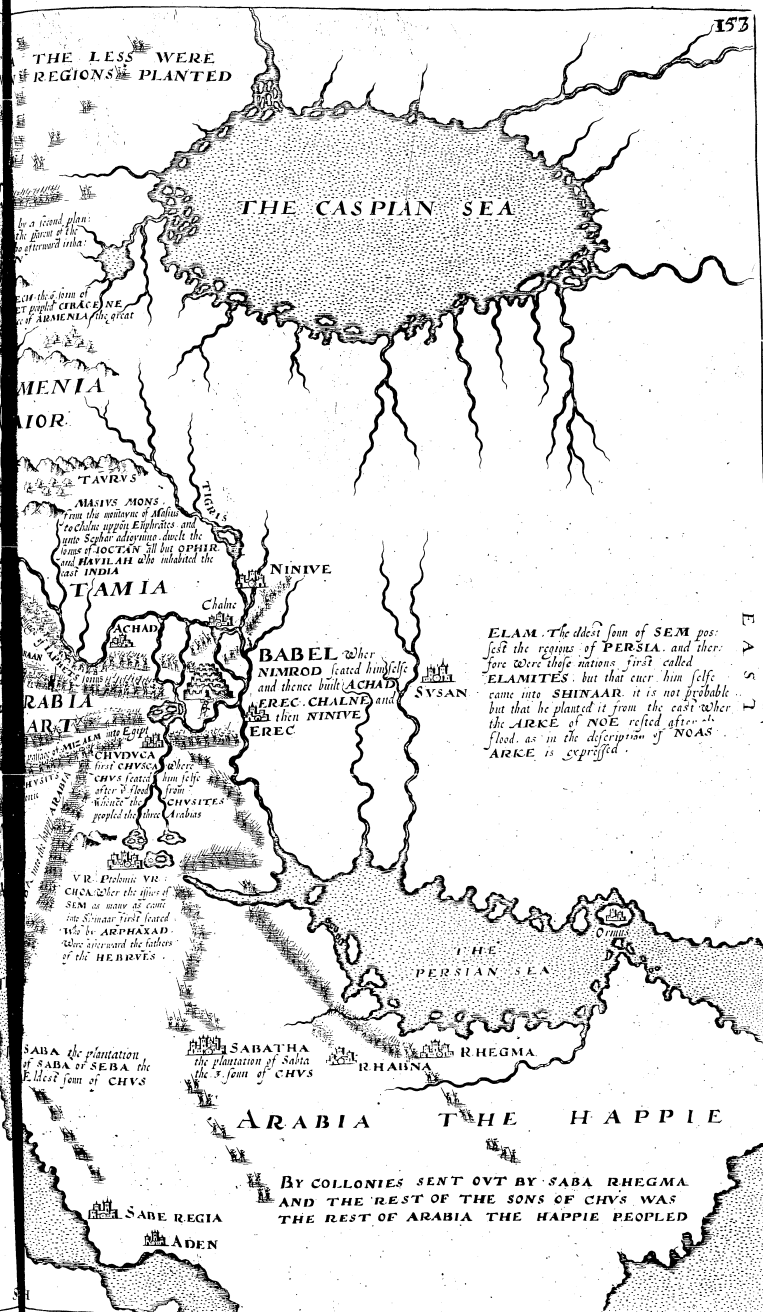
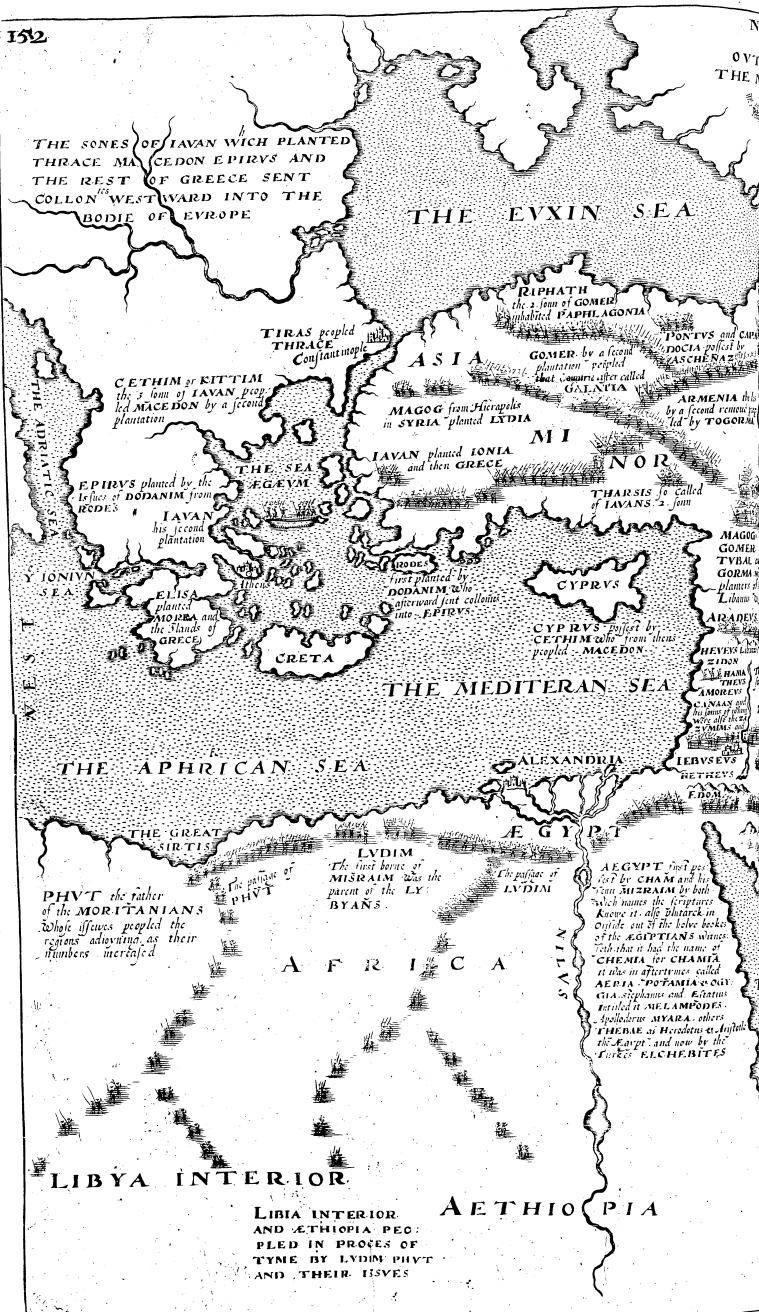
Governour over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna*. Then the Assembly beleeved them as those that were the Elders and Judges of the People. And so in the words of those false Judges and witnesses to *Daniel*, Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder. *Demosthenes* useth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedamonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes*; Among the *Lacedamonians* the chiefe Magistrates, as they were, so are they called Eldermen: and againe: *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellassent Senatum*; If reason and advisement were not in old men, our Ancestors had never called the highest Council by the name of a Senate.

But though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governours or Counsaillers of State, there is a signe that the first Governours were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loysseau*) puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium*; Power or command: the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*; Propriety or Mastership: the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the slave. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietas*; *Cæsar* hath power over all, and every man: propriety in his owne: and againe, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio*; *Cæsar* holdeth all in his power, and every man possesseth his owne. But as men and vice began abundantly to increase: so obedience (the fruit of naturall reverence, which but from excellent seed seldom ripeneth) being exceedingly over-shadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the lost weapons of paternall perswasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the originall and first giver of life) became in all over-weake, either to resist the first inclination of evill, or after (when it became habitual) to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and steered by their owne fancies, and toft to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisedome was severed from power, and strength from charity: Necessity (which bindeth every nature but the immortall) made both the Wife and Foolish underftand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become farre more miserable than that of beasts, and that a generall flood of confusion would a second time over-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equall from equall received equall harmes. In so much that the licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved upon a better trial, no lesse perillous than an undividable bondage.

*Necessitas est
firmum iudici-
um, & immuta-
bile providencie
quædam.*

These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it lesse evill, than the former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that observe it) found some imperfection and corrosive in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which invented, and the same Reason which approved soveraign power, bethought it selfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discern her own limits. For before the invention of Lawes, private affections in supreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance, both good and evill.

For as wisedome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; The people were not governed by any other Lawes than the wils of Princes. Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*; Love sees one while too much, another while starke nothing. Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeares (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that government which



had this mixture of equality (holding in an even ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in favour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authority, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues onely, so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Piccor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dei & diti; Princes because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.* De animo, seu lib. 1.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a Ruler and Conductor: God himselfe by his eternall providence having ordained Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others: For the very Bees have their Prince; the Decree their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safety. *The most High beareth rule over the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth over it whomsoever he pleaseth.* By me (saith *Wisdom*, spoken by the Sonne of God) *Kings reigne; by me Princes rule; and it is God (saith Daniel) that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is given from God, *Christ* himselfe witnesseth, speaking to *Pilate*; *Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.* Dan. 5. 21. Prov. 8. 15. Dan. 2. 21. John 19. 11.

It was therefore by a threefold Justice that the World hath beene governed from the beginning, (to wit) by a Justice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called naturall Pietie: Again, by a Justice divine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Justice civill, begotten by both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded; and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most evident: for *Adam* being Lord over his owne Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, *Cain and Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

†. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane society.

VVHat other Policy was exercised, or State founded after such time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the Flood, it cannot be certainly knowne, though it seeme by probable conjecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the Egyptians (remembered among their antiquities) were before the generall Flood: & very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyranny in Government, or from some rougher forme of Rule, than the Paternall.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three severall sorts of Government were in severall times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Lawes, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or observance of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity: and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Judges and Officers shall thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall judge the people with righteous judgement.* Deut. 1. 17.

The second Government is of divers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimatum potestas*: to which *Oligarchie* (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the *Decem viri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, feditiously iwaying the State, contrary to their own Lawes and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly exprest by *Tholofanus*; *unius, paucorum, & multorum*; *Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second increase of Mankind, the same grew in this sort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many Houholds (man by nature loving society) joynted their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicius*; of the Greeke *κωμης*, which signifieth a Houfe, or of the word (*Via*) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first Houfe grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a society of divers Villages) so called of the Greeke *παγος*, which signifieth a Fountaine: because many people (having their habitations not far asunder) drinke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires, answereth not unfaily.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to joyne and fit together divers of their Villages, environing them first with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus*, because wals were opposed against Enemies; or *ab opibus*, because therein they gathered their riches for safety and defence: as also they were called *Urbes*, *ab urbe*, because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varron*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* signified no other than the very wals & buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quod multi udo civis*, of coming together. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but onely such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subjects are also knowne. For every Citizen is also a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no Subject, but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken of *Magistro*, *sum a Master*, and the word (Master) from the Adverbe *Magis* (as also *Magisteria*, *Precepti of Ari*) or else from the Greeke word (*Μεγιστος*): and so the Greekes call them *Μεγισταν* whom the Latines call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

The office and duty of every Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith he) *is the keeper of right and equity*, but the same is best taught by *Saint Paul*, who expresth both the cause efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and office. *A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth, but if thou doe evil, feare: for he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil.* He also teacheth in the same place; *That every soule ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained, and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God*, the giver and fountaine thereof: and shall not onely be therefore subject to the judgement and condemnation of Man, but of God: *For ye must be subject* (saith he) *not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbered of Gods punishments upon those that have resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himselfe subjected themselves to the power of Magistraty. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cesar* should be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded the *Israelites* (even those that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them and for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Jacob* blessed the King of

of Egypt: And it is acceptable in the sight of our Saviour (saith *Paul*) that ye make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did *Saint Chrysostome* in his Homily to the people preferre Monarchical Government, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum*; Better a tyrannous King, than no King: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his History) *Sub malo principe esse quam nullo*; It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them: *Neque enim libertas tutior ulla est* (saith *Claudian*) *quam Domino servire bono*: No liberty (saith he) more safe for us than to be servants to the verinuous. And certainly howsoever it may be disputed, yet is it safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000 Tyrants: under a wise man that is cruell, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered as Citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the Government, That kinde of rule which a man would dislaine in his owne house, were very unfit to governe great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Houholds joynted themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens joynted together, and established Lawes by consent, associating themselves under one Government, and Government; they so joynted, were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

§. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

Now this first Age after the Flood, and after such time as the people were increased and the Families became strong and dispersed into severall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Covetousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then fought for no larger Territory than themselves could compass and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintaine life: nor for any other apperrell, than to cover them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And sure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empire, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deserves have commonly the least impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time doe not onely harden and shrinke the openest and most joviall hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes some estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sunne whose meanes are answerable unto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites unsatisfied, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times injurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his dayes be many: for our younger yeares are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the greivous alterations in our selves, and the paines and diseases which never part from us but at the grave make,

Eldes.

Rom. 13. 4.

Ver. 1.

Wid. 5.

Hier. 17. 7.
Gen. 10. 17. 2.
25. 26.

Tactis in Dial.
de Ona.

Ecclij.

Arnobio lib. 2.

Ecclij. 6. 7.

make the times seeme so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of mans nature being also such, as it adoth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut semper uetera in laude, præsentia in fastidio sint; it comes to passe (saith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we alwayes extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the errors of wayward Age: Quod sint laudatores temporis acti; That they are praisers of fore-past times, forgetting this advice of Salomon: Say not then, Why is it that the former dayes were better then these? For thou dost not inquire wisely of this thing: to which purpose Seneca, Majores nostri quæsti sunt, & nos querimus posterique querentur, everos, esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deteriores hominum & in omne nefas labi: Our Ancesters have complained, we doe complain, our children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth doe reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil. These are usuall the courses of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius? Nova res quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus quibus capiti nova fuit & repentina: What soever is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new, and so daime. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may set downe for certain, that as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: so (relatively) he gave the care, and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not onely to the Kings themselves, but even to the meaneest of his Creatures: Nunquam particulari bono servit omne bonum, The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one onely: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a generall love it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For, Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the willor dispositions of men.*

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices sprang those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to these dayes. But this Nobility, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in vertue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis*. But after such time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterity, Saint Hierome judged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate confringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kinde of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancestors*. For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiqua divitiæ*; Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Pines*) be a witness of vertue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Lineage: then are tholein whom Vertue is extinguished, but like unto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship instead of *Christ, our Lady*, and other *Saints* men in whom there remaine but the dregs and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weedes. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountaines,

if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producit aliquando Cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum; Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes poisoning Hembane, and out of barren soyle precious Gold*. For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth Charron (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Lineage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the common-weale. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profecution of publike Vertue, serving his Prince and Countrey, and being defended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our selves acquire by our Vertue and well deserving) cannot be ballanced with that which is both naturall by Descent, and also personall; yet if Vertue be wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (saith Charron) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which he calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies with they knew wel how to wipe off againe. But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we have of vanitie in deriving our selves of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobilitie (without Vertue) to be shame and dishonour, than Noblesse and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamitie is wanting (saith Bernard) to him that is borne in sinne, of a Potshave body and barren minde? For (according to the same Father) Delficium iugacis honoris huius, & male coronat a nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou maiest consider thy selfe nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Myre, or glittering with Jewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or fluffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain morning clouds, which doe or will soone passe over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping, because he is borne, and repining, because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.*

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betwene it and dust: which if thou dost not beleve (saith S. Chrysostome) looke into the Sepulchres & Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily persuade thee by their owne example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seem more Noble and beautiful than dust, this proceedeth not from the diversitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creator.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade
Of virtuous life; not in the fleshy Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howsoever the custome of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues: yet Solomon (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Follow-Princes: *There is an evil (saith he) that I have scene under the Sun, as ever-roun that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellencie.*

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

§. I.

That Nimrod was the first after the Flood that reigned like a Sovereigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have beene of just authoritie.

THE first of all that reigned as Sovereigne Lord after the Flood was Nimrod, the Sonne of Chush, distinguished by Moses from the rest (according to Saint Augustine) in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten

by *Chush*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than some of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howsoever, seeing *Moses* in expresse words calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chush*, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have no respect.

[illegible]

But howsoever this word (*a mightie Hunter*) be understood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thofe, which went with him from the East into *Shinar*: so, this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no where's found, that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeeres of his life excepted) imployed in *Babylon*: nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troupe; among the builders of *Babel*.

The fame is also confirmed by divers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Saphe*, and *Javan* were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East: And though *Sem* came not himselfe to be here West as *Sbinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes *Nephew* *Feber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebremes* (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldas*: about the Citie of *Uz*, from whence *Abraham* was by God called out of *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

into *Canaan*. And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldea*, were no partners in the unbelieving worke of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia Heber remansit hec lingua; In the Family of Heber this Language remained* (saith *Saint Augustine* out of *Ephraime*). and this Language *Abraham* uled; yea, it was anciently and before the Flood the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Celestinus*) *lingua humana*: the humane language.

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Ægyptius*, *Forsvæl*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of *Sam* were the chief Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by just authority than violence of usurpation.

§. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus were three distinct persons.

BEnzo; and out of him *Nauclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*, *Eusthius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierome* upon *Ose*; and these words of S. *Augustine* being made him of the same opinion: *Ibi autem Ninus regnavit post mortem patris sui Belii, qui primus illic regnaverat 65. annos: Thore did Ninus reign after the death of his Father Belus, who first governed in Babylon sixtie five yeeres.* But it could not be unknowne to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of *Nimrods Kingdome* (saith he)

was *Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinar*; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it beft agreeeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) fuppofed: for in *Ninus* time the World was marvelloufly replenifhed. And if *S. Auguftine* had undoubtedly taken the *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for thofe words of *S. Auguftine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*; *Who was the first that reigned there*) fuppofed to be meant by *Belus*: thofe words do not prove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although *Julius Cæfar* overthrew the liberty of the *Romane* commonwealth, making himfelfe perpetual Dictator, yet *Auguftus* was the firft eftablifhed Emperor: and the firft that reigned abfolutely by fovereigne authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity; laying the foundation of Sovereigne Rule, as *Cesar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Percutius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 2000. yeeres after the flood (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but such agreement of times proves it not. For so *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the second, were kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other in the same yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoyning-but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the City of *Nineves*.

Now whereas *D. Scilius* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and suppressed the *Babylonians*; the same rather proveth the contrarie, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the feare of his Empire at *Nineve* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdaine thereof fall from his obedience, whom hee recovered againe by strong hand; which was cause: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* his time.

— Dicitur altam
Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis Urbem.

Semiramis with wals of bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alleged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mighty *so Japhet* hath the name of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments; It may be answered, that such a tradition might have been given to many other Kings as well. For if we may believe *Japhet*; then were *Vexor* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanis* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference between them.

For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so far removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalde*: which worke he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have *Nimrod* to have beene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not find that supposition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of these Cities: but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Citie of *Acad*, which the *Sep-
tuagint* calls *Archad*, & *Epiphanius*, *Arpal*, *Junius* takes it to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*, for
the Region thereabout the *Cosmographers* (saith he) call *Acadene* for *Acadene*. Others

§. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdomes could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

That so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soon after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For opportunitie being a Princeesse liberrall and powerful, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisedom ought; by whose presence many times more minde of men receive all those helps and supplies, which alone the understanding mindes of men receive: so as every Leader of a troupe (after the division of the tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made unto them, held the power which they posselt, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, & undertooke to inhabit all the knowne parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not have beene posselt in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neither did those that went, and travelled far off (order being the true Parent of prosperous successe) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humor that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their owne Traavailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which fought after any proportion of greatness, either posselt the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Minuters and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings & Conquests of *Ninus* (the son of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way soever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he first tooke on him Sovereignty and sole commandement of all those the children of *Nod*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others also raised themselves to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his sonne and Successor) found *Sabatus* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts: which *Sabatus* I take to be the same, which *Iustine* calls *Tanais*; and should conjecture, that *Mizraim* had bene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error; (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me, rightly accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Scythius*, that lived certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

§. VI.

Of the name of *Belus*, and other names affines unto it.

Hence this second King and Successor of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, question hath bene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

Cyrius against *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus* *Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many Writers have observed, signifieth the Sun in the Chaldean Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by divers others of the Chaldean Princes, and *Babylonian Satraps*: so was it used (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

See more of this, as of this first Part Chap. 7. §. 6.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinity) those voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Belphegor*, *Belpheub*, and *Beelphephon*. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldean, convert the word *Baal* by the Latine, *Principes militie*, Chiefe in the Warre; though *Daniel* expounding secrets. *Saint Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the same signification: *Hieron* Off. c. 1. c. 2. and faith, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memorie of his father set up to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lycanus*) came Idolatry, and the first use of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interpret *Bel* by *Venus*, or *Isidore* or ancient; adding, that as among the *Affryans* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: so in the *Punice* or *Carthaginian* Language it signifieth God: *Glycas* makes it an *Affryan* name properly: and *Iosephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Moenites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountaine *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is of the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which also was the opinion of *Saint Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* soundeth (God) and *Sebut* (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Jewes* expresse the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth us the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me *Ishi*, and shalt call me no more *Baal*: for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouthe. For although the name of *Baal* or *Babal*, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that *Bel* among the *Chaldeans* for the *Sunne*, was not because it properly signifieth the *Sun*, but because the *Sunne* there was worshipped as a God: as also the *Fire* was, *tangam* *Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Beelphephon*, *Belphephon* is expounded out of *Facinus*, *Dominus specula vel custodia*: The Lord of the Watch-Tower, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place where-in it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpheor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they say) is as much as *Demodavit*; and therefore the word joyned expretheth a naked Image. Some name the Father *Saturne*, the sonne *Jupiter*, and the Grand-child *Hercules*. *Satur ni dicitur* familiarum Nobilium, *Regumq;* qui turbes condiderunt sensim; primogeniti eorum *Joves* & *Junones*; *Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi*: The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called *Saturnes*; their first-borne, *Jupiters* and *Junoes*; and their valiant Nephewes, *Hercules*. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Vives*) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne *Ninus*, who caused his father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) upon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was father to *Egyptus*. They adde; that this *Belus* carrying a Colony to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a Citie in which he ordained *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Teglanus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we speake, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begun from *Belus* in *Babel*.

As for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inventor of *Astronomie*, if *Plinie* say true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth that it did remaine in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: Over the River (saith he) there are gardens, where they say the ruines of *Belus* his Tombe, which *Xerxes* brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramid made of Bricks, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appears by *Cyrius* against *Julian*, that he obtained divine worship yet living:

Lyc. in Sapien. Salom. c. 11.

Isid. l. 8. c. 12.

Hieron. in Off. c. 4. & 9.

Aulu. de epist. lib. 1.

Diod. l. 3.

of the Devill to doe mischief, His Majesty confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fift Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Divell prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Devill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldaans*: who tooke upon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their events: and this they wanted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magick*, having chiefly fought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeite the highest and most noblest part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kind of *Magick* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Philo Judeus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magick* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldea*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem*, (saith *Jo. Damascenus*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature.* *Iosephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that he instructed the *Egyptians* in *Astronomie*, *zicke* and *Astronomie*, who before *Abrahams* coming unto them knew none of these sciences.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garfias*: *Alexander* & *Eupolemon* dicunt, quod *Abraham* sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus, *Chaldaeos* primum, deinde *Phenices*, deum *Egyptios* sacerdotes *Astrologiam* & divina docuerit; *Alexander* (saith he, meaning *Alexander Polyhistor*) and *Eupolemon* affirm, that *Abraham* the holiest and wisest of men, did first teach the *Chaldaans*; then the *Phenicians*; lastly, the *Egyptian* Priests, *Astrologie* and divine knowledge.

The third kind of *Magick* containeth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabbings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bosome to humane use: *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*, *Virtues* hidden in the center of the center, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villanova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before these in elder times, and who better understood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyaneus* remembered by *S. Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*; among the *Indians*, *Theopian*; among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*; among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*; the *Thracians* had *Zoroastrius*; the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abraham*; & the *Italians*, *Petrus Apollonius*. The *Magick* which these men profess, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio a viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruentissimè, ut inde opera prodant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant: Magia est the connexion of naturall agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man, so the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.*

In all these three kinds, which other men divide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the creator of the Universall: he beleeveth of the *Trinity*, which he could not investigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*, approveth the immortalitie of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, & Love, discommending of the Abstinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: Which Oracles of his, *Pselus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others have gathered and translated.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the Theologie of the *Phenicians*, using *Zoroaster* owne words: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilis, simplicissimus, ingenitus, ex se partium, sibi simillimus, honorum omnium auctor, munera non cupiens, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacra nature unicus inventor &c.* Thus writeth *Zoroaster* word for word, God the first incorruptible, ever lasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching, perfect, wise by nature, the only inventor thereof.

Sextus Senensis speaking of the wisdom of the *Chaldaans*, doth distinguish those wise men

men into five orders, (to wit) *Chacedim*, or *Chaldaans*: *Alaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which he translates *Ariolæ*, or *Sophists*) *Mechaphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; *Witches*, or *Poyseners*; and *Gaxarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diviners*.

Chacedim were those which had the name of *Chaldaans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hi celorum motus diligentissimi spectabant; Tæse did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens*: to whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Alaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis philosophati sunt; Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the son of *Beer*) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the invention of this art to *Zoroaster* the *Persian*.

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith *Saint Augustine*, *Plinie*, and *Iustine*) of another *Zoroaster*: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the *Magi*, which he received from his Ancesters.

Mechaphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we have spoken already out of *His Majesty*es booke of *Demonologia*.

Gaxarim, or *Aruspices* (after *Saint Hierome*) which divine from the entrails of beasts slain for sacrifices: or by *Gaxarim* others understand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceive the difference between those wise men, which the kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Pencer* truly observeth, *Præcærit religionis Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ studijq; veræ Philosophiæ dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; perciperet; The Magi* (saith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the *Persian* Religion, as the *Levites* among Gods people, & they were given to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be King of the *Persians*, who had not first bene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the *Magi*. *Sextus Senensis*, in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magick*, his owne words are these: *Et ne quem moveant præmissi Polychronij & Theophilij testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; alteram ubiq; ab Origine damnatam, quæ per fædera cum demonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam, quæ ad præcæritæ naturalis philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium; That the testimonies of Theophilus and Polychronius (saith he) may not move any man, it is to be understood that *Magick* is of two sorts, the one every where condemned by *Origen*; which worketh (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made with Devils; the other commended by *Origen*; which appertaineth to the practicke part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirably things by the mutual application of naturall virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.*

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries upon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes between these foure kinds of wise Men formerly remembered, he useth this distinction: *Quos non barolos; ceteri incantatores (id est) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; malefici, qui sanguine utuntur & victimis, & sæpe coniungunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldaeo Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod sint Philosophi Chaldaeorum: & ad artis huius scientiam Reges quoq; & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde & in nativitate Domini Salvatoris ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethleem adoraverunt puerum, stellæ desuper ostendentes; They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Incantators, seeme to me such as performe things by words; Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, that use blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the *Chaldaans* I take them to be signified by the name of *Genethliacos* upon nativities, whom the vulgar call *Mathematicians*. But common custome takes *Magicians* for *Witches*, who are otherwise reputed in their owne Nation: for they are the *Philosophers* of the *Chaldaans*; yea King and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art: whence at the nativite of the Lord our Saviour they sort of all understood his birth, and coming unto holy Bethleem, did worship the Child: the Starre from above shewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is,*

De vitæ similit.
Cyp. de vitæ
similit.

See upon his
Commentus
Ang. de Civit.
lib. 1. c. 2.

* Tunc in mundo
lucet Trinitas
cujus Monarchia
principio, causam
namq; perfectam
patris & filii
trinitatis secunda.
P. 1. & 2. c. 1.
De præp. Evangel.
lib. 1. c. 2.

lib. 1. c. 2.

Pencer de
vinitatibus
mag. lib. 1. c. 130.

Bibl. 1. c. 13.

great difference between the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that *Magus* bodie dicitur, qui ex fadere facto nititur diaboli opera ad rem quamcumque, *That he is called a Magician now-a-days, who having entered league with the Diuell, useth his helpe to any matter*: yet (as our Saviour said of *Divorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magick* is of the wisdom of Nature; other Arts which undergoe that title, were invented by the fallhood, subtilty, & envie of the Devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certaine ceremonies, *Per mala fidem; By an evill faith*: in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worke, to things that suffer. And though by the *Jewes* those excellent *Magicians, Philosophers, & Divines*, which came to worship our Saviour Christ, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecaphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custome therein. *Consecratio autem vinctus Magos pro maleficiis accipit; Common custome* (saith S. Hierome) *understandeth Witches under the name of Magicians: And amicitie* (saith Peter Martyr) by the word (*Magi*) *understood good and wise men. Quid igitur exparefci Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficium & veneficium, sed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem? O ibon fearfull one* (saith Ficinus) *why doubtst thou to use the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Gospel, which doth not signifie a Witch or Conjuror, but a wise man and a Priest?* For what brought this slander to that study and profession, but only idle ignorance, the Parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit miseriecentia quorundam operum, quae vera opera naturalia sunt: verumtamen quia procuratore demonum, naturae ipsae vel conjungentium, vel commiscientium, vel aliter ad operandum expeditum facta sunt, opera demonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hac. De operibus huiusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant: The marvel* (saith Ficinus) *of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath bene the cause of this slander: but because these workes have bene done by procurement of Devils, joyning the natures together or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought to be workes of the Devils by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall Magick, which men call very improperly Necromantie.*

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: *For by understanding* (saith he) *the uttermost* *virtutis* *of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Divinitie of Christ: for other* *wife* (to use his owne words) *ignorat terminis potentiae & virtutis rerum naturalium, sed nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quae fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia: The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not understood, we must needs doubt whether those very workes which Christ did, may not be done by naturall means: after which he goeth on in this sort: Ideo non hereticè, non superstitiosè dixi, sed verisimè & Catholice per salem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I sayd not heretically, nor superstitiously, but most truly and Catholically, that by such Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divinitie of Christ. And seeing the *Jewes* and others, the enemies of Christian Religion, doe impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which Christ wrought were not above Nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either converted or put to silence.*

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Diuell here, as in other kindes, hath sought to obtrude evill things, under the name and colour of good things.

Seeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a *Magician* (according to the Persian word) is no other than, *Divinorum cultor & interpretes: A studious observer & expounder of divine things*; and the Art of it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall Magick) no other, *Quam naturalis Philosophia absoluta consummatio: Than the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophie*: Certainly then it proceeds from ignorance, and

no way forth with wife and learned men, *promiscue*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to use S. Pauls words) *with those beggerly rudiments*, which the Diuell hath shuffled in, & by them bewitcheth and befooleth gracelesse men. For if we condemne naturall Magick, or the wisdom of Nature, because the Diuell (who knoweth more than any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, & Excrements: then may we by the same rule condemne the Physician, and the Art of healing. For the Diuell also in the Oracles of *Amphiaras, Amphilocho, Trophonius*, and thelike taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of judgement is ignorant, that the Diuell from the beginning hath sought to thrust himselfe into the same imployment among the Ministers and Servants of God, changing himselfe for that purpose into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrologie*, by giving a divine power to the Starres, teaching men to esteeme them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Buntings* observeth) it is true, that judicial *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heavenly bodies (as even general experience sheweth) have and exercise their operation upon the inferior. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moisten, and governe the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have severall and proper names, so have they severall and proper virtues: the Starres doe also differ in beantie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names*. But into the good & profitable knowledge of the celestiall influences, the Diuell ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of *Characters, Numbers* and *Incantations*; and taught men to beleeve in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wife and the simple observe when the Sea-birds forsake the shores and fly into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crows and bating of Ducks, foretew rain: for they feele the Ayre moistened in their Quils. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Even the Stork in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, & the Swallow*. Herupon, this enemy of Mankind, working upon these as upon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill successe in the War, and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the livers & bowels of birds and beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by Dreames not only to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as *Abimelech* to restore *Sarai* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Joseph*, and by Dreame informed *Jacob, Laban, Pharo, Salomon, Paul, Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. *Job 33: 17* For at it is remembered in *Job*: *In Dreames and Visions of the night, when sleepe falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his captivity*: therefore, I say, doth the Diuell also practise his Divinations by Dreames, or (after *Parisenfis*) *divinitatis imitationes, his mocke-divinitie*. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mitbridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreams (without distinction of cases) were drawne to Divination, forbad the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie*, cap. 13. (seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is to be condemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dreame for two grievous diseases that oppress him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poisoned wound; nor that which *Saint Augustine* reporteth of a *Milanoise*, whose son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the Acquitance lay to discharge it: not that

that of *Asiages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is not in our selves, this place denieth dispute.

§. IIII.

That Daniels mistaking Nabuchodonosors condemning of the Magicians, doth not iustifie all their practices.

BUt it may be objected, that if such Divinations as the Heathens commonly used were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the hasty sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians of Chaldaea*, and in a sort forbid it? especially considering that such kind of people God himselfe commanded to be slaine. To this, divers answers may be given. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldeans*, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the king, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolical: *For there is none other (said the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh*: and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evill or unlawfull Arts, but were merely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: and therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* instruction: for himselfe had bin taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which some were termed *Sooth-sayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi* or *Wise-men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbid the execution of that judgement, because it was unjust. For howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawfull Arts (though not unlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Divell himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right use of them

NOWITHSTANDING this mixture every where, of good with evill, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity: The good, The truth, The purity in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forebare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Divell in the Image of *Baal*, *Astarte*, *Chemosh*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleeve the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehout wife and learned men in these dayes from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Divell, and applied by his Ministers to harmefull and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honest and learned Physician or Magician from the using of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Divell betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or evill successe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crows against Raine, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For if we confound Arts

with the abuse of them, we shall not onely condemne all honest Trades and entercange among men (for there are that deceive in all professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornfull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Plinius* teacheth) we should shew our selves *ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull we should shew our selves towards those, who with paines and care have discovered unto us light in this light.*

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks also and Professers thereof: though those that are excellently learned judge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili culum compingitur, elucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate.* In the Theology, it is the same as the Mathematicks that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of Knowledge, not in an obscuring, but in a neere and manifest representation.

§. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawfull Magicke.

IT is true that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of Magicke: and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that Tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia: and of this againe there are diverse kinds. The one is an Invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the Divell himselfe gives answer in stead of those that seeme to appear. For certaine it is, that the immortal soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of raising up Divels, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distracted, as they beleeve that by terrible words they make the Divell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) inforce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Divell is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to sit in Gods seate, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour Christ, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet resolve himselfe, that he can draw the Divell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Divels seeme to use, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and soules of those which raise them up; as His Majestie in his Booke aforesaid hath excellently taught: *That the Divels obediente is only secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto, respectu, that is, upon bargain.*

I cannot tell what they can doe upon those simple and ignorant Divels, which inhabit *Iamblicus* imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come uncalled: and always attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, doe no way need any such enforcement.

Or it may be that these Conjurers deale altogether with *Cardani* mortall Divels, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avornathan* and of *Porphyrius*, who taught that these kind of Divels lived not above a thousand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise of *Oraculo rum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true that the Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwayes feare those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus* when he had lifted him up in the Ayre, cast him headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by *S. Peters* Prayers (of which *S. Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prankce at other times upon his owne accord the Divell played with *Theodorus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to have beene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had *Budae*, a principall pillar of the Manichean Heresie, as *So. lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.* *crates* in his Ecclesiastical History witnesseth; and for a manifest proofe hereof we see it every

every day, that the Divell leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himselfe a *Pegasus*, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so thinke: For so those that received not the truth (saith Saint Paul) *God shall send them strong illusions*. Of these their supposed transpositions (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Majesty in the second Booke and the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses & Crystals; of whom *Cusanus* says *Falsi sunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore*. They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up their spirits within their nailes or in Glasses: For a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another Art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven, and communicate withall. But the administering Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; so seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to thinke (except the divell have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the professors thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Enforcement, are men of evill faith, and in the power of Satan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Divels, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Divinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Atmotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Falcination or Witchcraft: the Practisers whereof are no lesse envious and cruell, revengefull and bloody, than the Divell himselfe. And these accursed creatures having sold their soules to the Divell, worke two wayes; either by the Divell immediately, or by the art of poysoning. The difference betwene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, His Majesty hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Divell.

There is another kind of pettie Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falcination, yet was it no more to be admired than *Mahomet*'s Dove, which he had used to feed with Wheate out of his care: which Dove, when it was hungry, lighted on *Mahomet*'s shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to finde his breake-fast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or intind any beast as he did his Horse.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marians* a people of *Italie* practised: *Colobrus disrupit Marfa cantu*: *inchanting Marfa makes the snakes to burst*.) That it hath bene used it appears, *Psalme* 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kinde, and even by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magick* or Inchantments than to draw out a Mousse with a peece of tosted Cheefe.

§. VII.

Of divers wayes by which the Divell semeth to worke his wonders.

But to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not give to the Divell any other dominion than he hath (not to speake of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was destroyed by evill Angels) he otherwise worketh but three wayes. The first is by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The second

second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giveth three causes: the first, a naturall impotency: the second, their own reason dissuading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimas bestias*. *S. Augustine* was of opinion that the Frogges which *Pharaohs* Sorcerers produced, were not naturall, but that the Divell (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Varinus* observeth, those Frogges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of *Moses* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith Saint *Augustine*: *Nec sancti Dæmones naturæ creati, sed quæ à Deo creati sunt committant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt*. The Divels create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not: of which in the 83. question he giveth the reason. *Demon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes manus intelligentia, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet*; (that is) The Divell fills with certaine clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Divell can possesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes and blinde them, it is nor hard for him to dazzle those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Divell entereth in, beginning with the fantastic, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantastic is most apt to be abused by vaine apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogges were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magica artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to *Thomas*) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem*: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Augustine* in another caule like unto this (to wit of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per atræa cum pascivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that Saint *Augustine* beleeveth that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of naturall *Magick* he useth these words: *De huiusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pedicularum, & vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adiuvantibus, quæ ipsa semina naturæ constant & accunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti sunt, talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant*: In such workes (saith he) the so daime generation of Frogges and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the Seeds of Nature, & quickning them in such wise that they so hasten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they thinke it is done by the powers of Divels. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvelle not at such working, but glorifie the Creator. Now by these two wayes the Divels doe must frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the uttermost of nature, and by illusion: for their is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as move it or compress it; who knows not that these things are also naturall: Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and observed the successe of every counsaile: he that by reason of his swift morions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsaile with all those that studie & practise subversion and destruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better judge, than those that inhabit the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes ghesse rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to give impediment) it were very strange. For we seee that wise and learned men doe oftentimes

oftentimes by comparing like causes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Divell doubteth, and would willingly keepe his credit, he overmore answereth by Riddles: as

Croesus Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim:

If *Croesus* over Halys goes,
Great Kingdomes he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Divell may proceed in predictions, which (otherwise) belong to God onely, as it is in *Esay*: *Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew us at all times and certainly what is to come. Solus enim divina intelligentia ac sapientia est, occulta nosse & revelare; It is only proper to Gods understanding and wisdom, to know and reveale hidden things.*

*Guil. Posticci
de legib. c. 24.*

§. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Divell: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the Divell hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel* raised by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Divels acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. *Iustine Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeed; and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgenfis*; from which authorities those men borrow strength which so belevee. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and so did *S. Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt anima piorum a corpore separata; in purgationem autem penas launt, donec ipsarum adiutam eternam, illarum vero ad eternam mortem, quae secunda dicitur, corpora reviviscant; The soules of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and second death.*

*Aug. de civ. D.
lib. 18.
Iust. M. art. ad
Crisostom. c. 75.
Hilari. P. 1. c. 1.
in fine.
Tert. de anima
in fine.
Athanas. c. 13.
Chrysostom. 19.
in Evang. Mat.*

And (besides *Iustine Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, and others, beleev'd firmly, and taught it: that the soules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith *Cyrrill*) *quoniam a corporibus sanctorum anima abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris Bonitatis divina commendari: We must belevee when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father. If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Divell cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, Ab inferno nulla est redemptio; From hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death: Numus* (saith *Augustine*) *in igne eterno; alterum in regno eterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdome. And though it be written in Iere. P. 1. c. 1. that many there are who belevee that the dead have againe appeared to the living; yet the Glosse upon the same Text findes it ridiculous: Credunt, & male, quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Glosse) *They belevee, and they belevee amisse, because they be but Phantasmes or Apparitions. For whereas any such voyce hath bene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: Hoc oratio a fraude atq; deceptione diabolica est. That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Divell, saith *Chrysostom*. Likewise of the same, saith *Tertullian*: Absit ut animam cuiuslibet sancti, nedum Prophetae, a demonio credamus extraximus: God forbid that we should thinke that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet, should be drawn up againe by a Divell.*

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Samuel*; so doe they the wooden images, *Cherubins*; and false brazen gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonical* Scriptures, as *S. Augustine* himselfe in this Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Straiden*, following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For though the Divell would willingly per-

26. 5. Epiphani.

swade, that the soules (yea even of just men) were in his power; yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as *Saint Augustine* (or whosoever wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that he refused to answer him either by *Dreams*, by *Urim*, or by his Prophets: it were foolish to conceive, that he would permit the Divell, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrary to his own divine Law to aske counsell of the dead; as in *Deuteronomy* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Divell, and not the soule of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

But because *Helias* and *Helizens* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Divels which *S. Augustine* calleth *Ludificatores animantium sibi subiectorum*, Mockers of their owne vassals, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe also perfwade their gracelesse and fraudulent attendants, that themselves both possesse, & have power over the soules of men. *Eldidit Diabolus aciem tum pestantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith *L. Vives*; *The Divell beguileth the sense both of the beholders, & of those that so imagine. These then are the bounds of the Divels power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntary vassall: Potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere*, saith *S. Augustine*; *he can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil. Such as thinke otherwise, may goe into the number remembered by *Lucretius*:*

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq; omnia caecis
In tenebris metuant: sic nos in luce timemus.*

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his Wife Semiramis, and of other of her Aets.

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Nineve by Ninus: and of Babylon by Semiramis.

IT to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Nineve*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is uncertain. As for the City it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compassse 440. *stadia*, or *Iustin*, 125 a breadth as three Chariots might passe on the Rampire in front: there was were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

But this City (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campfor* at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Nineve* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldea*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Nineve*, *Semiramis* *Babylon*: where *Iustin*, 11. in the sought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages for the use of themselves and their people, without eiements, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and purposing to follow the con-

quest,

*1 Kings. 17. 22.
2 Kings. 4. 34.
Nabul. c. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Nabul. c. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Nabul. c. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Nabul. c. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Nabul. c. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Nabul. c. 1. 2. 3. 4.*

*Justin. 1. 25.
Diod. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4.
Sabel. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.*

quest which her husband had under-taken, gave that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

§. II.

Of the end of *Ninus*: and beginning of *Semiramis* reigne.

THis she did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had mastered *Babylonia*, and subjected unto his Empire all those Regions betwene it and the *Mediterranean Sea*, and *Hellepont* (Asia the lesse excepted) and finished the works of *Nineve*, he left the World in the year thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. years. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the absolute soveraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenaeus*, and others, speakes of five dayes. In which time (moved either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) she caused *Ninus* her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the *Greekes*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which, *Ninus* was said to be the first Monarch, because he changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldaea*, to *Nineve* in *Assyria*. *Justin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to invest her self, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented her selfe to the people in the person of her sonne *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne *Ninias* had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very performable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42. years after by any such subtilty: (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

§. III.

Of *Semiramis* parentage and education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.

SOME Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have beene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* calls her after the name of her City wherein she was borne, *Semiramis Ascalonensis*, of *Ascalon*, the ancient City and Metropolis of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derecta*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say that this *Derecta* or *Derectis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had professed a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the bankes of a Lake adjoining to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in love with a godly young man, she was by him made with childe, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the childe was left to the mercy of wilde beasts) the same was fed by certaine birds, which used to feed upon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adjoining to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this childe, who being per chance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonor and breach of vow; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the Poets have fained) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty & humane shape. It is thought that from this *Derecta* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fishes body: into whose Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground.

ground: and at the second fall there remained onely the Trunke of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so *S. Hierome* hath converted that place. *Varatulus*, *Pagninus*, and *Jerome* write it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a fish, and so it onely appeared: the head thereby by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my selfe I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims* was an Idoll representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritime (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phoenicia*) used all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty goods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her Expedition into *India*, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her services.

BUT for her Pedigree, I leave it to the *Assyrian Herald*: and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for her works she did at *Babylon* and elsewhere, and for the warres she made with glorious success: all but her last enterprize of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that she never returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army there survived but onely twenty persons: the rest being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or slaine by the word of *Staubrotes*. But as the multitude which went out armed of such an Army, as consisted of four millions and upwards. For these numbers she levied by her Lieutenant *Dercetanus*, (saith *Suidas*) did consist of three millions; of Horse-men one million; of Chariots armed with hookes on each side, one hundred thousand; of foot-men one million; of Chariots armed with hookes on each side, ten two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses three hundred thousand; of Gallics three hundred thousand Souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phoenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but fed upon grasse) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: so *Diodorus* himselfe hath nothing of certainty, but is farre inferior to that of *Semiramis* yet it had weight enough to overload the belief of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Army of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to passe the Hellespont) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the severall Provinces whence those Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the Army of *Semiramis* consisted, the same being broken and overthrowne by *Staubrotes* upon the bankes of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum* she sang her last song; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their ensignes.

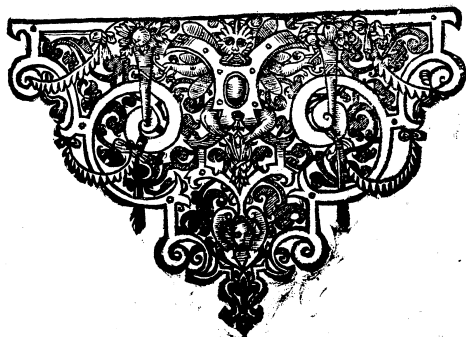
§. V.

Of the Temple of *Belus* built by *Semiramis*: and of the Pyramids of *Egypt*.

AMONG all her other memorable & more than magnificent works (besides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, environed with a wall carryed foure square of great heighth and beauty, having on each square certain Brazen Gates curiously engraven. In the Core of the square the raised Tower of a shilling high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it againe (taking the Basis of a lesse circuit) she set a second Tower; and so eight in all, one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldaean* Priests made the observation of the stars; because this tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower have many Travailleurs beene deceived; who suppose that they have seene a part of *Nimrod's* Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every year (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorne with the spoiles of *Hierusalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the soile; which *Alexander* is said to have repaired by the persuasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might have beene in his desire so to doe; but he enjoyed but a few yeares after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any such worke. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were conspicuous undiq; *navigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull observer of rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a la sommite, & tirant une fleche en l'air, a peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de la base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez*. The best Archer standing on the top of one of these *Pyramides*, and shooting an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as hee can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

Finis Libri primi.



THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the birth of *ABRAHAM* to the destruction of the Temple of *Salomon*.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of *Abraham*: and of the use of this question, for the ordering of the Story of the *Assyrian* Empire.

§. 1.
Of some of the successors of *Semiramis*: with a briefe transition to the question, about the time of the birth of *Abraham*.



After the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestowes the conquest of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Iustine*, *Orosius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealousy hee every year changed his Provinciaall Governours, and built Colleged for the *Chaldean* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced againe the *Bactrians* & *Caspians*, revolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arius*; but that he added sumptuosity, invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passe them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose wayes are warrantable, (till we meete these *Assyrians* againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues we shall best give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, & *Xerxes* or *Balanus*. For otherwise if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertaine, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures set us downe without error, by the reignes of the *Assyrian* Princes: we shall but patch up the story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe us, *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare*; No marvelle if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these *Assyrian* kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abraham's* birth, and in what yeare the same hapned after the flood. Now since all agree, that the

fortieth three yeare of *Ninus* was the birth-year of *Abraham*: by proving direſly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the flood the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we ſhall therefore by ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much jangling between thoſe *Chronologies*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the moſt part making 252. or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares betweene *Abrahams* birth and the flood: a matter often diſputed, but never concluded.

Archibuteus de temporibus (as we find him in *Annew*) makes but 250. years from the flood to *Ninus*; then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three years of *Ninus*, according to *Enchiridion* and *S. Angustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of *Abraham*'s birth was in the year after the flood 293.03, as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, the year 292.

Now, since I doe here enter into that never resolved question, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoveth me to give reason for my owne opinion : and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude ; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Envie casteth at novelty, than to goe on softly and sleepily in the eafie wayes of ancient mistakings : seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversify.

§. II.

8. 11.
A propos of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was borne in the year
292. after the Flood, and not in the year 352.

Thus which seekes to prove this account of 292. yeares, between the generall flood and *Abrahams* birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture: *So Terah lived 70 yeares, and begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran;* secondly, upon the opinion of *Josephus, S. Augustine, Bede, Isidore*, & many of the ancient Hebrews before them: authorities (while they are lightly looked upon) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembered, the later *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; that Terah at 70. years begot Abraham, Nabor and Haran: and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthiest, Abraham being the fon of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of Terah, and so necessarily borne in the seventieth yeare of his life. Secondly, who was of Abraham that *Moss* had respect in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of Nabor and Haran: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Chriſt*; from *Adam* to Abraham, without all regard of Nabor and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and fo are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that *Abraham* was borne more affuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* having no where set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very year, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. years.

§. III.

§. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.

To answer all which objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of *Abrahams* journey into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his traivales, that serveth as a ground for this opinion & a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan; the latter after his Fathers

Fathers death, the former presently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a conjecture, drawn from a place in the *E* to go out into a place which he should afterwards receive for inheritance: and he went out, *not knowing whither he went*. This supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the fame is proved, without the admission of any diffinition, by these words of *St. Stephen*: *And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell,* Acts 7. 4. that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place I direct and plain, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perfwading, that *Abraham* made two journeyes into *Canaan*; one before *Terah's* death, and another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability; or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can pick up any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that he be beleaved in the rest. But that he performed the commendement of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is true the Scriptures themselves

ving his Father was dead, (faith Martyn Stephen) God brought him into this Land. And, as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred, that Moses omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembered the other: and whence had Stephen, faith Beza, the knowledge of Abrahams comming into Canaan, but out of Moses? For if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differing from Moses, he had offered the Jewes, his adversaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of Christ. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make us think that Abraham passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to do; yet we consider, that he had no other guide, or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn nations: a nation of valiant and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrivall, and driven thence into Egypt for reliefe. His wife was old, and he had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had given him Isaac, he commanded him to offer him up to himselfe for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, let us consider the wayes themselves, which *Abraham* had to passe over the length whereof was 300. English miles; and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe over the great river of *Euphrates*, to travell through the dangerous and barren Defarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climb over the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermos* or *Gilead*: and whether these were easie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more prooffe (that he had not *animus revertendi*, not any thought of looking backward) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him, *Then Abraham took Sara his wife, and Lot his brothers son, and all their substance that they possessed, and the fowles that they had gotten in Haran: & they departed to go to the land of Canaan: & to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare unto him; his wife, and kinsmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if he could have bene thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unfertiled, and preft with extreme famine at his first arrivall. For had his Father bene then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and reliefe, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meerer stranger both in religion and Nation.

Wharthe cause might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have sent him backe thither, about the

Gen. 14.

Gen. 24. 35.
36. 37.

Gen. 24. 6. 3. 8.

Gen. 24.

2 K. 19. 20.

Psal. 137.
1 K. 14. 25.
2 K. 13. 2. 23.

De. 17. 10. 16.

the time of his fathers death : so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should doe well to make plaine, if it be not over-troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within foure or five yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very folemne oath his principall servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to traueile into those parts, and seeke out a Wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, to be linked in marriage with his onely sonne, who was then five and thirty yeares old, before which age most of the Patriarchs after the Flood had begotten children: rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleued) that either *Abraham* forgot his business when he was there; or that somewhat hapned which no man can devise; What might be the reason, that *Abraham*'s man, in doing his Masters errand, was faine to lay open the whole story of his Masters prosperity, telling his newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a son in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately bene among them, would not all this have bene an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long upon a thing so euident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to have returned backeto *Haran*, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable: considering how auerse he was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, even though a wife of his owne kinred could not have bene obtained without his personall presence. *Jacob* indeed was sent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his owne linage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey; yet he liued there as a servant; suffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That brieue saying, *Remember Lots wife*, contains much matter. Let us consider *Mesopotamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were delivered: we shall find, that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrewes*. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that he conceived great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophetic which thereupon he heard by *Esay*, made him to know, that the counsell of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of *Babylon* they sate downe and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we read, that *Sesac* and *Neco* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamity upon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into *Egypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horfes. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things doe argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumstances doe (to my understanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perserue those of judgement or understanding: I take it sufficient, that *S. Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proove it, I will beleue as they doe. For all the traueiles of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he

he removed to a mountaine betweene *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flocks and herds of Cattell were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the second time hee removed to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron*: and thence having pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumaea* under *Abimeles*: and after neere unto it at *Bersabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Morish*. But this fiction of his retreat to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Leuita* his *Cabala* hath fained, it should in reason be therewithall beleued, that he would in those his first traueiles have provided himself of some certaine seat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, family, goods and Cattell, not knowing whereto to rest himselfe. But *Abraham* when he came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the *Plaine of Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Genesis* the eleventh, *He went forth going and journeying towards the South*: and alwayes unfettered. By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebraei*.

Further, to prove that he had not formerly bene in the Country, we may note, that ere he came unto *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, saying, *Unto thy seed will I give this Land*, shewing it him as unto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknowne. For *Abraham* without any other provident care for himselfe, beleued in the Word of the living God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discover it; but being arrived, he received a second promise from God, that he would give those Countries unto him and his seed to inhabit and inherite.

Lastly, what should move any man to thinke, that *Moses* would have omitted any such double journey of *Abraham*, seeing he setteth downe all his passages else-where long and short: as when he moved from *Sichem*, and seated betweene *Haie* and *Bethel*, the distance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles: and when he left *Mamre*, and sate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse than sixe miles; No, *Moses* past over all the times of the first age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting up all betweene the Creation and the Flood in sixe chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeeres: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham*, fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. yeares. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abraham*'s travels, or other actions: or that he would set downe those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey in going and comming would have ministred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to *Abraham*'s storie.

§. IIII.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his hundred and thirtieth yeere.

Now touching the objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeere, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to have a son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed mis-cast, and mistaken: *Abraham* having respect onely to *Sarah* his wife, when he spake of their many yeeres. For when the Angel said unto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*, *Loe Sarah thy wife shall have a Son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then in that it is said, *it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sonnes after *Sarah*'s death, as *Zimron*, *Jochban*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Shibak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeares after *Isaac*: and the youngest

commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers have approved it; but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apperant to all men of judgement, that the best approved Historians; Divine and Prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories, and forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgement to our selves, which of these two accounts give the best reputation to the story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Josephus*, and those which follow him; who makes but 292. years, or thereabouts, between the floud and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. years between the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first borne of *Thare*, in the 70. year of his life: the other a younger sonne of *Thare*, borne when he had lived 130. years. And if we looke over all, and do not hastily facilitate our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being fatiated doe slothfully and drowsily fit downe; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it above 1072. years between the Floud and *Abrahams* birth: than to take away any part of those 352. years given. For if we adwisely consider the state and continuance of the world, such as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea before *Abraham* was borne, we shall finde that it were very ill done of us by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deepely betweene *Abraham* and the Floud: because in cutting them too neere the quick, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleede thereby, were not the testimony of the Scriptures supreme, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of *S. Augustine*, That wheresoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mis-understood. For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palestina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as farre as *India*: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed apparent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvelles? giving all strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mens apish braines, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the story of the World and Mankind.

§. VII.

A computation of the times of the *Affryans*, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the storie of *Abraham*.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. 16. cap. 17. IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alledged, I conclude, that from the general Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. years were consumed: and taking the *Affryan* History with us, the same number of years were spent from the Floud to the 43. year of *Ninus*: in which 43. year of *Ninus* *Abraham* was borne: which happened in the year of the world, 2009.

Now of this time of 352. years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinaar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. years to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg* *Regu* at 30. *Regu* *Seng* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth *Gen. 10.* which *S. Augustine* approveth. Giving then 30. years more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five years to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. years were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age before any of his sonnes were

were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparifon: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Reu* in the same year of his life.

Let us then allow 60. years more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly finde people to build *Babel*: for sure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which year they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are 6. years remaining) we may give them for their travels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattell: and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaine sides, for feare of a second Floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remains 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* borne: both which *S. Augustine* approveth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. years of the 352. from the Floud to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. needeth bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

And if it be objected that this time given to *Nimrod*, is over-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare over-short. For *Nimrod*, by this account, lived in all but one hundred seventy nine years: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelve: whereas *Sale*, who was the sonne of *Arphaxad*, the sonne of *Sem*, lived foure hundred three years: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne, *Ninus* reigned 9. years: which added to 43. make 52. *Ninus* dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Successor.

Semiramis governed the Empire of *Babylonia* and *Affrya* 42. years, and died in the 52. year compleat of *Abrahams* life.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. years, in the second year of whose reigne *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85. years old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by surprize *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. years, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. years after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. year of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seeme to have bin this *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. years, as aforesaid, being the 75. year of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. year of *Abraham*, and the 33. year of his owne reigne: after which he reigned five years: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Affryan* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set downe, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the storie of *Abraham*, it is most certaine; unlesse we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impietie, or account the whole Historie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for fables.

§. IX.

That *Amraphel*, one of the foure Kings whom *Abraham* overthrew, *Gen. 14.* may probably be thought to have beene *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the raigne of *Ninias* *Zameis* the king of the *Affryans*, the sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*: *Ninias* *Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most propable, is that which hath beene already noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis* or *Bajan*, and overthrew those five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the successour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. year of *Abrahams* life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlamer*, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that

this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarke*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chief, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Cities, were the vassalls of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written, *Twelve yeeres were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13. yeere they rebelled, and in the 14. yeere came Chedorlaomer and the Kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterprise, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being feated over *Tygris*, and to the East of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two being feated over *Amraphel*, being feated to the West of *Sennaar* or kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being feated to the West of *Sennaar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* beene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those four Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of *Sodome*, *Gomorrah*, &c. were his vassalls, and not *Amraphels*, yet this makes not the conjecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betweene *India* and the *Phenician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

6.X.

§. X.
Of Arioch another of the foure kings, and that Ellas, whereof he is said to have beene King,
lies betwene Coelosyria and Arabia Petraea.

NOW the two other kings joyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arich* and *Tydal*: the one king of *Ellaffar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellaffar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: so *Tofatus* thinketh that it should be *Hellepont*: which opinion *Petervius* favoureth. But this is only to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*, so is *Hellepont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any Armie: into *Arabia Petraea*, or into *Idumaea*: which Countries these four kings chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the invasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commanders: but used all the Art they had to invite *Crasus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examine the enterprize what it was. These Kings (saith the Text) made warre with *Bera*, King of *Sodome*, *Birha* King of *Gomorra*, *Shinab* king of *Admath*, and *Shemebar* king of *Zibmo*, and the king of *Bela* which is *Zoar*. All which five Kings had not so much ground as *Middlex*: being such a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Joseph* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territories adjoining, of which *Canaan* had three and thirte, allaine or hanged by *Joseph*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have bene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellepont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakenesse in the Kings of *Babylon*, and *Persia*.

And though it be alledged for an example, that divers Kings farre off, came to afflit *Pompey* against *Caesar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, doe neither leade nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatness of these pettie Kings, or of the other Countreys: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Caesar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtfull than fearful: But the whole Countrie by these foure Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene *Jordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: inclosed by the River of *Arnon* on the Southside, and by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of the two small Provinces of *Trachanis* or *Basan*, and the Region of the *Moabites*: a conquest farre unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the *Affryan Empire*, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, who subjected all the great kings of that part

part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Helleſpont*, or any other part of *Aſia* the leſſe. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* convert *Elaſar* by *Pontus*: ſo *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to joynē with the *Aſſyrians* in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuaginta* doe not change the word of *Ellasar* at all, but as they keepe the word *Ararat*, on the mountains whereof the Arke did rest; so doe they in this place retaine the Hebrew word *Ellasar*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Peregrinus* himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellepont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latin Translation hath it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Gracian Cosmographer*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Cælojyria*: and *S. Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the fame be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cælojyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly joyned with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the fame familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the Hebrew written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*; as in the *Machabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of *S. Paul*, who was sought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They were Princes for the most part confederate and depending upon the *Assyrian Empire*. It is true that we find in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was General of his armie, and the principall Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch*, confederate of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre removed from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded under *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of King of the *Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Algyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* sets it betweene the *Seacolt*, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that house (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the government of that *Persian Province* called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the fame was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* here spoken of may with more reason be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the confederate of *Ninus*: whose sones held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West unto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldea*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and bloud: which *Diod. Siculus* also confirmeth.

§. XI.

Of Tidal another of the foure Kings:

The fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it *Gojim*, which *Parablos* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Calvin* of runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, *Strab. lib. 6. fol.* finds that *Galilee* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phenicians*: *Nam tales sunt qui Galilaam habitant; Such are the inhabitants of Galile*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilee* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdomes adjoining to *Phenicia*, and *Palastina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Basanea*, *Laodicea*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidica*, *Casjistia*, *Chalibemitia*, and all these doe also joynne themselves to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia*, on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest conjecture. *Gea. 12. 6.*

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impayred.

LASTLY, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provinciall governour of Babylon, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with Pervinus in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinaar*, to call the Assyrian a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldaea*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but never by *Elam*; and Chedorlaomer or *Kedorlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the Hebrew signifieth Regale: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the Persian Kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I believe that the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatnelle at the time of this invasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, doe not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tamurlaine* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to prevalent furie God hath adjoynd a short life: and whatsoever things Nature her selfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus being the first whom the madnesse of domineering transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, insolent and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour*: enlarged the *Babylonian Empire*, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her sonne having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no lesse feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds, and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, and revenge the other: so those Kings adjoyning (whose subjection, and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not sleepe, when the advantage was offered by such a successe. For, in regno *Babylonico* hic parum resplenduit, *this King shined little* (saith *Nasclerus* of *Ninus*) in the *Babylonian Kingdome*. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men having beene never before galled with the yoke of forraigne dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery: no long descent having as yett invested the Assyrian with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a minde lesse indolence over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeares, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indoured to gaine what he could not govern, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perill enjoy.

These Considerations being joynd to the storie of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferior to the King of *Persia*, than either his superior, or equall; make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken a sunder, and restrained againe to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that such time as it pleased God to impose that great travaile upon *Abraham*, forme *ter* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, and children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeare of *Ninus*, when *Abraham*, obeying the voyce of God, tooke this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. yeares after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their libertie and former estates. For *Semiramis* Armie of foure millions, with her selfe, utterly consumed in *India*, and all her armies

and engines of warre, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunitie even to the poorest foules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Aries* the sonne of *Ninus*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians* and *Cassians*, and againe subjected them: which needed not if they had not beene revolted from *Ninus*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, so did *Balens* or *Balanens*, otherwife *Xerxes*, reduce the rest revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it said that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, id est, *Victor* & *triumphator*, a conquerour and triumpher; which undertakings had beene no other than the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves from the *Babylonian* subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninus*, we may as well thinke the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true that while *Ninus* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Assyrian Empire* was torne asunder, according to that which hath beene gathered out of *Moses*, as before remembered.

§. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that *Amraphel* was *Ninus*, nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

THE consent of all writers, whose workes have come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that these foure Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, & those fellows, were Lords of those Regions; whereunto they are or seeme intuled: doth almost enforce us to thinke that the history must so be understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often else-where in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions: then may we otherwise conceive of this Historie: removing thereby some difficulties, which men perhaps have beene unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had beene a strange conjecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawne to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sodomites*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should have beene once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldaea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, & *Canaan*, to subdue those five Townes, whose very names how they should come to his eare, being dis-joynd by so many great Nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the *Babylonian* himselfe, yea the kingdome of *Elasar* and that of *Tidal*, so far off removed, were become his dependants; what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoraster* of *Bactria*) then to employ the forces of *Amraphel*, and those other Kings, against five petty Townes, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great Citie of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the Text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small Province to rebell against so powerful a Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them: was it not more than madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of evasion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betwene *Euphrates*, yea betwene themselves and the river of

Indus

unlike to the Friarly book of *Afnath*, *Potiphar's* daughter: but unto such as consider that God workes usually by means; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died: it would seeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he should have spent 42. yeares after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* wars considered, and his former enterprises and achievements proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us: or if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the undisputable truth of Scripture doe confirm it. Nevertheless I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

of *Typhon*, *Hercules*, *Egyptus*, *Orus*, and the two *Sesostres*, successively reigning after *Mizraim*: and of divers errors about the former *Sesostres*.

Concerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three 40 yeares to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory without proofe, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alledging no witnesse, but as it were saying, *Telle me ipso*: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did every foene undertake his Fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other wars, in the same quarrell, as hath beene shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Aventinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also beleve it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seven yeares were spent, howsoever divided betweene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seven yeares after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set downe his reasons, which in a matter so probable I thinke he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. yeares of the eighteenth Dynastie to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seemes that the reigne of *Orus* lasted 115. yeares. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122. yeares by our account: who (according to *Berosus* and others) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeare of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Flood to the birth of *Abraham* — 352

From that time to the — 75
 vocation of *Abraham* — 75
 departure out of *Egypt* — 430
 Summa — 857

which summe divers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeares from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed unto *Sesostres* or *Sesostrius*: who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonii*: not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to have oyer-run a great part of *Asia*: to have built a fleet of ships on the Red Sea: and so to have entered into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle earth Seas, to have passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Justin* erring in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Justin* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostrius*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh* *Taphres*, tooke *Gerar*, and gave it to his daughter: (as we may reade more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after which time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage through the land of *Israhel*, when he made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Taphres* and *Neco* it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King *Sesostrius*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, for as much as he came into *Judah* with

with a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unless it be sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth *Sesostrius* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholiastes Apollonii*. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For, as *Justin* witnesseth, *Sesostrius*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made war on people farre removed, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came up purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sesostrius*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000. horse, *Sesac* had 60000. *Sesostrius* had 8020. charriots, *Sesac* but 1200. *Sesostrius* made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had favoured even against *Salomon*: therefore *Sesostrius* must needs have reigned whilest *Israhel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menus*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those Historians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succede those fiftene gods, namely, the twelve greater, and three lesser: himselfe also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menus*. Which name, as also *Menaus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: though mistaken by some as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menus* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* signifying an *Arithmetician*, which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Osiris*, who was a great Conquerour, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowess and great undertakings *Sesostrius* was no whit inferior to *Osiris*. For he sought victory not for gaine, but for honour only: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royall disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soone upon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was being by his owne brother purposely fired: which nevertheless he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty three yeares: after which time he chose rather to die than to live; because he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Sesostrius* left a sonne, whose name was *Pheron* or *Pherones*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Sesostrius*; but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the River *Nilus* with a javeline: which tale *Diodorus* having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where exprest: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the second, (otherwise *Busiris*) who succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this *Sesostrius* had beene king, it must needs be that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That *Busiris* began not untill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Busiris*, to the departure of *Israhel* out of *Egypt*, plainly shewes, being almost generally agreed upon, to have beene 75. yeares. That none came betweene *Sesostrius* the second, and *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, it stands so onely upon probabilities: which are these. After *Sesostrius* had reigned some while, he fell blinde; after certaine yeares he recovered his sight, as is said: which may have beene true, but is more like to have beene a fable: surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set downe, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking upon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne husband, he got his sight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindness, and when he was well againe (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. yeares: so his workes which were great, doe much more strongly argue, that his reigne was not very short. His workes are largely set down by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of which may seeme to have beene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and flues of *Nilus*: whom I think so rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades, and shovels, than with darts, and javelins; and by his diligent oversight of that worke, was like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his peoples love; whom his Father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

§. VII.

Of *Busris* the first oppressor of the *Israelites*; and of his successor *Queen Thermutis* that tooke up *Moses* out of the water.

AND herein (if I may presume to conjecture) *Busris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jereboam* did with the sonne of *Salomon*. For that *Busris* himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeareth by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Sesostris*, as *Jereboam* was by *Salomon*, in the oversight of those busineses, he had good opportunity to worke his greatnesse with the king by industry; and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king, as *Jereboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they king, as *Jereboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at others: unless he have either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he sought to derive all the paine and labour of publique workes from the Egyptians, to the *Israelites*: he surely did that which to his owne people was very painful. *Exodus*: who (as appears in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the second, or *Busris*, was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Busris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod. 1.* that the King who knew not *Joseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busris* was of a new family, *Reineccius* doth shew; who also thinks him Author of the bloudy *Edict*. Nevertheless, true it is, that *Busris*, according to whose birth it is most manifest, that the law was made, and much more that the persecution began; which *Bunting* thinks to have lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regent* or *Vice-Royes* in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the kings did put in them, seeing *Joseph* ruled with such full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh*, for bread; *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to Joseph*; what he saith to you, do ye. If to a stranger born, lately fetched out of prison, a king well able to have governed himselfe, would give such trust, & sovereign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should doe it to a man of especiall reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Joseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) resigne his kingdome to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busris* did usurpe the kingdome, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Busris* were only *Regent*, whilst the king lived, & afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke up *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*: seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say that the blind king *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his evil nature even when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busris* did it, using at first the power of a king, and shortly after the title. Thus of the 122. yeares which passed betwene the beginning of *Sesostris* his reign, & the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busris* himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the water, is said by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. yeares. Her name was *Thermutis* *Pharis*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*; *Euseb.* calls her *Aceneris*; and out of *Arrianus* his History *Mertis*; *Joseph* calls her both *Aceneris*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius* in 2. *canon* saith that she was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenech*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title, question might be made, and much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenech* indeed is set next before *Busris*; or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius*; and others:

but whether he were a King or only a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus* *Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenech*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Niece of *Grand-child*, than the daughter of *Pharaoh*, because of the glory of *Sesostris*, & the disreputation of this son. If so, and if that *Busris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened; and then was she both daughter, grand-child, and wife unto *Pharaoh*: and surviving him, *Queene* of the land, 12. yeares. But if she were daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of *Queene Thermutis*: and what king it was, under whom *Moses* was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

HE had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Eusebius*; but his lineage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned nine yeares: after whom *Chencheres*, thought to be his sonne, reigned ten yeares, and then perished in the red Sea. During the reign of *Chencheres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Te*: of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencheres* (whom some call *Aceneres*: but all or most doe stile *Sesamus*, a fighter against God) *Acheres* reigned 8. yeares; and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Sonne. In the 11. yeare of *Cherres* it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely: viz. That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had layd upon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the red Sea: else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his posterity, seemes to have taken all from *Cherres* the grand-child of *Chencheres*. For whereas *Armanis* is said to have reigned four yeares after *Cherres*: and *Armenis* one after *Armanis*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one, and his reign said to have bene five yeares. His name is called *Armenus*, otherwise *Danauus*; and his pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Julia*.

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Busris*,

T

Egyptus or *Rameses*
who gave name to the
Country, having expelled
his brother
Danauus, reigned, and
begat *Lyncus*, married
to *Hypermetra*.

Danauus or *Armenus* expelled
by his brother *Agenor*,
after hee had reigned
five yeares, became king
of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to
Hypermetra.

How it might come to passe that the Nephewes sons of *Epaphus* should have occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*; it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to have bene borne in the time of *Chencheres*. But forasmuch as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diversly related by *Eusebius*; it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danauus* & *Egyptus*, otherwise called *Armenus* and *Rameses*, was equally distant from *Busris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grand-child of *Chencheres*. And that the posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very young, it appears by the History of these two brethren, *Danauus*

Exod. 4. 19.

and *Egyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the latter 50. sonnes: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by divers Women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the generall consent of writers is, that *Armetus* or *Danaus* did succeed *Cherres*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned five yeares. *Rameses* followed, who reigned 68. yeares. This *Rameses* or *him* is that *Armesemianum* or *Armesemianus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that follows *Mercator*, *Moses* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Go, returne to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same king under whom *Moses* was born, and under whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for feare: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Rameses*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common error, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Egyptian* kings, but the time uncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Thumosis* (whom *Eusebius* calls *Amasis*) downewards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he findes *Moses* borne under *Armesemianum*, and *Israel* delivered in the dayes of his sonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharates*, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king, or a wife man, about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Pharates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable workes: yet my assent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Chenres* was king, who was drowned in the Red Sea: Secondly, the place, *Exod. 4. all are dead, &c.* may better be understood of *Bafiris* and all his children, than of one King alone: Thirdly, Saint *Cyrill* in his first booke against *Julian* the *Apostate*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeares old: *Rameses*, which was this *Armesemianum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Rameses*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeares: who is thought by *Mercator*, and premtorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already layed open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* shall lay open) and here to speake of that great deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly

OVER-PASS.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

§. 1.

Of the time of *Moses* birth, and how long the *Israelites* were oppressed in *Egypt*.

RUC it is that the History it selfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great workes of the *Highest*, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that have written of that Argument.

L. Vives in his annotations upon *S. Augustine* citeth very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* lived in the time of *Semiramis*: But if he did meane the first *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories Divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, she commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, in rerum natura.

A second opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolemy* a Priest of *Mendes*, who saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Amasis* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* History, the first Booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who though he cite some authorities, that *Moses* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, he setteth downe the testimony of *Numenius* the Philosopher, who tooke *Musaeus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musaeus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermuthis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothos*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke de bono, *Moses*, vir Deo conjunctissimus, is called *Musaeus* *Judeorum*. *Eusebius* in his Chronology, findes that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which lived at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amasis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Setebos*: to whom *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemes most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Iphereus*, governed *Affyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Crisus* the *Argives*; that then (*Sesostrius* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if we beleeve *S. Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxi* *Moses ex Aegypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Athenienfium Regis*; *Moses* (saith he) led the people of God out of *Egypt*, about the end of *Cecrops* time, King of the *Athenians*. In this fort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proved. *S. Augustine* affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne, *Saphrus* governing *Affyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeares; his successor *Mamelus* 30. yeares; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeares: in whose fourth yeare *Cecrops* began to govern in *Attica*: *Afcataides* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41. So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Affyria*; *Orthopolis* *Sicyonia*; and *Crisus* *Argos* (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, saith *S. Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth year of the *Affyrian* *Saphrus*: for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeares of *Ma-*

2514

melus, and the 40. years of *Spartus*, these make 71. with which there were wasted three years of *Cecrops* his 50. years: then taken nine yeares out of the reigne of *Afsatader*, who was *Spartus* successeur, those nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. and so it falleth right with *S. Auguslines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were oppressed in *Egypt*, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine yeares before the birth of *Moses*, & 54. yeares, or rather more after *Joseph*: betweene whose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. yeares: some of which time, and 80. yeares after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For as it is written in *Exodus*: *They set task-masters over them, to keepe them under with burdens: and they build the Cities, Pithom and Ramases, &c. And by cruelty they caused the children of Israel to serve; and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid upon them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed: even from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of *Joseph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of *Moses*, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zaan*, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be understood, I thinke it necessary to speak a few words of the principall places therein named, in this discourse.

§. II.

Of divers Cities and places in *Egypt*, mentioned in this Story, or elsewhere in the Scripture.

THis City which the *Hebrewes* call *Zaan*, was built seven yeares after *Hebron*, *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Josephus*, *Protatidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queene; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeppus*, *Thanna*; and *William Tyrtius*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* Idolatry.

Zaan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did reside *Astronomy* in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Phareates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the *Vulgar* edition for *Zaan* write *Heliopolis*, *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *English* call it *On*, and *Ptolomy*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelufium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the river *Trajan*, was the same which *Vatablus* & our *English* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrtius* in the *Holy Warre*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahabeth*; and *Simon Sathi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Priest, or Prince, whose daughter *Joseph* married. In the Territory adjoining *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onia*, the high Priest of the *Jewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternal God; not much inferior to that of *Hierusalem* (*Ptolomy Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which stood in the time of *Vespasian*, 333. yeares after the foundation by *Onia*, whom *Josephus* falsely reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of *Isay* c. 19. *In die illa eris Altare Domini in medio terra Egypti, in that day shall the Altar of the Lord be in the midst of the Land of Egypt.* *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jewes*, gave the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour *Christ Jesus* remained, while *Joseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neere which (saith *Brochard*) the fountain

Numb. 33.
Ezechiel 30.
Hierem. 43.
44. 46.
Joseph. l. 1. c. 9.
Tyrt. de Bel. sac.
l. 19. c. 23.

Ezech. de prop.
Evangel. l. 9. c. 14.
Gen. 12. 15.
Isay 19. 11.

taine is still found, called *Jesus well*, whose streames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hercof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the City of *Noph*, remembred by *Esay* and *Ezechiel*, the same which *Herodotus* calleth *Moph*: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoining, so called; which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*, and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Ma'zer*. The *Chaldeans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalensis* *Mixraim*. *Pelufium*, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *G. Ty. l. 10. c. 57*. *Sai*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damietta* as *Gul. Tyrtius* witnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelufium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrtius*) *quae olim dicta est Pelufium*; *Belbeis*, that in times past was called *Pelufium*.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diopolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bobastis, (for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* doe write it) is the same which the *Hebrewes* call *Pihah*.

To make the story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zaan*, *Heliopolis* or *Behbesmes*, *Balsophon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Deserts of *Arabia* the *Story*. For all story without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the reader; neither doth anything serve to retain, what we read, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driven to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arian Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these words: *Si enim absque locorum observatione res gestae narrentur, aut sine Topographiae cognitione historia legatur, adeo confusa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex his nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit; si narratio (saith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographicall knowledge; all things will appeare so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.*

§. III.

Of the cruelty against the *Israelites* young children in *Egypt*: and of *Moses* his preservation and education.

BUT to returne to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: inasmuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Divell, resolved to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as soon as they should be borne. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *que praeant* (saith *Comestor*) *multitudinis obsequium, who had command given them over all mid-wives*; by whom (as it seemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had beene a strange Parliament. Now whether these two (before named) were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diversly disputed. *Augustine* calls them *Hebrewes*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Josephus*, *Athenis*, and *Peregrinus* beleeve them to be *Egyptians*. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witness both the wickedness of the *Egyptians*, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding these women filled with piety, and the feare of God, commanded

Gen. 36.
Joseph. anti. l. 2.
c. 5.
Athen. Perer.
interd.

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male Hebrew children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which Pharaoh had of the multitudes of the Hebrewes, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice which every King oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have employed or sent away at his very King's pleasure; Josephus giveth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an Egyptian Priest, that among the Hebrewes there should be borne a child, who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a means, contrary to the lawes of heaven and of nature) he stretched out his bloudy and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention Herod long after practised, when fearing the spirituall Kingdome of Christ, as if it should have bene temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne, to be slaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be red. And that these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fifth of Exodus: Come, let us worke wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there be war, they join themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out of the Land. But we see, and time hath told us from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of their worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of his dearest beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods marvellous workes taken out of Nilus, being therinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, and sticking and powerlesse infant. And this Princeesse having beheld the child, his forme and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she did not onely preserve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and with equal care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child Moses, as it were, *extrañus* or *eruptus*, taken out, to wit, out of the water: or after Josephus and Glycerus, *Moy*, a voyce expressing water, and *Hise*, as much to say, as that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of opinion, that Moses was circumcised before he was put into the Arke of Reedes, and that his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of Pharaohs daughter, & by men of the most understanding, taught and instructed: *quem regio more educavit, presertim ei sapientibus Egyptiorum Magistris, quibus eruditur, scilicet Basil; unto whom she gave princely education, appointing over him wise masters of the Egyptians for his instructors.* Thereby (say Josephus and Philo) he excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Egyptians; which also the Martyr Stephen in the seventh of the Acts confirmeth; And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as Sixtus Senensis hath gathered, we have added, between the death of Moses, and the reigne of Joshua.

§. IV.

Of Moses his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certain ancient Historians of his war in Ethiopia; and of his marriage there: Philo his judgement of his Pastoral life; and that of Paterius of the Bookes of Genesis and Job.

When Moses was grown to mans estate, Josephus and Eusebius out of Arianus, tell us of ten years war that he made against the Ethiopians: of the besieging of Saba, afterward by Cambyses, called Meroe; and how he recovered that City by the favour of Tharbis, a daughter of Ethiopia, whom he took to wife. So hath Comenius a pretty tale of Moses. How after the end of that war, Tharbis resisting his returne into Egypt, Moses most skillfull in Astronomy, caused two Images to be engraven in two precious stones, whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife Tharbis, reserving the other of memory for himselfe: which ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her husband; and so Moses without danger returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. years of Moses age, when he beheld an

Egyptian

Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrewes, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the Egyptian. Soone after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into Arabia Petraea, the next bordering Country to Egypt; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknowne unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the Hebrewes: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest of wofull means) to make the watering of a few sheeps, & the assisting of the Daughters of Raguel the Madianite, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Country nearest Egypt, fittest to returne from; necessary to be knowne, because interjacent betwene Egypt and Judaea, through which he was to leade the Israelites; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over; and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted child of great Pharaohs daughter, but as a meeke and humble shepheard, sitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of Arabia neere Madian, he consumed 40. years. And though (as Philo in the story of Moses life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in that solitary Desart he enjoyed himselfe: and being separate from the preasse of the world, and the trouble some affaires thereof, he gave himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also judging that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim (sicut Philo) ars Pastoralis, quasi praeludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gravis multisimè. Quemadmodum bellicosè ingenia praexercens in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello perficere sunt sibi praeantibus materiam exercituum, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero praefectus a mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; adeoque Reges cognominantur Pastores populi, non contumelia sed honoris gratia: The art of keeping sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a Kingdome, namely, the rule over men, the most gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do before-hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wilde beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the government of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of resemblance unto a Kings rule over subjects; therefore Kings are styled shepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That Moses, in this time of his abode at Madian, wrote the Booke of Job, as Paterius supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that Job was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to Paterius opinion, That Moses while he lived in that part of Arabia, wrote the Booke of Genesis; although I cannot deny the reason of Paterius conjecture, That by the example of Jobs patience he might strengthen the oppressed Hebrewes: and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, put them in assurance of their delivery from the Egyptian slavery, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Of this calling backe into Egypt by the Angell of God, and the marvailes and wonders which he performed, thereby to perswade Pharaoh, that he was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of Exodus; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when Moses desired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him knowne, and by whom he was sent; he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the Eternall: which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment.

Exod. 3. v. 13. 14. and 15.

Hierod. Di.

Hierod. 13.

Hierod. 13.

ment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say, Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. *Una est Dei & sola natura que verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliud, sed sum est. Cetera que creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursus non esse, quod non fuit: It is the one and only nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not bene, may againe want being.* And with this, in respect of the divine nature, the saying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inani, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull: in comparison of whom (saith Esay) all Nations are as nothing, lesse than nothing, and mere vanity.*

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the Egyptians were stricken, the first was by changing the Rivers into blood: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Fowlers had throwne, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the Hebrews. To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly applyed: *And I heard the Angel of the water say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drinke.*

The rest of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flies, or stinging Wasps; by the death of their Cattle; by leprous Scabbies; by Haile and Fire; by Grasshoppers; by Darknesse; after which Pharaoh forbade Moses his presence: moved the hardened heart of the unbelieving King, no longer, than the paine and perill lasted; till such time as his own first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) stood upon no condition: whereas before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reserving their bestiall; but he was now content for the present, that the Israelites should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels, of his own people: of which (the feare being past) he suddenly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For when every one of the Hebrewes had (according to direction from Moses received) slaine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the Paschever, (a Sacrament of the most clean and unpotted Saviour,) and with the blood thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the doors; the Angel of God in the night smote every first-borne of Egypt, from the son of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the Israelites excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, Pharaoh being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The Egyptians (saith Epiphanius) did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the Israelites used after the Paschever; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not only marke their Sheep and Cartell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harmes.

§. V.

Of Pharaohs pursuit of the Israelites: and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farre as Succoth.

Now, when the people were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and in despite of himselfe. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readinesse, he consulted with himselfe, what way the Israelites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Country of the Philistims. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he suspected that Moses meant to finde some other out-let, to wit, through the Desert of Etham; and there, because the Country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that Moses was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children and Cattel, he thought it impossible for the Israelites to escape

him that way. In the meane while having gathered together all the Chariots of Egypt, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines over them; he determined to set upon them in the plaines of Gosen, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharpe Hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the Brittaines used against the Romanes, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Army of Pharaoh, Josephus affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted but that Pharaoh intended long before to assaile the Hebrewes at their departure, or to destroy them in Gosen; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, he doubted two things, either that the Hebrewes might joyn themselves to his enemies within the Land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforce't him at this time to give an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise; and Josephus partiall in this affaire, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of Egypt, which could not be done in haste. For Moses made but three dayes march, ere Pharaoh was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on fifteen miles; which, in so hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattel and Sheep with them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as Moses well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his Enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becomming a Wise man, and a valiant and skillfull Conductor; as by all his actions and counsailes from this day to his death, well appeared.

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned Israel of the Paschever, he appointed a general Assembly or Rende-vous of all the Hebrews at Ramases in the Territory of Gosen; a City standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the Countrey the dispersed Hebrewes; and gave commandement, that every Family should bring with them such store as they had of Dow, and Pasts, not staying to make it into bread: knowing then that Pharaoh was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of Pharaohs Horse-men and Chariots, of which kinde of defence Moses was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the Israelites went up armed) he marched from Ramases East-ward, towards the Desarts of Etham, and incamped at Succoth; which he performed on the fiftenth day of the Moneth Abib: which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account as the first Moneth of the year. Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their year in some other Moneth, following the manner of the Egyptians, and were now recalled by Moses to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their policke year, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or hapning among them, unto the beginning, middlest, or ending of the year; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in every Moneth, and the whole forme of their year, like enough it is that Moses himselfe in forty yeares space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captivity of Babylon, I do not finde. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the Hebrew year: wch the difference betweene them and other Nations in ordering the accompt of time.

Exod. 14. 7.

Joseph. l. 2. c. 6.

Exod. 14. 7.

The territory of Gosen was afterward called Ramases, after the name of this City, as appeareth in Gen. 47. c. Num. 33. Exod. 13.

Exod. 23. 16. c.

34. 22.

6. VI.

Of the Solarie and Lunary yeeres; and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.

The second, *Iar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.

The third, *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.

The fourth, *Tammuz*.

The fifth, *Ab*.

The sixth, *Ebul*.

The seventh, *Tisri*, or *Ethavin*, or *Ethanim*.

The eighth, *Marchesuan*, or *Mechafuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Josephus*, *Marfonane*. 8. *Obaber*.

The ninth, *Chiffen*, or *Caffen*.

The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.

The eleventh, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.

The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.

1. *March*.

2. *April*.

3. *Maie*.

4. *June*.

5. *Julie*.

6. *August*.

7. *September*.

8. *October*.

9. *November*.

10. *December*.

11. *January*.

12. *February*.

VE *Adar* was an intercalary Moneth, added, some yeares, unto the other twelve, to make the Solarie and Lunary yeere agree; which (besides the generall inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the *Hebrewes*, because of the divine Precept. For God appointed especial Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeere, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not have so bin kept, if either the day of the Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe bin found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeere.

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yeares unequal, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more dayes, as the error committed in foregoing yeares required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made up a compleat yeere. For though by the continuall course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough, even to the most savage of all people, when a yeere hath passed over them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole yeares insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men observed the Monethly conspicuous revolution of the Moone, by which they divided the yeere into twelve parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and those again into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by 11. dayes or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of sixteene yeares, every moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeere, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the yeere, making it to consist of twelve Moneths, and as many dayes more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearly revolution by any set number of whole dayes; neither did the Moone change alwayes at one houre; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be observed by him, that would seeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule.

Here lay much Wisdome and deepe Art, which could not soone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at randome, the *Athenians* held the yeere to consist three hundred and sixty dayes, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. Thus 360. dayes filled up the *Grecian* yeere (besides many collaterall proofes) it is manifest by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of

Demetrius Phalerens, which were (saith he) 360. whilst as yet the yeare exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neither did any certaine age of the Moone begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places: but must needs be shifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inserted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupy their owne rooms in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Hecatom-ban* (which answereth in a manner to our *June*) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last Moneth of every yeere; those Games being held once in four yeares. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter even; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth yeere, which was the second of the Moneth *Zadromion*; (agreeing nearly with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insert another for it in their fourth Lunary yeere, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of *June* would every yeere have growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keepe all upright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeere, one whole Moneth, which they called the second *Posideon* or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who also taught them to make one Moneth of 29. dayes, another of 30. dayes, & so successively through the whole yeere. Thus with much labour they kept their yeere as neare as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but these markes which they observed, were found at length to be deceittfull Guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton the Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeares intercalation, devised a Cycle of 19. yeares, wherein the Moone having 235. times runne our her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place, and on the same day of the yeere, as in the 19. yeere before past she had done. This invention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoyded the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had bin used; for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeares, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error which in one yeere could not be perceived; was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* devised a new Cycle containing foure of *Metons*, that is to say, 76. yeares; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Astrologer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former observations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Caesar* made, who by advice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the yeere unto the forme which is now in use with us, containing 365. dayes and six houres, which houres in foure yeares make up one whole day; that is intercalated every fourth yeere, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* yeere by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeed, but as a note added unto the worke of *Caesar*; yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entered the *Aequinoctial* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yeere 1582. ten dayes sooner found, in that time *Pope Gregory* strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moveable Feasts depending on the Sun's entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had bin. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the Councell of *Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in every hundredth yeere, the Leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred: because the Sunne doth not in his yearly course take up full fixe houres above the 365. dayes; but faileth by many minutes, as in 400. yeares make about three whole dayes.

But the Cycle of 29. yeares, which the *Hebrewes* used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of houres, minutes, and other lesser Fractions to helpe it; neither did in summing up the dayes of the whole year, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwayes the *Kalends* or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone; and because that day was festiual, they were very carefull as well to observe the short year of the Moone, passing through all the 12. Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gave it to *Nisan* their first Moneth, which is about our *March* or *April*, 30. dayes; to *Iar* their second Moneth 29. dayes; and so successively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that every two Moneths of theirs contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes; which made up 7. Moneths in 19. yeares; to 6. of which 7. were commonly given 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year (as appeareth by the severall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the year, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeares were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sun and Moone were found on the same day of the year, month & weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had bene at the beginning of it 19. yeares before.

Divers have diversly set downe the forme of the *Hebrew* year, with the manner of their Intercalations. *Sigomius* tells us, that every second year they did adde a Moneth of 22. dayes; every fourth year a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a year of the Sun. But herein *Sigomius* was very much deceived. For the Moone doth never finish her course in 22. or 23. dayes: and therefore to have adde'd to many dayes to the end of the year, had bin the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the yeares following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moone. *Genebrard* saith, that every third year, or second yeares, as neede required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeares end unto the other 12. This I beleeve to have bin true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me thinks they doe not probably deliver, who keepe all far from evenesse untill the very last of the 19. yeares. For (to omit such as are grossely) some there are who say, that after three yeares, when besides the dayes spent in 36. courses of the Moone, 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each year; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a Moneth of 30. dayes; keeping three dayes, as it were, in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the first year; at which time, besides the Intercalary Moneth, remained six dayes, namely, three mounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, besides the three formerly referred. Thus they goe on to the 18. year; at which time they have 18. dayes in hand, all which with the Epact of the 19. year, make up a moneth of 29. dayes, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirme nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. year every Moneth were removed from his owne place by the distance of 48. dayes, that is, halfe a quarter of the year and more; which inconvenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downe a more convenient way of Intercalation in the 8. year. For the 6. dayes remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixt yeares, added unto the 22. dayes arising out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. yeares, doe fitly serve to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two dayes is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpe to make the yeares ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of every Moneth. This may suffice to be spoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and yeares, by which they guided their accounts.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the divers wayes leading out of Egypt.

From Succoth in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desert of *Etham*, to recover the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though he intended nothing lesse than to goe out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himselfe from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two natural, the third divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of above a Million, if not two Millions of foules, (for as it is written, *Exod. 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe over those desert and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should have overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne words, *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in*, doe shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses*, by turning another way, did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Ramesses* from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoever, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of the Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the All-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, onely wise he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000. men, to cast the success upon his owne understanding, wife conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pibacheroth*, 16. miles distant; and fate down between two ledges of Mountaines adjoining to the Red Sea, to wit, the Mountaines of *Etham* on the North, & *Baalzephon* towards the South; the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagins* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Dominus specula, sive custodia, Lord of the watch tower*. For the *Egyptians* beleeved, or at least made their slaves beleeve, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turnes. *Egyptii dii secundi*; The *Egyptians* were fruitfull in gods, saith Saint *Hierome*. But *Moses*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of foules, or as other conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower asleepe, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Egypt into *Arabia* upon the firme land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Cafotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Judas*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pibacheroth*, betweene the Mountaines, which made a streight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharaoh* made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrewes* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gate sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brinke and wash of the Sea: inso much as the *Hebrewes* being terrified with *Pharaohs* sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutine, at that time when it behoved them most to have taken courage for their owne defence, laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, Which, saith the booke of *Wisdoms*, is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth, made them both despair in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.

Exod. 14. 13.

Exod. 14. 16.

Isa. 44. 7.

Exod. 14. 17.

BUT *Moses* who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him, using this comfortable and resolved speech: *Feare not. &c. for the Egyptians whom ye have seene this day, ye shall never see them againe. The Lord shall fight for you.* After which *Moses* called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandment to go on in these words: *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speake unto the children of Israel that they goe forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, to the children of Israel goe on dry ground through the midst of the Sea.* *Moses* obeying the voyce of God, in the darke of the night finding the sands uncovered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterne winde, and by *Moses* rod to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heeles, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, removed, and went behinde them; also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behinde them;* which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministry of his Angel, to interpose his defence betweene the *Hebrewes* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, it such sort, as they could not pursue *Israel* with any harmefull speed. But in the morning watch *Moses* seized the other banke of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day began to illighten the obscure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas returne, hasted himselfe towards his owne Coast: But *Moses* stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force, that is, the Sea moved by the power of God, ran backe towards the land with unresistable fury & swiftnesse, and overwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Chariot wheeles, that is, when the waters began to cover the sands, the *Egyptians* being stricken with feare of death, ran one athwart another, and misling the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrewes*, their wheeles stucke fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

Lycanus upon *Exod. 14.* and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrewes*, conceived, that after *Moses* had by the power of God divided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Israel* were fearefull to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the Tribe of *Juda* first made the adventure; and that therefore was that Tribe ever after honoured above the rest, according to the prophecy of *Jacob, Gen. 49. 8. Thy fathers sonnes shall bow downe unto thee.* But *Hierome* upon the 11. of *Hosea* condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that *Juda* had the first place in all their marches in the Defart, and, as we now call it, led the Vangard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet that *Moses* himselfe was the Conductor of *Israel* at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. *Psalm*: *Thou didst leade thy people with scepter by the hand of Moses and Aaron.*

The *Hebrewes* have also another fancy, that the *Red Sea* was divided into twelve parts, and that every Tribe past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. *Psalm*, according to the vulgar: *Divisit mare rubrum in divisiones, He divided the Red Sea in divisions.* Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a Greene Field or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written *Psalm* 77. v. 16. *By way is in the Sea; not thy wayes:* and in the last booke of *Wisdom*, vers. 7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Cheneres*, perished in the 16. year of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waies. But as *Philostratus* in his third booke noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entrench at a narrow strait, betweene *Araba* the Happy and *Ethiopia*, or the land of the *Abyssins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Possadinum*, to the other Land of *Ethiopia*, hath not above

fixe leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth up between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petraea*, on one side, and *Aethiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermost end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turke* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulfe*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* pass, is called *Heropolites* of the City *Heropolis*; sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Plinie* calls it *Cambisus*, by which name it was knowne, saith he, before it was called *Hero* many yeares. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*, *Eccant*, & *Eant*. *Arimidorus* writes it *Elaniticum*: King *Juba* ¹⁰ *Laeticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port & Citie *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Protony*, *Elana*: *Plinie*, *Lena*: *Josephus*, *Ilana*: and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: ^{2 Kings 19.} ^{Jos. Ant. 8. 6. 2.} there is also *Ilalab* in *Assyria*, to which *Salmanassar* carried the *Israelites* captive, *2 Kings 18. v. 11.* which *Ilalab* in *Assyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elia*: and in the first of *Chro*, the *5. Ala*. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diversly named, the *Moors* and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turke*) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulfe of *Mecca*, after the name of *Mahomet's* Towne *Mecca*. The *Greekes* write it the Sea *Erythraum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythraeus*: and because *Erythras* in the *Greece* signifieth Red: hence it is, that being denominated of this *Erythraus*, the sonne of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quintus Curtius* conjectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that Sea in the year 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, Viceroy of the East India for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednesse, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Castro*, a principall Commander under *Gama* (which discourse I gave Master *Richard Hakluyt* to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalagua*, some time *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth, the earth, sands, & cliffs, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serve for a foile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrional* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. miles, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beames, give a kinde of reddish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, the *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corall growes, which is carryed into most parts of *Europe*, & elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, and those growing under water may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shadows of these stones, sands, earth, & cliffs, I suppose that it first rooke the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Johannes Barros* in his second Decade, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana* or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoining, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Cosmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, some three Leagues or nine *English* miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. have nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselves into the Sea, and streighten it so fast, as for six miles together it is not above three miles over: from thence upward the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away, and makes a kinde of Bay or Cove for some ten miles together, after which the land growes upon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* pass, it over, though others would have it to be over against *Elana* or *Toro*, but without judgement: for from *Ramases* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which *Moses* pass over in three dayes: and betweene the land of *Egypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is above 80. miles. For *Ramases*, to which City *Moses* came (being the Metropolis of *Gosen*) when he left *Pharao* at *Zaan*, and tooke his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees five minutes of *Septentrional* Latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a halfe, which made a difference of five and thirty *English* miles, the way lying in effect North and South.

§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low Ebbe.

THe Egyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other Heathen Writers, who in hatred of the Hebrews have objected that Moses past over the Red Sea at a low ebbe, upon a great spring-tyde, and that Pharaoh, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so farre, as before he could recover the coast of Egypt, he was overtaken by the flood, and therein perished; did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of Moses (which authority to men that beleeve not therein, periwadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason unto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himselfe to Moses and the children of Israel, than ordinary and casuall, then could not Pharaoh and all his Army have perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and runne downwards toward the Ocean, leaving all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now, Moses entering the Sea at Migdol under Baalzephon (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tyde) must have left all that end of the Red Sea towards Sues, on his left hand dry and uncovered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the water ten or twelve miles farther into the Sea than Sues, and betwene it and where Moses past, who entered the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea: it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve or Strait, had bin by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discovered, when Pharaoh found the flood increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward Egypt side, but might have gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: and so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at Sues it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures do truly witnesse the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that Moses past on betweene two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise Pharaoh by any returne of waters could not have perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have beene a power above nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backely a strong East-winde, doe rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more than ordinary: for that Sea did not lye East and West, but in effect North and South. And it must have beene a West and North-west winde, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South and maine body thereof, the other part remained towards Sues, and the North. Which being unknowne to Pharaoh: while he was checkt by that Sea which used in all times before to ebbe away, the flood prest him and over-whelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Josephus avoweth, that Moses was not onely of excellent judgement generally, but also, so great a Captaine, as he over-threw the Ethiopians in battels, being employed by Pharaoh, and wannedivers Cities seeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemne him of this grosseness, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardnesse of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there winne upon Pharaoh) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that Pharaoh might have found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For the people, beholding Pharaohs approach, cryed out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their safetie: and when Moses prayed unto God for helpe, he was answered by God: *Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speake unto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it:* which proves, that there was not at the time of Pharaohs approach any ebbe at all; but that God did divide and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the Sands

discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward Sues, from whence the waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, so that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the same path, not that the waters stood upright as wals doe, as some of the Schoole-men have fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Egyptians perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soone have quitted the chase and pursuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of judgement, that can think, that Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heavenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes & refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Country, on his own Coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Army of the Egyptians had been overtaken by the ordinary returne of the flood before they could recover their own Coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the flood which runneth up to Sues, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been cast ashore on that Coast of Arabia where Moses landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against Baalzephon, on Arabia side: where it was that the Israelites saw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them: Which flood doth not any where crosse the Channell, and run athwart it, as it must have done from Egypt side to Arabia, to have cast the bodies there; but it keeps the naturall course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carcases should have been carried, if the worke had not beene supernaturall and miraculous. Apollonius in the lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which stayed in the Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of Pharaohs destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden, made a god of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. Origen, in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tels us, that in his time, who lived some 400. years after Christ, the prints of Pharaohs Chariot wheels were to be seen at a low water on the Egyptian sands: and though they were sometime defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a discourse of Lawes.

§. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of somethings touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the story, untill the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BUt to goe on with the story of Israel, in this sort I collect the times. Moses was borne in the yeare of the World 2434. saphrus then governing Assyria; orthopolis Sycionia, or Peloponnesus; Crioisus the Argives; Orus Egypt, and Decalion Thessalie. He fled into Midian when he had lived 40. yeares, in the year of the World 2474. and two yeares after was Caleb borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Egypt; and wrought

As 1. 1. 2474

Gen. 15.

Jud. 4.

Gen. 15. 4.

the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in the fifteenth of *Genesis*, verse nineteen, these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* & *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Jebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselves from among out.

And as of the *Kenites*, so we may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of *Madian* by the River *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* near the banks of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her & his children, till after the overthrow of *Amalech*, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites*, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the *Desarts*. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petra*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adjoining to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Jethro* was Priest, and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not have sent 120000. *Israelites*, as far backe as the *Red Sea*, from the Plains of *Moab*, to have destroyed that *Madian*, where his wives kindred inhabited; seeing himselfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountered by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable *Desarts*, wherein himselfe and *Israel* had wandered 40. years.

That *Jethro*, or *Jothar*, *Raguel* or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* & *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our English *Reuel*, *Exodus* 2. 18. calls him *Jethro*, or *Jothar*, *Exod.* 3. v. 1. & 4. v. 18. & 6. 1. & 6. 9. 10. & 12. and in *Nam. c.* 10. v. 29. *Hobab*. Others take *Jethro* & *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*.

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was given: with divers commendations of the invention of Law.

The rest of the monthes of this year 2515. were spent in the *Desart* of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* & *Horeb* were distinct mountaines: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exod.* 3. v. 1. it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.* 24. v. 19. it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalm* v. 19. *Horeb*: in *Exod.* 19. 11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4. 24. and againe, *Deut.* 4. 10. & 15. & *Deut.* 32. 1. *Horeb*. And so is it in the first of *King* 8. 6. and the second of *Chron.* 5. 10. and in *Malachi* 4. 4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* the 48. 7. they are named as one. Which heareth (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) the rebuke of the Lord in *Sinai*, and in *Horeb* the judgement of the vengeance. Somewhat they are dis-joynted at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*: who in the year 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumes*, of *France*, and travelled to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two Monasteries of *Christian* *Marronites*, containing some 100. Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Now that there was some such Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because he encamped thereabout almost a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written, *Exod.* 32. 20. that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angel of God was given to *Moses*, where he

staid a whole yeare, wanting some ten or twelve daies: for he removed not till the 20. day of the second month of the second yeare; and he arrived about the 45. day after the egression: the Law being given the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kindes and use thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the story any way dis-joynted, he may turne over a few leaves, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, levell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to give thereby unto *Moses* the powerfulllest mean (his miraculous grace excepted) to governe that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North Starre is the most fixed director of the Seaman to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haven of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very finewes of every Estate in the world, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just law, being resembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Minde without passion: a Treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the sons of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that ever governed them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedamonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites*, from *Moses*; the *Lacedamonians* from *Lycurgus*, the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* sometime from their first Kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their *Senators*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselves: other from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian* Monarchies and Estates.

§. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

The word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwayes taken alike, but is diversly, and in an indifferent sense used. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandments of Tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also usurp that title, according to the generall acceptance of the word *Law*: of which *Esay*, *Woe unto them that say, we decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things*. Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Lawes, though evill and unprofitable: *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuaria posita est; it is an evill law that is made tumultuously*. So as all ordinances, either good or evill, are called by the name of Lawes.

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Divines call *Legem somiti*, is to be understood. For every law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according unto it: in which sense as elsewhere, this morall habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: so in *S. Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a *Law*: But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the Law of my minde, and leading me captive unto the law of sinne. Again, the nature and inclination of all creatures are sometime called *Lawes*, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lion*, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among Merchants and other Trades-men, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, prescribing a necessary meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civill communie. The rest, to wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquae*, are by Thomas called *violentie magis quam leges*; rather command, than lawes: And whatsoever is not just, S. Augustine doth not allow for lawes, howsoever established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quae nec jura dicuntur, nec putanda sunt*; The unjust constitutions of men which are neither to be termed laws, nor thought lawes. For, saith Aristotle, *Legalia sunt factiva, & conservativa felicitatis*; just lawes are the workers and preservers of happinesse: because by them we are directed ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to Cicero: Yea, to life everlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith Plato, is God and his worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus*; Lex, or the Law is so called by the Latines à legendo, or à ligando, if reading or binding: *Leges quia lecta & ad populum latae*, saith Varro; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Etymology, à ligando, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confringunt jugum, dirumpunt vincula*: they have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the second Psalm, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes isidorum*; Let us break their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from us.

The Covenant it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God; and because of Gods peoples voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the Septuagint, and the Epistle to the Hebrewes, use the word *Diathesis*, a Testament or Last Will: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force, as Heb. 9. 17. it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est*.

The Hebrewes call the Law *Thorah* of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The Greeks call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Justice being an attribute proper unto God himselfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est*; The reigning of the law, is the reigne of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the Philosophers: *Lex est vita regula, praeceptum quae sunt sequenda, & quae fugienda*; Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun: or *Lex est omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; Law is the Queen of things both humane and divine. But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index*; & *curvi*, the demonstration of itself, and of the crooked: so is the law; the judge and measure of right and wrong.

M. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodnesse of operation: and though Law as touching the substance and essence, consist in understanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; Yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *Jus* is also diversly taken, as sometimes for the matter of the law, and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium*. Ifidore distinguisheth the two generall words *Jus* and *Fas*: *voluntatis* of *Jus*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana*. To goe over another mans field, is permitted by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore a thing out of controversie, Virgil used both these words: as *Fas & jura sinunt*, God and men permit.

The word *Jus* or Right, is derived or taken from the old substantive Noun *justus*, a bidding or commandment: or perhaps from the Greeke *Zus*, which is the name of Jupiter, or of the Latine genitive case *Jovis*; because as the Scripture speaks, *the judgment is Gods*. For as it is certain that *Jus-jurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum*, (for so we find it written in Nonius out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovae*) so also we may say, that *Jus* came of *Jovis*, quia *Jovis est*: because as God is the Author & Patrem, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicerentes* the Magistrates, he is the pronouncer and executer of right. Of this *Jus* the just are denominated *justus à jure*, and *justitia à jussu*; The right gives name to the righteous; and justice takes her name from being just.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the Law eternal.

But because lawes are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.

Eternall, or uncreated.

Natural,
Nationall,
or Internall.

Laws are of 3 kinds:

Law imposed
or of
addition,
commonly
called positive.

Laws positive or imposed,
explicating,
and perfecting
the Law of Nature,
are double:

1 Divine,
which hath
two parts.

Written.

The written is also
double.

The Law of Moses.
The Gospel.

Unwritten.

As the Doctrine & Religion
of the Patriarkes before the
written Law of Moses, which
some call Cabala.

Written

Which Cicero in his second
booke of invention
calles Jus legitimum,
divided into the

Ecclesiasticall,
and

Secular.

Unwritten.

As the Lawes of Custom and
Use.

The law eternal is thus defined by Thomas. *Lex aeterna est aeternum divina sapientia, conceptus secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso praecogitatum*; The eternal law is the eternal conceit of Gods wisdom, as it is referred to the government of things foreknown by himselfe. Or, *Lex aeterna est summa atque aeterna ratio divina sapientiae*; quatenus res omnes ad designatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis asserat; It is the high & eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in subsort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessity according to their severall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same divine understanding directeth all these to their proper ends; so it is called providence: but as it imposeth a necessity according to the nature of all things which it directeth, so it is called a law.

Of this eternal law Cicero took knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & a dolo deterruens*; quae non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est, sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis; That perfect reason and nature of things, encouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling us backe from evil, did not (saith he) then begin to be a law when it was written, but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princeps to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God) is always one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man findes it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsell and providence of God: from this law all lawes are derived, as from the rule universall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the divine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the divine law to a supernaturall end only: the naturall law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a stream from this fountain.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawn: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked imposition: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures;

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himselfe (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his owne soule, by crafty unrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpe th us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefcit; Those flowers wither while we discourse of them, colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within our selves, and become fearefull witnesses of our secret evils, did that reverend Philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque cum, maxime omnium verere te ipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest, faith he, neither to others, nor to thine owne heart: but above all men reverence thine owne conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to give heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, is heaptly moved to those things which his proper forme presenteth unto him: to that which right reason offereth, and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue; and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, which liveth thereon. He gave a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to move, and to give light, and to serve for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first Chaos, darknesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Cain perceive his owne wickednesse and offence, in the murder of Abel: for he not onely feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him againe. And that this judgement of well and evill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the Law written, Moses in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen. 4. If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, sinne lieth at thy doore.*

The Schoolmen are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being openly amply by Reimerius, Antonius, and Valentinus. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume of this subject.

But this Law which Thomas Aquinas calleth an act of reason taken properly; and not habit, as it is an evident naturall judgement of practique reason: they divide into inemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and evill shunned) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more universall propositions. Again, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoyded as evill (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfy hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to live, and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first inemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no prooffe, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so he doth desire good, and shun evill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by Aristotle, to be that which all desire. Which definition Basil upon the 44. Psalme approveth: *Recte quidem Bonum definitur, quod omnia expectant; Rightly have some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to us, as we have sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as Sense it selfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, even by the Law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath given divers Lawes unto them: In which sense the Civilians define *Naturall right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all living creatures; Yet the Schoolmen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of every Law. For so they distinguish it; where Ulpian affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures: In this place (saith Valentinus) *Jus* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where Ulpian also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Jus natura*, the other *Jus gentium*: the Divines understand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason, both in beasts and men; and restraints the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a living creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of nature answering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to Aquinas: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary; secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and illavoyded: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this Law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth; *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Adveniens mandato, peccatum revocavit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by S. Paul, When the Commandement came, sinne revived.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by Saint Paul, *To be delivered over into a reprobate sense (or minde) to doe those things which are not convenient: and againe, that their consciences beare witness, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this law of nature stretch not to every particular; as to command fasting, and the like: yet it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore, said Damascene; *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contrarium est; Men (saith he) are made evill, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature:* and Saint Augustine, *Omne vitium natura necesse, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so straight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequall merit: by taking from the evill, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of justice and equity.

And though the Law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law the suffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to Saint Paul, *abideth faithful, and cannot denie himselfe.*

When it is opposed to the Gospell, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by Faith, without the works of the Law.*

Rom. 6: 4.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signs are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice for Christ*, and the like : then it signifieth but *Illud* for the things signified ; as, *The Law was given by Moses, but grace & truth came by Jesus Christ*; dowes & figures ; as, *The Law was given by Moses, but grace & truth came by Jesus Christ*.

John 1:17. dowers & figures 3 as, *As 2nd. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 8*

104. so, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymy*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for contraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life*, *the law of the force of sinne and death*, *the enforcements of conscience*, &c.

105. *The Law of the Gospell*, is that which is the same with the Law of the Gospell, *the Law of the Gospell*, of which we now

Rom. 8. 2.
Rom. 7. 23.

the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.

But the *Written Law of Moses*, or the Law of the Olde Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness, and Justice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatening death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to *S. James*, *Whoever shall keepe the whole, & faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition used by the Schoolemen, in which both the Olde & New law are comprehended, is thus given. *Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus prescribens modum necessarium ut apte perveniant ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quae est ultimus humanae vitae finis; The divine Law positi ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quae est ultimus humanae vitae finis; The divine Law* (say they) *is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary measure, whereby they may aptly attaine supernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.*

James 2. 10.

II. Communionall and Iudiciall. The Moral

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoyded; in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Again, the Morall law encourageth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of divine service, and of holinesse; (for externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selves unto God is called Ceremonie) and the Judiciall teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jewes*; and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of *S. Paul*, *The Commandment is just, holy, and good*: just, or justice being referred to the Judiciall; holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Judiciall part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the *Jewes*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of places or persons.

The Ceremoniall is divided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passcover, and such like. For Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beasts: or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyinges, annoyntings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtions, as *Thou shalt not yoke together in a Plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth to naturall compassion, and forbiddeth crueltie even to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some receive these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest: nor beate downe the first bundle of the tree, nor mixe all the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of *Christ*. For the Moralliveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: saving in the ability of justifying or condemning; for therein we are commanded to love and worship God: and to use charitable

one towards another: which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by special rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed: though principally for feare of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremonial also liveth in the things which it fore-fignified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christ*s coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, the Judiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and
 vniuersall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of justification, the Ceremoniall as touching the use and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadowes) and the Iudicial is taken away, as farrre forth as it was peculiar to the *Jewes* Common-weale and policie.

§.X. A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch
of the five first.

AS for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Law,
it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majesty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and use of the Law.
8. The sense and understanding of the Law.
9. The duration and continuance thereof.

i. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proved by *S. Paul*, in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, and just, and good*: which three attributes are referred as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall.

2. The Majesty of the Lawgiver is approved in all his creatures: who as he hath given all things their lives and beings, so he onely gave the Law, who could onely give the end & reward promised, to wit, the salvation of mankind: but he gave it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministry of Angels, as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator: and in the AGS. He gave the Law by the ordinance of Angels.* Galat. 3. 19

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disaffected: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God unto *Abraham* and his seed: not unto his feedes, as to *Esau* & *Jacob*, but to his seed, as to *Jacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. Now to *Abraham* and his seed were the promises made: he saith not to the feedes, as speaking of many, but to thy seed, as of one, which is *Christ*.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by *S. Augustine*: that it was about the middle time between the Law of Nature, and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam to Moſes*: the Law written in the Commandments received by *Moſes* in the worlds year 2514. continued to the Baptiſme of *John*: from which time, begun the Law of Grace, which ſhall continue to the worlds end. Other reaſons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5- The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this Law, the same being a disposition to:

Galath.

Heb. 9.

Gal. 2.

or signe of our Justification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* we finnes forgiven, who take away the finnes of the world: and therefore *S. Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weak*; beggerly as containing no grace, weak as not able to forgive and justify. The blood of Goats and Bulles, and the sacrifice of an Heifer could only cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christ's* blood, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the law could justify, then *Christ* died in vaine.

§. XI. of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

The Old and New Testament differ in name, & in the meane & way proposed for attaining to salvation; as the Old by works, the New by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or object & remote end, they agree: which is mans happinesse & salvation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witness. Yet the New is of more excellencie, in that it doth more lively expresse, and openly & directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the New was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Testament and Gospel for ever duing.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chiefe part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospel, because the first and chiefe part thereof is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or story of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, signifying a joyfull, happy, & prosperous message, or (as *Homer* useth) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tydings in general, as in *Esay* the 52. verse concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signifie that most joyfull message of Salvation, as in *Luc*. 2. 10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*: and so we understand the foure Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as *1 Cor*. 9. 14. & *2 Cor*. 8. 18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are divided in volumes) is by *Danteus* comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation; to wit, *Christ*.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and justification.

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so was there one Covenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law reach *Christ*: the olde proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end, even the salvation of our soules: which according to *S. Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by observing the Law, an earthly Kingdome, and flowing with milke & hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, & pledges to assure the Fathers of thole spiritual blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, & pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hierusalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrews*: *All these dyed in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them as farre off, and beleived them; confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* To which purpose also *Saint Augustine*, *omnino pauci veterem legem intelligent, non attendunt*

Cap. 11. v. 13.

Ebr. de Civitate Dei. l. 1. c. 11.

attendunt per promissa terrena, eterna promissi: Few (saith he) do understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly, eternall are promised. And S. Hierome: Noloit Deus pascere in Sophon. cap. 2. Judaeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibique, ut Judaei formiant; God would not feed the Jewes as beasts with corporall gifts and riches, as themselves drame. And this may be gathered out of Gods own words, Ego sum Deus tuus; & ero vobis in Deus; I am thy God, and I will be your God. For the words, I will be your God, prove that it was not for the present, or for perishable things; that God gave them this promise, but in respect of the future: to wit, the safety of their soules. For as God created both body and soule, so hath he of his goodness, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

The agreement between the Old and New Testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promises of God in the Old and New, are assured: the Fathers having eaten the same spirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sin & misery, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and salvation: to which the Law serving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin & misery, God sheweth his mercy & salvation) may be said to agree with the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise, if we sever the Law from subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousness by works, the other by faith: the Law woundeth, the Gospel healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth: *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data est lex quae non sanat* (saith *Saint Augustine*) *sed quae agrotantes probaret; The Law was given, not to helpe, but to discover sicknesse: and Saint Chrysostome; Data est lex, ut se homo inveniret, non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quaereretur: The Law was given that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then seeke out the Physician.* For *Christ* came to save the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a servant, and *Christ* a Son; so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the *worthiest* person, saith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

§. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

The seventh consideration is of the end, and use of the law: which is to bring us to *Christ*: for finding no righteousness in our own workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousness, & to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. *Lex est quae curat, sed quae non sanat: the law is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

The second end of the Law, is to render us inexcusable before God: who knowing to perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or false obedience: but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law, is, as hath bin said, to send us to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selves condemned and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearefull tempest, threatening eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to designe, and preserve, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the coming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed over the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and use of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirm the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The use of the Judiciall, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we must conforme our selves.

The sense and understanding of the Law is double, literal and spirituall: by the literal we are taught the worship and service of God: by the spirituall, the figures and mystical fore-speakings of *Christ*.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being untill the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the Crosse, coming

Gen. 4. 10. The Scripture shall not depart from the Law, nor a Law given from heaven, until the Crosse, coming

these Hell-hounds. And if every man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandment of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witnesse: from which if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gaine. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so effectuall by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For, although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may reſtraine and hinder the growing, and farther increaſe, if we please to intend our strength, and ſeek for grace. How the word *Coveting* reacheth to all thoſe, it is to be conſidered. For *Concupiſcentia*, according to ſome, *eſt eſſrānus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unreſtrained appetite* of having: And as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelves by any naturall frailty, or unadviſed error; But as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for ſome urging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the latter ſort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione, quae eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi; Such paſſions, or inclinations are imperfect acts; that is, not deliberated upon by reaſon, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action.* And ſure, it may ſeeme, that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harme us not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu reſtgamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum ceſſant dominari permittimus; As long as we give no aſſent unto them, it is thought by ſome that they hurt us not; and that then only they hurt, when we ſuffer them to beare ſway.* But theſe men, as it ſeemes, making nothing forbidden in the tenth precept, but what hath bene forbidden in the other: for in every Commandment, not only the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent unto evil, though it breake not our into act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandment and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held: that ſome are with aſſent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For ſo even the Morall Philoſopher can tell us, that the Continent man hath evil deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as on the other ſide the Incontinent hath good deſires, but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary paſſions. The evil deſires, when they are accompanied with aſſent are in every Commandment forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we muſt needs ſay, that the evil deſires of the Continent man (that is, even thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridled his evil deſires, be much better than he that yeeldeth unto them: yet ſuch a man, even according to the Heathen Philoſopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For *Aristotle* himſelfe makes *Continencia*, not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it: confeſſing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the continent man the having of theſe evil deſires, though he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a virtuous man: ſo we, that the having of them is a ſinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of divinity to give the true reaſon of this doctrine: which is, that every one ſinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evil deſires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridled them, muſt needs be ſinne: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make us know, that by our faithfull endeavours to keepe his commandments, we witneſſe our love toward himſelfe: we may not ſafely give libertie to our vanities, by caſting backe upon God (who is juſtice it ſelfe) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandments impoſſible for us to keepe. For, as he is accuſed (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) that avowes that the Law is in all things poſſible to be obſerved: ſo he hath made this addition: *Maledictus*

qui dicit impoſſibilia Deum præcepiſſe; accuſed is he that ſaith that God hath commanded things (in themſelves, and not through our fault) impoſſible. Now, as the places are many which command us to keepe the Law: ſo is our weakeneſſe alſo in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus ſafely to be underſtood, that we ſhould without evaſion, or without betraying of our ſelves, doe our faithfull endeavours to obſerve them: which if we doe unfaithfully, no doubt, but God will accept our deſires therein. For that there is no man juſt, *David* witneſſeth: *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for in thy ſight no ſiſh that liveth ſhall be juſtified.* And in the firſt of *Kings*: *There is no man that ſineth not.* And againe, *Who can ſay, I have made my heart cleane?* But ſeeing there is no ſin grievous without deliberation; let every mans conſcience, judge him, whether he give way willingly, or reſtraine himſelfe in all that he can ſee, or no: For when a King gives to his ſubject a commandment upon paine of loſſe of his love, to perſorme ſome ſervice: if the ſubject neglecting the ſame, ſeek to ſatiſſie his ſovereign with ſhifting excuſes, out of doubt ſuch a Prince will take himſelfe to be derided therein.

S. XIII.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgement to come, yet the Decalogue were moſt neceſſary to be obſerved.

And if we conſider adviſedly and ſoberly of the Morall Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of *Moses* gave unto his people, it will appeare that ſuch was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoynd to the obſerving, or not obſerving of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if we did not for our own ſakes ſtrive to obſerve theſe Lawes, all ſociety of men, and all endeavours, all happineſſe and contentment in this life would be taken away: and every State and common-wealth in the World fall to the ground and diſſolve. Therefore, theſe Lawes were not impoſed as a burden, but as a bleſſing: to the end that the innocent might be defended; that every man might enjoy the fruits of his owne travaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by juſtice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reaſonable men, and not of beaſts; of free-men, and not of ſlaves; of civil men, and not of ſavages. And hereof making our humane reaſon only Judge, let us ſee the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of theſe Lawes.

As firſt, what would the iſſue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a far greater hatred, war, and blood-ſhed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diverſity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among thoſe Nations, which acknowledge one God, and one *Chriſt*?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead ſtones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loſſe of time, and an impoſſibility to receive thence from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandment bringeth therewith this diſadvantage, and ill to man, that whoſoever taketh the name of God in vaine, ſhall not at any time benefit himſelfe by calling God to witneſſe for him, when he may juſtly uſe his holy name.

The obſerving the *Sabbath* holy, giveth reſt to men and beaſts, and nature her ſelfe requieth intermiſſion of labour.

If we deſpise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our owne children to ſcorne and neglect us, when our aged yeares require comfort and help at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed, the race of mankind would be extinguiſhed: and whoſoever would take the liberty to deſtroy others, giveth liberty to others to deſtroy himſelfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could ſay unto himſelfe; This is my ſonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour deſcend to poſterity, no endeavour by vertue and undertaking to raiſe Families: murders and poiſonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and every man ſubject to moſt filthy and uncleane diſeaſes.

If theft and violent rapine were ſuffered, all mankind would ſhortly after periſh,

or live as the salvages, by rooves and acornes. For no man labourereth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourfold, police of State and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the virtuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle beggar and loyterer, against the careful and painfull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we doe but cover; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours; we can looke for no other, but that our selves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all living: Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and provident God ordaine them; without the observation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no use. For we should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

§. XV. Of humane Law, written and unwritten.

Humane Law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two: (Part) Written, and Unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*; & he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatae*; to be customes approved by antiquitie, or unwritten lawes. Now custome differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by use and continuance established into a Law: but yet there where the law is defective, saith *Isidore*.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars: the first are written customes, received and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Barbary* and *Normandy*, the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Cassile*, and other *Provinces*.

The second are these petty customes, used in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or National customes are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty customes are feldome written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The Customes of the *Duchie of Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Statute of Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall*. But howsoever use and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought every custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*. *Non firmatur tractus temporis quod de jure ab initio non subsistit; Tunc quod ab initio non subsistit non potest tractus temporis continuare de iure.* And (saith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractus temporis emendare.* Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest, that every custome which is against the law, had his beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature, were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they have beene since continued; because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved. For, *Non sufficit simplex toleratio.* And it is in this sort over-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius, qui novam legem & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus Princeps est.* The people cannot bring in a new custome against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the advisement of wise men, and the

restraint of offences committed; either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit; All that stands with reason.*

Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law naturall and eternall: made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publike authority: prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every Law ought to be a righteous decree, *S. Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Mibi lex esse non videtur, quajusta non fuerit; It seems to be no law at all to me, which is not just: and just it cannot be,* except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law just and legitimate, (saith *S. Augustine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aeterna lege sibi homines derivaverunt.*

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorized Magistracie, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kinde soever. For it falleth otherwise under the Title of those decrees called *Violentia*, or *iniquae constitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked constitutions*.

Of humane Law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so every particular of the humane Law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the naturall.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publike authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it prescribeth, and directeth all humane actions. And so is the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Julia de adulterio, alia Cornelia de Sicariis; The Law of Julian against Adultery, is one, the Cornelian against Ruffians, is another.* Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the Law of Nations, and the Civill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for every Law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Ulpian* understands it: for he defineth *Jus gentium*, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *distate, or sententia*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadors* be granted betwene enemies, &c. which National Law, according to divers acceptations, and divers considerations had of the humane Law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

Jus Civile, or the Civill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in divers estates is also divers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately derived from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily assent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and doe not fit all estates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile, neg; in totum a naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Juri communi, Jus proprium id est, Civile efficitur; The Civill Law* (saith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civill Law.*

The Law now commonly called the Civill Law, had its birth in *Rome*: and was first written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeares after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, & other *Grecian* Lawes, as out of the ancient *Roman* customs & Lawes *Regall*. The *Regall* Lawes were divided by the first Kings; & called *Leges Regiae*, or *Papirianae*, because they were gathered by *Papirius*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For though so many of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were aboli-

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number of the whole Army was 60350. able men for the wars, besides women & children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of Egypt. This great Army was divided by Moses into foure grosse and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of Judah, Issachar and Zabulon. In the Tribe of Judah were 74600. fighting men, led by *Nathaniel*: in Issachar 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in Zabulon 57400. led by *Eliah*. All these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of Judah, who held the Vant-guard, and these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of Issachar, who held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simoon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Eliazar*: in *Simoon* 59300. under *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. under *Eliashaph*: These had the second place, and incamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Benjamin*; who, joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Elishama*: *Manasse* 32200. under *Gamliel*: *Benjamin* 35400. under *Abidam*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the general Army, containing 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephthali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rear-ward, and moved last, incamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. under *Abiezzer*: *Asher* 41500. under *Pagiel*: *Nephthali* 53400. under *Abira*.

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appear by that mutinial insurrection against Moses; *Num. 16. v. 1. & c.* For there arose up against Moses 250. Captains of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renown: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Mutineers, with those 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes or general Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Num. 1.* is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gave to his children, took place not onely in the division of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in forting them under their severall Standards in the wilderness it was observed. For *Judah* had the precedence and the greatest Army, which also was wholly composed of the Sonnes of *Leah*, *Jacobs* wife. *Reuben* having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simoon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maid, *Joseph*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as the third Tribe, and divided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Jacobs* prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by *Benjamin*, his best beloved brother, the younger son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Jacobs* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacobs* prophecy. He had with him under his Standard none of the Children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but onely the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, surrounded by the *Levites*. Neere unto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neere it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moveable Temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge according to their severall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people observed the former order in their incampings: so did the *Levites* quarter themselves, as in an inner square on every side of the Tabernacle; the *Gershonites* on the West, within the Armies and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliashaph* commanded, in number 7500.

The Family of *Cohath* on the South-side guided by *Eliashaph*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and between him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zurriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side, within the Army of *Dan* on the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Judah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies & of the people; under whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Levitical* Families, was *Eliazar* the son of *Aaron*, his successeur in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being always set in the middle & center thereof. The reverend care which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuary*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale born towards God himselfe. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutifull observance in the laying up, and preserving the holy Vessels; the solemne removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon; and the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by the *Amanatists*, *Brownists*, and other *Sectaries*, as all cost & care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Poperie*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: in such case time would soon bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, & from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, and under the hedges; and the Offices of the Ministry (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newnesse of opinion, and mens fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of Religions would spring up, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*; every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; in such case, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to it selfe, the Faith of Men will soon after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a Lutheran, *Si me adjuugo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: si me alii adjuugo, a vobis condemnor: quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adjuge my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; if I joyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I should avoide I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

§. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Paschever of the second yeere:
The departing of Jethro.

Now when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the lawes, numbered his Army, & divided them into the battels and troupes before remembered, & appointed them Leaders of all forts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, six covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that service, namely to the Sonnes of *Gershon* and *Merari*.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charger of fine silver, weighing 130. sheckles; a silver Bowle of 70. sheckles, after the sheckle of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of gold, of ten sheckles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards

The Hebrew word *Gerah* weigheth sixe hundred and threescore graine: so a *Gerah* of silver is about three hundred and threescore graine: as it is expounded, *Exod. 24. v. 13.* contained 20. *Gerahs*, so a *Sanctuary* Siele of Silver is about 2000. graine, the common *Siele* is but halfe as much, to wit, ten *Gerahs*: as it is usually expounded, though *Pseudo* *Philadelphus* saith, that the common and the *Sanctuary* *Siele* were all one; *Num. 9. verse 1.* *Num. 10. 11.* *Exodus 24. 34.* *Numbers 17.*

their conquest, besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the Law Ceremonial, the weight of all the twelve silver Chargers, and twelve silver Bowles, amounting unto 2400. shekels of silver; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cups, mounted unto 2400. shekels of silver; 1200. every shekel of gold to 120. shekels of gold; which makes of shekels of silver which they offered at this time, valuing ten of silver, so that the whole of gold and silver which they offered at this time, was about foure hundredth and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Passover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second moneth of the second year: and as on the twentieth day of the same, the cloude was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Rise up Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* removed from their incamping at the foot of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Armie, or great Squadron of *Juda*, led by *Nahashon*, taking the Vantage-guard, followed by *Nathanael* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through so many desarts and mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leaving nothing unforeseen, thought which might serve for the advancement of his enterprize, he instantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*: promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as he was of great understanding & judgement (as appeared by the Counsell he gave to *Moses* for the appointing of Judges over the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeares and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeares before this request made. And though *Moses* himselfe had lived 40. yeares in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travell: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of soules; which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of *Moses*, it may seem by the places, *Exod. 18. 27. and Num. 10. 30.* that *Jethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yielded not: for it is evident, that he went backe from *Moses* into his owne Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his owne Countrey, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

*Judith. 1. 16 & 4. 11. Alsio
7 Sam. 1. 5. 6.
And. Reg. 10. 15.
1 Chron. 2. 55.
Jer. 35.*

§. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the Red Sea.

After this dismissal of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the Desarts of *Paran*: and after three daies wandring, they fate down at the Sepulchres of lust, afterward called *Taberna*, or *Incenso*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiniers and Murmurers which rose up in this remove, which happened about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second Moneth, of the second year, they rested and fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to call up on them) to the 24. day of the third moneth; to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *June*: whereof surfeiting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thammuz*, answering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazeroth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued upon her seven daies, after whose recovery *Israel* removed towards the border of *Idumaea*, and incamped at *Rithma*, neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to informe themselves of the fertility and strength of the Countrey; as also to take knowledge of the Ways, Passages, Rivers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* surprized divers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush neere those ways, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*, whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from

*Num. 11. & 13.
Num. 12.*

Num. 22.

the *Egyptian* slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wildernesse* (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victory which he gave them against the powerful *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoyle to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported unto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were *Giant-like*, (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearful stature, and so farre over-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as *Grahhoppers* in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to chooſe them a Captaine (or as they call it now adays, an *Electio*) to carry them backe againe into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soule of the whole multitude (of *Josua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foot of *Idumaea*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaved both of reason and common sense, they threatened to stone these encouragers to death; accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayars of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the feare of his bright glory betweene the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatening an intire destruction, of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God delivered them from the slavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alleging, that this so severe a judgement, how deservedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and give them occasion to vaunt; that the God of *Israel*, failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no lesse just than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand lesse heavey than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity; so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to passe unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to performe his promises, which have never been frustrated.

Num. 14. 26.

Num. 14. 21.

Num. 2. 3.

§. III.

Of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the returne.

Now when *Moses* had revealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heavey displeasure towards them, they began to bewaile themselves, though overlate: the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the advice of *Moses*; who assured them, that God was not among them; and that the Arke of his covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies sword, which God had hitherto benedicted and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no lesse cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow those counsels which carry them to their owne destructions: so the *Hebrews*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entered *Judaea* before their enemies were prepared and joyntly did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, undertake the enterprize of themselves, and ranne head-long and without advice into the mountaines of *Idumaea*. There

the

the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in revenge of their former losse, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their plantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerful assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joyned together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarn *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to returne by those painfull passages of the Desarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the banks of the red Sea againe: in which retreat before they came backe to passe over *Jordan*, there were consumed 38. yeares; and the whole number of the 6000. and odder thousand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moses*, *Jafna*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborne and careless generations were wholly worne out; and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault, both of refusing to enter the Land upon the returne of their discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heaven. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of sundry other places.

Amos 5:25.
Acts 7:42.
2 Kin. 17:16.
& chap. 21:10.
& c. 23: V. 45. 11.
2 Chron. 33:3.
Hierem. 19.
Ysa. 3: &c.

Numb. 33:

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses* according to the commandment received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoares of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankensie there found. From *Libnah* he crost the Valley, and fare downe at *Respha*, nere the foot of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceclata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses*, alwayes keeping the Valley betweene two great ledges of mountains, (those which bound the Desart of *Sin*, and those of *Pharao*) crost the same from *Ceclata*, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Saphir*, or *Sepher*: this making the twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceleth*; and then to *Thahab*, and so to *Thara* or *Thare*; the foure and twentieth mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, & *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God & his ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the Earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvelles and judgments of God, that hath bene shewed in all the time of *Moses* his government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would have usurped Ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the Earth with their families and goods; even while they sought to overthrow the Order, Discipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-weal of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant *Aaron*, by the twelve rods given in by the Heads of the twelve Tribes; of which *Moses* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aaron* on that of *Levi*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable spirit, and having laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Arke* one night, had on it both Buds, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

From *Tharah* the whole Army removed to *Mehra*; and thence to *Esnona*; and thence to *Moferoth*, (or *Masrit*, after Saint *Hierome*) and from *Moferoth* to *Benajacan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betwene *Madian* and *Afiongaber*.

Now

Now although it be very probable, that at *Afiongaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleets for the East *India*, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great River in *Arabia the stonie*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the inhabitants convey water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* releeveth the Army of *Cambyses*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the seventh *Verse*, is also called *Jetabata*, or *Jotabab*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zarid*, the next adjoining. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea* at *Afiongaber*, or *Eloib*, I cannot beleve, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the *Red Sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moses* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebruna*, and from thence to *Efiongaber*: which City in *Josephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieromes*, *Efsia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloib* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded: *Efiongaber* being the farthest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* travailed in that passage.

It seemeth that *Efiongaber* or *Afiongaber*, *Eloib* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, That the Lord spake unto *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Mount *Hor*, nere the Coast of the Land of *Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumaea*. And if *Efiongaber*, and the other places nere the *Red Sea*, had at this present bin subject unto the *Idumeans*, *Moses* would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumeans* obtained those places: for it is said; And they arose out of *Midian*, and came to *Paran*, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumaea*, into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that he made a Navie of shippes in *Efiongaber* besides *Eloib*, in the Land of *Edom*.

Numb. 20: 25.

1 Kings 11: 2.

§. V.

Of *Moses* arrivall at *Zin Kades*: and of the accidents while that they abode there.

From *Efiongaber* he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the Wilderness of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeare, after they left *Egypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare: the nine and thirtieth yeare taking end at *Efiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or nere it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seene in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himselfe avoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on *Moses* all their misadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own Fathers had left their bodies in the Desarts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeare, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the sight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of

Numb. 20: 2.

Numb. 20: 25.

Ge

God

Num. 20. 2.

GOD are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses* to strike a Rocke adjoining with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satisfied. Nevertheless, because dance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travailes of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was depoyled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar*, his sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, *MOSES* and *ELIAZAR* descended the Mountaine; but GOD received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more seene.

Num. 33.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deuteronomy* 10. Verse 6. those *Horites* tooke name which the *Idumeans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seven and twentieth Mansion, and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to betwo distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Edom*, incamped at *Mosera*, after he departed from *Hesmona*, and before he came to *Benjaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister, dyed; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should have bin written, *Hor iuxta Mosera*; *Hor neere Mosera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the West part *Mosera* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as he past towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the East part, as he went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arad*, the Reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edomites*. *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumea*, praying him that he might passe with his people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neereest way of all other from the City of *Kadesb*, where *Moses* then encamped; whereas otherwise, taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have runne into many hazzards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the being to perswade the Prince of *Idumea* hereunto, *Moses* remembered him, that he was of the same race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the sonnes of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the *Canaanites*: he gaingst whom *Elsas* his Ancestor had made warre, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his own name *Edom*, or *Edumaea*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waste his Country, but that he would restraints his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their Cattell should drinke. For *Moses* was commanded by God, not to provoke the children of *Elsas*. But the King of *Edumaea* knowing the strength of his owne Country, the same being neere *Canaan*, ramp'd with high and sharpe mountaines: and withall suspecting, as a natural wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Country, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolutely refused them passage, and delivered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible meanes. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his Country together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; *Then Edom came out against him* (to wit, *Moses*) *with much people, and with a mighty power*. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumaea*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like unto himselfe who was of naturall understanding the greatest of any man, and the skillfullest man of warre that the world had

he refused to adventure the Army of *Israel* against a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others; and which, by reason of the feare of their mountainous Country, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendered them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to have conquered the rest.

6. VI.

of their compassing *Idumaea*; and travelling to *Arnon*, the border of *Moab*.

HETHEREFORE leaving the way of *Idumaea*, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Defarts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* understood, and that *Moses* had blanced the way of *Idumaea*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Country, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a farre greater hope of victory, had *Moses* bin enforce't first to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumaea*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolved to make trial, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came neerer his owne home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Defart, he set upon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many herds of Cattell that they drave with them, could not encampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the *Israelites*, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessour, which joynd his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, which without direction from God by *Moses*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, because in the first of *Deuteronomy*, 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to have beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory over *Israel*, neere *Cadesbarne*, or if it were his Predecessour that then prevailed; in this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compass *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Defart, to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* utterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be understood, to have beene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Josua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen backe againe into the Defarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compasse, by the Rivers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabite any part of *Canaan* it selfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neere the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin* *Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is situate in the South of *Judea*. There is also a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Josua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of *Josua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their revenge, and after they had past *Jordan*: *Josua*, then governing them, who in the twelfth Chapter and fourteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his

Citie so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the Israelites pursued the Canaanites. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compass *Idumaea* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plains of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the byting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace, cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set up.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moses* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea*, and *Calestria*, encamped at *Zalmone*; and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making these journeyes by the edge of *Idumaea*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall City of the Edomites. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. Verse 4. That from *Mount Hor* they departed by the way of the *Red Sea*, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonsca*) per viam qua habet a latere mare rubrum; By the way that sided the *Red Sea*, but indeed they crost, and went awhar the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Esfongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to shun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmost East part of *Moab*, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboib*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoining to the Land of *Supha*, a Country bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having past that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*; & from thence they kept the way to *Diblatshaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *Chap. 48. Verse 22.* calleth the House of *Diblatshaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the River of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblatshaim*, but speaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betwene them and the Amorites: speaking, as he found the state of the Country at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by *Sehon*, King of the Amorites: even from the Predecessour of *Balac* *Peor* then reigning. From *Diblatshaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon*, King of the Amorites, to desire a passage through his Country: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he undertooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, observed the same precept, which he left to his posterity and successours, for a law of the warre; namely in *Deut. 20. Verse 10.* in these words, *When thou comest neere unto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

Numb. 21. v. 24.

Now concerning the Warre between *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this Story to that Booke intitled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; The booke of Gods battailes: and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things mem-

memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the *Geneva* Translation are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, & in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* vary. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is said in the Booke: The warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnon, Junius for the Red Sea, which is in the Genevian & Vulgar Edition, names the Region of * Supha Country bordering the Dead Sea towards the East, as he conjectureth. The Text he readeth thus. Idcirco dici solet in recensione bellorum Jehova, contra Vahcbum the Regione Suph: & contra flumina, flumina Arnonis; Therefore it is spoken in repeating of the battailes of Jehovah, against Vahab, in the Country of Suph: and against the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon.* In which words he understandeth, that amongst the wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the Israelites, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the warre of *Sehon* against *Vahab*, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Country neere *Arnon*, out of the possession of the Moabites. For this *Vahab* was the immediate predecessour of *Balac*, who lived with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vahab*. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the succession of the Edomites) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not successive. And as *Junius* in this Translation understandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall Booke be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Booke of *Judges*. *Syracides* c. 46. tells us plainly, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *Josua*; *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord.* But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a Booke as this there was; wherein the severall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Israelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have bin destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoever they have bin in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an Epistle of *Thaddaens*, and cited by *Origen* and *Jerome*, and by *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, of *Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Bookes remembered by *Josua* c. 10. v. 13. and in the second of *Samuel* c. 1. v. 18. called the Booke of *Jaher*, or *Iustorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the midst of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had avenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also *David* took the precept, of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which the just are written, according unto the sixty and ninth *Psalm*, Verse 8. where it is said; *Let them be part of the Booke of Life, neither let them be written with the righteous.* *Hierome* thinke, that *David* by this Booke understood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodore*, that it was a Commentary upon *Josua*, by an unknowne Author.

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* 33. v. 18. & 19. of this booke, also lost, *Hierome* conceives that the Prophet *Isay* was the Author.

The same mischance came aswell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Abia Silonites*, whomet with *Jeroboam*, and forerold him of his obtaining the Kingdom of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*; as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Isaiah* the Seer; remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 9. v. 29. With these have the bookes of *She-maiab* and of *Iddo*, remembered in the second of *Chron.* c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of *Jehi* the sonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehoshaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron.* c. 20. v. 34. Also that booke of *Salomon* which the Hebrewes write *Halcirim*, of 999. verses,

of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4. 32. and with this divers others of *Salomons* works have perished, as his Booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembered by *Origen*, *Iosephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenus*, *Cicero* *Asulanus*, *Picus* *Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other Bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hiernsalem*. But let us returne thither where we left.

§. VIII.

Of Moses his sparing the issue of Lot; and of the Giants in those parts; and of *Sehon* and *Og*.

When *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side therof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nebo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabit on the South-side of *Arnon*, having lost all his ancient & best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battaile, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently posselt by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sons of *Anac*.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzumims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Jordan*, even to the Desert of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of *Basan*, but left their Country to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the flood: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it selfe, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Josua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also bin Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*; and their chiefe City was *Arer* or *Arneer* the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzumims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chiefe City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphias*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Virtu robusti*, horrendiq; *Giantes*; *Strong men*, and *fearfull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Province, and not farre to the North of *Arer*.

Now *Moses* having past *Arnon*, and being encamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest upon *Yabeb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* encamped in the Country of his new conquests, to wit, the Plains of *Moab*, the two & fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore hastning himselfe, they encountered each other at *Jabek*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victory for pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were, and defended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basaniites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now have taken a ready way and passage into *Judaea*, being at this time, and after this victory at the banks of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leave so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan* or *Tracemitis*: and therefore heled on his Army to invade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the onely man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants

Deut. 2. v. 9. &
10. 11. & 12.

Jos. 5. v. 13.
14. & 15.

Deut. 1. v. 8.

of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defended: lying between the Mountaine of *Hermion* (which Mountaine, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Sbirion*, and the *Amorites* *Shemir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* coming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sehon*: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and posselt. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himselfe backe againe to the Mountaines of *Abarim*, left the prosecution of that warre unto *Jair* the sonne of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities, called the same after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* posselt the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountaines of *Gilead* adjoining, was given to *Reuben* and unto *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the *Madianites*, and of *Moses* his death.

After these victories, and while *Israel* sojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the *Madianites* and *Moabites* (over both which Nations it seemeth that *Balaam* King of the *Moabites* then commanded in chiefe) fought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the love of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themselves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoining. The *Israelites* as they had ever bin inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazar* had pieced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the *Simeonites*, together with *Cosbi*, a Daughter of one of the chiefe of the *Midianites*, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindeesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in prosecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes, became an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of *Israel*, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprife, he appointed 12000. to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the *Moabites* practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembered) from the worship of the true God, to the service of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which companies of 12000. *Moses* gave the charge to *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the five Princes of the *Midianites*, which were, or had lately bin, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Josuah*. These five Princes of the *Midianites* slaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassals of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, to wit, *Eui*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the Dukes of *Sehon* saith *Josuah*. He slew also the men, male-children, and women: saving such as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved, and dispierced them among the children of *Israel* to serve them.

And *Moses* having now lived 120. yeares, making both his owne weaknesse of body knowne to the people, and his inability to travaile: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereonto render up his life: He hastned to settle the Government in *Josua*: whom he perswaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of Gods favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his later dayes after the Conquest of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the *Amorites*, in the repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Augustine*) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, love, feare, and service, of the all-powerfull God: He blessed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simon* excepted, with severall and most comfortable blessings: praying the greatnesse and good-

Aug. l. 4. de
Mirab. sacra
Script.

Deut. 33.

Deut. 32. 16.

Deut. 34. 7. 6.

ness of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Booke of the Law, by the side of the *Arke* of God: The last that he indited was that Prophetickall Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heavens and I will speake, and let the Earth heare the words of my mouth:* and being called by God from the labours and sorrowes of this life, unto that rest which never afterward hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over against *Beth Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the year of the World 2554.

§. X.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, so the effecting of his purpose.

NOW let us a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have bin mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for accepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall finde that the feare which *Pharao* had of the increase of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he fought by cruell and ungodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortall men) moved compassion in the heart of *Pharao*: owne daughter, to preserve that childe, which afterward became the most wife, and of all men the most gentle and milde, the most excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharao*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he fought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The griefe which *Moses* conceived of the injuries, and the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne presence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to flie into *Madian*: the contention betweene the Shepherds of that place, and *Jethro*'s Daughters, made him knowne to their Father; who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters, and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the World, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poor Heard-man, God found him out in that Desert, wherein he first suffered him to live many yeares, the better to know the wayes and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeares after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of *Egypt*; and of the men of renowne in other Nations, about the times of *Moses* and *Josua*, with the summe of the History of *Josua*.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have Warre, were divers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

LIke manner if we looke to the quality of the Nations, with whom the Israelites, after their coming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wildernesse*, or afterward, we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*; and the rest (as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Israelites*) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the Israelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the *Canaanites*, the ancient Lords and possessors of those Territories, by prolesse of time divided into severall Families and names: wherof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the *Anakims*, *Zamzummins*, or *Zuzi*, *Emims*, *Horites*, &c. others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabit the utter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the *Zidonians*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Hetites*, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Country in generall was still called.

As for the *Hebrewes* which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Familie, and strangers in that Country, especially the Israelites: and this was some cause that the *Canaanites* did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the *Philistims* did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them; especially by the *Amorites* inhabiting the West part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the Israelites, as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the *Canaanites*, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves, and marched with the *Canaanites* and others, had so farre possesse themselves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering *Canaanites*, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*: of *Esfau* the *Idumeans*: of *Madian* the *Madianites*: of *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, came the *Israelites*, with whom are joyed as of the same Nation, the *Amalekites*; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have bin a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esfau* had a grand-child of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth

* It seemeth also that *Huz*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themselves in the East side of *Jordan*, about *Basan*: where they finde the Land of *Huz*, in which *Jub* dwelt as one of the issue of *Huz*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend which is called a *Bacur*: See hereafter ch. 10. §. 7. Exod. 17. 16.

Deut. 11. 5.

Deut. 32. 17. 18. vinceth it to have bin otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to provoke the Edomites, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and endless warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* eldest sonne *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petrea*, called *Nababai*. Now even as *Abraham* besought God to bleesse *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect all that Tract of Land between *Havilah* upon *Tigris*, and *Sar* which is the West part of the *Desert of Arabia Petrea*. Yet howsoever the strength of these latter named Nations, which descended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the Israelites into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so united in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to joyne themselves together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolutely as the *Canaanites* did. For the *Edumæans* onely denied the Hebrewes a passage, which the *Moabites* durst not deny: because their Country lay more open; and because themselves had lately bin beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the *Amorites*: and as for the *Ammonites*, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, & the strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the *Amorites*, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the *Ammonites* was strong, by reason of the mountains which divided it from *Basan*. Again, that which moved the *Moabites* in their own reason not much to intermingle *Israel*, in the conquest of *Sehon* the *Amorite*, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the *Moabites* might hope after such time as the *Amorites* were beaten by *Moses*, that themselves might recover againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying between the mountains of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and the King of *Moab*, *Balaam*, perceived that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the *Moabites* by speciall occasion were more and more stirred up to enmity against *Israel*. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from *Abrahams* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authors of their Pedigrees, God permitted some enmities to be as it were prefaces of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incited by the memory of old grudges: and withall by some disdain from the elder in name to the younger. For the *Ismaelites* being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, and the *Edomites* from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, being but a second sonne, of a second brother; those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being naturall men, might seeme to give place, much lesse to subject themselves to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the issues of *Esau*, Princes of *Idumæa*, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacob* taking his advantage, and that he was deceived of his fathers blessing alio by him: and that *Jacob* after reconciliation came not unto him as he promised, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

Gen. 25.
Gen. 27.
Gen. 33. 14.

Gen. 26.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the indignation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desert*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell to relieve them. *Ismael* also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalek* was also an Horite by his mother: which Horites were of the ancient *Canaanites*. The *Edumæans* also, or *Edomites*, were by their Maternall line descended of the *Canaanites*. For *Esau* tooke two wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon*, the Hittite; and the other *Abolibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibben* the Hevite, Lord of *Seir*, before the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*. Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the *Ismaelites*, *Amalekites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. were in proceesse of time corrupted, & drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the *Canaanites* which they had married: onely a few of the *Kenites* and those *Madianites*, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Jethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true and ever-living God.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites* and *Madianites*, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the *Israelites*.

Of the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Petigree*) we finde foure named by *Moses*: and one and thirty remembered by *Josua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoining, and no other Dominion. These *Canaanites* in a generall consideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebusites*, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Hevites*, &c. and so here we understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seven principle Families should be rooted out, and that his own people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choysiest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Bemer*, of the *Gen. 34. Hevites*, whom *Simon* and *Levi* slew, together with his son *Sichem*, in revenge of their sisters ravishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures have remembered, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea; the same which surprised *Israel*, as they encamped in the *Wilderness* in the edge of *Edumæa*.

Numb. 21. 13.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arrivall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the West part of *Arabia Petrea* or *Nabathæa*, and thrust them over *Arnon* into the *Deserts*, the same whom *Moses* overthrow in the plaines of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*.

Numb. 21. 24.

Presently after which victory, *Og* was also slaine by *Israel*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountaines *Tracani* or *Galaad* and *Jordan*, who was also a King of the *Amorites*.

Jos. 9. Josephus
antib. 6. 15.
Numb. 21. 25.

The fift was *Adoni-Zedek* King of the *Jebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Josua* nameth foure other Kings.

Biham, King of *Hebron*.

Pirani, King of *Jarmuth*.

Japhia, King of *Lachis*: and

Dibon, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* overthrowne in battell; and hanged by

Josua 10.

Josua. After this overthrow *Josua* nameth *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, and

Josephus. lib. 5. cap. 1.

Jabin, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Jabin* seemed to have some dominion over the rest; for it is said in the Text, For *Hazor* beforetime was the head of all those Kingdomes.

Josua 11. 1.

After these *Adonizedek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who consent that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feete of seventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes under his Table: who, after *Juda* and *Simon* had used the same execution upon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to *Hierusalem* where he died.

Josua 10. 26.

lib. 5. cap. 1.

The last King named is *Jabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Josua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppressed twenty years, after the death of *Ehud*, he inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debra*) overthrow; and his Captaine *Sisara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, nailed driven into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Jabin* himselfe perishing afterward in that warre.

Jud. 4.

Jud. 4.

Jud. 5.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathæa*: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne, by *Cethura*, *Raguel* surnamed *Geheglem* or *Jethro*, saith *Josephus*: called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Judges*, the son of *Dathan*, the grand-child of *Kenan*, or *Jetham*, the great grand-child of *Abraham* by *Cethura*.

Exod. 3.

Josua 13. 16.

Josua 13. 16.

Noting

1. *Homer the Hevite of Sichem*
2. *Arad of the South parts*
3. *Sehon of Essebon*
4. *Og of Basan*
5. *Adonizelek the Jebusite, King of Hierusalem*
6. *Hoham of Hebron*
7. *Piram of Jarmuth*
8. *Japia of Lachis*
9. *Debir of Eglon*
10. *Jabin of Ha'zer*
11. *Jobab of Madon*
12. *Adonizelek of Bezek, and*
13. *Jabin the second King of Ha'zer.*

Zur
Hur and
Reba
* Oreb
Zeb
Zebah
Zalmunna.

After the death of Barak, Judge of Israel, the four left named of these Madianite Kings vexed Israel seven years: till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them, as we have seen before, were taken and slain by the Ephraimites, at the passage of Jordan, as in Oreb and Zeeb were taken and slain by the Ephraimites, at the passage of Jordan, as in 6-7- and 8. of Judges it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, Gideon himselfe laide hands upon Zebah and Salmuna, or Zalmonna, and executed them, being their sons; in which expedition of Gideon there perished 120000. of the Madianites and confederates. Of the Ismaellians, Moabites, and Ammonites; I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

Gen. 17:20.
Jud. c. 7.

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both

Aug. l. 18. c. 8.
de Civit. Dei.Aeschylus
Prom. vinct.
l. 1. c. 8. lib. 18.
de Civit. Dei.L. Vossius
Hes.

both Eusebius and S. Augustine have observed, that Prometheus flourished: *Quem prop-
terea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientia doctor fuisse perhibetur*; of
whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wile.
dome: and so Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to Prometheus, *Ad
inventam sapientia pertinere*; To have reference to wise inventions: and Aeschylus affirmeth,
That by the stealing of Jupiters fire, was meant, that the knowledge of Prometheus tea-
ched to the Starres, and other celestiaall bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had
the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay:
meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived, had no-
thing else worthy of men, but external forme and figure. By that fiction of Prometheus,
being bound on the top of the Hill Caucasus, his entrailes the while devoured by an Eagle,
was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions,
and Influences of Heavenly bodies; for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum,
ut sereno caelo quam longissimè astræ, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*; That he ascended
Caucasus, to the end that he might in a cleere skye discern a far off the settings and rising of
the Starres: though Diodorus Siculus expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Of this Mans knowledge Aeschylus gives this testimonie.

*Alti agebant omnia
Ut forserebat: donec ipse repperit
Signorum obitus, ortusq; qui mortalibus
Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium
Hic repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq; Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis, &c.*

But Fortune govern'd all their workes, till when
I first found out how Starres did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like use I did devise:
As letters to compose in learned wile
I first did teach: and first did amplify
The Mother of the Muses Memorie:

Aug. l. 18. c. 3.
de Civit. Dei.

Africanus makes Prometheus farre more ancient, and but 94. yeares after Oggees. Por-
phyrius sayes that he lived at once with Imachus, who lived with Isaac.

There lived also at once with Moses, that famous Atlas, brother to Prometheus, both
being the sonnes of Japetus, of whom though it be said, that they were borne before
Moses dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advan-
tage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the
World long after them. Besides these sonnes of Japetus, Aesculus findes two others, to
wit, Oceanus and Hesperus, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Eveninges,
and so to the evening Starre. Also besides this Atlas of Lybia, or Mauritania, there were
others which bare the same name: but of the Lybian, and the brother of Prometheus, it
was that those Mountaines which crosse Africa, to the South of Marocco, Sus, and Hys,
with the Sea adjoyning, tooke name, which memory Plato in Critias bestowes on Atlas,
the sonne of Neptune.

Cicero in the fift of his Tusculan questions, affirmeth that all things written of Prom-
etheus and Atlas, were but by those names to expresse divine knowledge. *Nec verò Atlas
sustinere cælum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucasus, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore tradu-
tur, nisi divina cognitio novum eorum ad errorem fabule traduxisset*; Neither should Atlas
be said to beare up Heaven, nor Prometheus to be fastened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with his
wife to be stelled; unless their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these erron-
ous fables.

Orpheus sometimes exprest Time by Prometheus, sometime he tooke him for Saturnus
as Rhea conjux alme Prometheus. But that the story of Prometheus was not altogether
a fiction

a fiction: and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiqua-
ries, and among them Eusebius and Saint Augustine, have not doubted; For the great
judgement which Atlas had in Astronomy, saith Saint Augustine, were his daughters cal-
led by the names of constellations, Pleiades and Hyades: Others attribute unto him the
finding out of the Moones course, of which Archaus the sonne of Orchomenus challengeth
the invention. Of this Arcas Arcadia in Peloponnesus tooke name; and therefore did the
Arcadians vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone: *Et Luna gens prior illa* Ovid. de sepulchris
fuit: which is to be understood, saith Natalis Comes, before there had bin any observati-
on of the Moones course: or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there be
that below the finding out thereof upon Endymion: others (as Xenagoras) on Typhon: yet
Isaicus Tzetzes, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it Atlas of Lybia: who besides his
gifts of minde, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom Thales
the Milesian, as it is said, had the ground of his Phylsophy.

§. V.

of Deucalion and Phaeton.

And in this age of the World, and while Moses yet lived, Deucalion reigned in
Thessalie, Crotopus then ruling the Argives. This Deucalion was the sonne of Pro-
metheus, saith Herodotus, Apollonius, Hesiodus, and Strabo. Hesiodus gave him
Pandora for mother; the rest Clymene: Homer in the fifteenth of his Odyssey, makes
Deucalion the sonne of Minos: but he must needs have meant some other Deucalion;
for else either Ulysses was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For
Ulysses, after his returne from Troy, fained himselfe to be the brother of Idomeneus, who
was sonne to this later Deucalion, the sonne of Minos: but this Minos lived but one age
before Troy was taken: (for Idomeneus served in that warre) and this Deucalion the sonne
of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Deucalions,
time happened that great inundation in Thessalie: by which in effect every soule, in those
parts, perished, but Deucalion, Pyrrha his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at
the time of this flood in Thessalie, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and
villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, so did all
that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of Noah, the corruption
and cruelty of all man kinde drew on them that generall destruction by the flood univer-
sall. Only Deucalion, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them este-
emed to be lovers of Vertue, of Justice and of Religion. Of whom Ovid:

*Non ulla melior quisquam, nec amantior aequi:
Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla deorum.*

No man was better, nor more just than he:
Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that Prometheus fore-told his sonne Deucalion of this over-flowing,
and advised him to provide for his safety: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of
Vessell, which Lucian in his Dialogue of Timon calles Cibotium; and others Larnax. And
because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Dove, to dis-
cover the waters fall, & decrease, I should verily thinke that Story had bin but an imitati-
on of Noahs flood devised by the Greekes, did not the times so much differ, and Saint
Augustine with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of Deuca-
lion. Among other his children Deucalion had these two of note, Hellas, of whom Greece
had first the name of Hellas, & Melanthe, on whom Neptune is said to have begot Delphus,
which gave name to Delphus, so renowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of Apollo
therein founded.

And that which was no lesse strange and marvellous than this flood, was that great
burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton; not only
in Ethiopia, but in Africa, a Region in Italy, and about Cumæ, and the Mountaines of Vesu-
vius: of both which the Greekes, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

August. de Civit.
Dei. l. 18. c. 10.
ex Eusebio &
Hieronymo.

image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likenesse of those things, which are amongst us: That therefore (all devising of Idols cast aside) a wort by Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

272. 1. 2.

Now concerning the Egyptian wisdom, for which the Martyr Stephen commended Moses, saying, That Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words; the same is corrected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Judaeus, and Eusebius Caesariensis, and divided into foure parts, viz. Mathematicall, Naturall, Divine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguish'd into Geometrie, Astronomie, Arithmetick, and Musick, the ancient Egyptians exceed all others. For Geometrie which is by interpretation measuring of grounds, was usefull unto them: because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Nilus, were yearly overflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, to wit, Astronomie, the site of the Country being a leuell and spacious Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yeelded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in Geometrie and Astronomie, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of Musick they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisdom, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, & operations of naturall things, differs little from Peripateticall Philosophie, teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Starres have a certaine soverain heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and be from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets have their proper soules, &c.

The Divine part of this wisdom, which is called Theologie, teacheth and beleeveth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first originall in Egypt; partly by means of the temperatenesse of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that Nilus giveth in those places: That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of Osiris and Isis, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not known; that many of the Gods have beene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their virtues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, have bin Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because under those Ensignes they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the Egyptian Divines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secrete, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

272. 1. 3.

Clemens distributeth the whole summe of this later Egyptian learning into three several sorts, viz. Epistolary, which is used in writing common Epistles; Sacerdotal, which is peculiar to their Priests; and Sacred, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabetically in obscure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Horne participate the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other symbolically, or by signatures, which is threefold, viz. Imitative, Tropicall, and Enigmaticall: Imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the divers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and of men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Horne signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moone by

by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulnesse: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood. Enigmaticall is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all divine things are Enigmaticall and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresth that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The Scythians are thought to have bin delighted with this kinde of writing. For Pherecidas Syrius reporteth, That when Darius sending letters, threatned Idanbura, King of the Scythians, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdome, unlesse he would acknowledge subjection: Idanbura returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, as Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which Orontopagus, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their landes, were signified to be ready to be delivered to Darius, as their Sovereigne Lord. But Xiphodres made another construction, viz. that the King meant, That except Darius with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creepe into holes as a mouse, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captives, Till his grounds. The same History is with little difference reported by Herodotus.

Herodotus

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially the Lawes, which (according to Laertius) Mercurius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus devised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of Pimander and Asclepius, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith Sixtus Senensis) of the Trinity, and of the coming of Christ, as of the last and fearefull day of judgement: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient Historians for his Authors, to wit, Seleucus and Menaeus, affirmeth that this Mercury was not onely the Inventor of the Egyptian Philosophy, but of all other learning, called the Wisdom of the Egyptians before remembred: and that he wrote of that subject 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbered, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Bookes; of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language converted by certaine learned Philosophers into naturall Greeke, they seemed to have bin first written in that Tongue. Clemens Alexandrinus Clem. Strom. 1. 1. writeth, that among the Bookes of Hermes, to wit, of the Wisdom of the Egyptians, there were extant in his time 36. Of Physicke fixe Bookes; of the orders of Priests ten; and of Astrology foure.

6. VIII.

A Briefe of the History of Josua; and of the space between him and Othoniel: and of the remembrance of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to Josua: and of the breach of Faith.

After the death of Moses, and in the one and fortieth yeare of the Egression, in the first moneth called Nisan, or March, Josua, the son of Nun, of the Tribe of Ephraim, being filled with the Spirit of wisdom, tooke on him the government of Israel: God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the River of Jordan, and to possess, and divide among the Israelites the Land promised.

The beginning of Josua's rule, Saint Augustine dates with the raigne of Amynus, the eighteenth King in Assyria; with Corax the sixteenth King in Sicymia, when Danau governed the Argives; and Erithonius, Athens.

Josua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent over Jordan certaine discoverers to Jerico, the next City unto him on the other side of the River, which he was to passe over: Which discoverers being fayed, and sent back by Rahab, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Taverne or Viding-house, made Josua know that the inhabitants of Jerico, and those of the Country about it, hearing of the approach

of

of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egreffion, *Josua* removed from Sittim in the plaines of Moab, and drew down his Army to the bankes of the River *Jordan*; and gave them commandement to put themselves in order to follow the *Ark of God*, when the *Levites*ooke it up, and moved towards the River; giving them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is Lord of all the world, when the River of *Jordan* should be cut off and divided, and the waters comming from above should stand still in a heape; whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might passe over into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

He also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselves (according to their Covenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vantguard, which through all the Desarts of *Arabia*, from the Mount *Sinai* to this place, those of the Tribe of *Juda* had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the *Amorites*, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equality, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of *Jordan* they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the drie ground in the midst of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set up at *Gilgal*, on the East side of the Citie of *Jerico*, where they encamped the first night. At which place *Josua* gave commandement, that all born in the last fortieth yeere in the Desarts should be circumcised, which ceremonie to that day had bene omitted. Of the neglect whereof *S. Augustine* giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That the *Israelites* knew not the certaine time of their removing from one place to another: *Damasius*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of *Israel* celebrated the Passover now the third time; first, at their leaving *Egypt*; secondly, at Mount *Sinai*; & now at *Gilgal*. After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrey, and having as it were, suted on *Man*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond *Jordan*, to wit, the Lands of the *Amorites* which *Og* of *Basan*, and *Sehon* held, so did *Josua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three severall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands over *Jordan*; secondly, by *Josua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*; about the fift yeere of his government; proved in the 14. of *Josua* v. 10. and a third division was made to the other seven Tribes, at *Shilo*, where *Josua* seated the *Tent* of the Congregation.

The victories of *Josua* against the Kings of the *Canaanites*, are so particularly set down in his own bookes, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Reguli* of the *Canaanites*, had not so much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the *Israelites*; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe have bene quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such time as *Jerico* and *Ai* were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) joyned themselves together, first attempting the *Gibeonites*, who had rendred themselves to *Josua*. Only five (the rest looking on to the success) namely, the King of the *Jebusites*, in *Jebus*, or *Hierusalem*, the Kings of *Hebron*, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, & *Eglon*, addrest themselves for resistance, whose Armie being by *Josua* surpris'd and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight,

flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Josua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also tooke *Makedash*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gether* hastened, and perished. After which *Josua* possesst himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countreies were possesst, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counsailes of necessity, united themselves, to make one grosse strength & body of an Armie: which *Jabin*, King of *Ha'or*, practis'd & gathered together, by *Josua* discovered, as the same rested neere the Lake of *Merom*, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Ha'or* only, reserving the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Josua* shewed himselfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surpris. For he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great Citie of *Ha'or*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel* past it with adrie foote; the fall of *Jerico* by the sound of the Hornes; the showers of Haile-stones, which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them perished than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lightened, as the *Israelites* had time to execute all those which fell after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage betweene *Josua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it admitteth no intrusion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hevites*, expressly and by name, by the commandement of God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeiters, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride *Josua*, and the Princes of *Israel*, by faining to be sent as Embassadors from a farre Countrey, in which travails their clothes were worne, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have bin worne for newnesse when they first set out; their barrels and bottels of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Josua* having sworn unto them by the Lord God of *Israel*, he durst not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their Lives, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Josua* had it. For first, the commandement which he received from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sackt their Cities, if there be any evasion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witness. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, because he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gave faith, & to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the accord, which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place. That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleev'd what they had said, and consulted not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and served those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshipers of Images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they beleev'd not. I say therefore, that if ever man might have served himselfe by any evasion or distinction, *Josua* might justly have done it. For he needd

not in this case the helpe of *Equivocation* or *Mental Reservation*. For what he swaere, he swaere in good Faith; but he swaere nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, he held them firme, and inviolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworne it, were worshippers of the Devill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a Societie, to a State or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein professe that we feare him not, and that we set him at naught, and desie him. If he that without Reservation of honour giveth a lie to the King himselfe, or King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour give the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Covenant made.

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Son to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts which have bin made in former times, and confirmed by publike Faith. For though it were 400. years after *Josua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgot not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgot not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of the *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seven of *Sauls* sonnes were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects, in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not only be made uncertaine, but all the chaines whereby free men are tied in the world, be torne asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerful, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true; he that taketh the oath hath promised: I am not ignorant of their poore evasions, which play with the severity of Gods commandments in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoever hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The Christians in the Holy Land when they were at the greatest, and had brought the Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, but not onely lose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the Holy Land it selfe: by reason (saith *William of Tyre*, a reverend Bishop which wrote that storie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the Caliph *Elhadad*, and his Vicegerent. The Soldan *Samar*, who being suddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke* *Syracov* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made Egypt his owne, beat the Christians out of the Holy Land; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very Crosse, say they, that Christ died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge, seeing they had forsworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the soule: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of Hungarie after his great victory over *Amurath the Turke*, and when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the Christians, to breake his Faith, & to provoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battle with 30000. Christians, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this full

volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements upon faith-breakers; be it against Infidels, Turks, or Christians of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the Canaanites unconquered by Israel, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their idolatrie, & as it is said in the scriptures, To be Thornes in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make Warre. For these Cities hereafter named did not onely remaine in the Canaanites possession all the time of *Josua*; but soone after his death the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforced to inhabit the Mountaines, and places of hardst access. And those of *Juda* were not able to be Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is written in the Judges, The Canaanites had Chariots of Iron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adjoining unto *Juda*, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Philistines: as *Azzah*, *Gath*, *Aldod*; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembered in *Samuel*.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* over *Jordan* expell the *Geshurites*, nor the *Maachathites*: which inhabited the North parts of *Basam*, afterward *Traconitis*. Nor the *Nephthalims* possesse themselves of *Bethhemish*, nor of *Bethanab*; but they enforced those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asa* expell the *Zidonians*, nor those of *Acho*, or *Acon*, *Athlah*, *Achzib*, *Heblah*, *Aphike*, & *Rehob*, nor enforce them to tribute.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy *Kitron*, and *Nahaloh*, but received tribute from them. Also the Canaanites dwelt in *Gezer* among the Ephraims: & among the children of *Manasse* on the West of *Jordan*, the Canaanites held *Bethhean*, *Taanach*, *Dor*, *Ibleam*, and *Megaddo*; yea, *Hierusalem* it selfe did the *Jesuites* defend above foure hundred yeares, evntill *David*s time.

Now *Josua* lived one hundred and ten yeares, eightene of which he governed Israel, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expresse in the Scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. *Josuephus* gives him five & twenty yeares: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the Hebrew Chronologie eight and twenty; and *Masius* fixe and twenty: *Maimonius* cited by *Masius*, fouretee: *Joannes Lucius*, seventene: *Cajetan* ten: *Eusebius* giveth him seven & twenty; and so doth *S. Augustine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codomain*, five and twenty. But whickeas there passed 480. yeares from the delivery of Israel out of Egypt, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to *Josua* onely eightene of them; as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seemes the most likely, & as I thinke, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. yeares from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of error, such as have inserted yeares betweene *Josua* and *Othniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeares, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapters upon *Josua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeares: *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one; *Codomain* twenty, and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeares, there can be no void yeares found betweene *Josua* and *Othniel*, unlesse they be taken out of those eightene ascribed unto *Josua* by the account already specified. The prayes and acts of *Josua* are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, Who was there before him like to him for he fought the battels of the Lord?

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter, v. 26. And *Josua* wrote these words in the booke of the Law of God: which seemeth rather to have bin meant by the covenant which *Josua* made with Israel in *Sichem*, where they all promised to serve & obey the Lord; which promise *Josua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulenfis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceive that the booke of *Josua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Iustorum*, remembered by *Josua* himselfe; and others, that it was the worke of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26. verse, And *Josua* wrote these words, &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had answered *Josua*; The Lord our God will we serve, and his joyce will we obey, it followeth that *Josua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God.

your coast shall be from the wilderness, and from Libanon, and from the River Perab, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only Libanon is put for Zidon: and the Wilderness for Gerar & Azab, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Perab be taken for Euphrates: then the Land promised stretcheth itselfe both over Arabia Petraea, and the Desert, as far as the border of Babylon: which the Israelites never possesse, nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceive, that by the River Perab, was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of Joshua: Behold, I have divided unto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great Sea Westward.

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Vadian. Epitom.
niam terrae par-
cium, cap. 10.
14. 15.

Deut. 1. 1. 2.

Deut. 1. 1.

Deut. 1. 1.

And though it be true that David greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holy Land: yet as Vadianus well noteth, if Perab in the former place be taken for Euphrates, then was it put per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For David did not at any time enter so farre to the East as Assyria, or Babylonia. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countreies give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and service, it pleased him not only to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subject them unto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the Hebrews claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the lasting injoying thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens were above the earth, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent, which the Israelites never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankind could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodnesse of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in the eight Verse of the eleventh of Deuteronomy, the keeping of Gods Commandments was a condition joyned to the prosperity of Israel. For therein it is written; Therefore shall ye keep all the Commandments which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the Land, whither ye goe to possess it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord swore unto your Fathers; &c.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens were above the earth. For if ye keepe diligently, saith he, all these commandments, which I command you to doe, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c, then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and ye shall possess great Nations, & mightier than you. And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Majestie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditionall promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of Melancthon: For saith he, Offendit promissionem principium non esse de hoc Polittico regimine: sed ostendit, quod sua chiefe promise is not of a civill Kingdom. To which agrees that answer, which S. Hierome made to a certain Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome that he overthrowed the reputation of the Jewes Story, & brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, & ad illam dantaxat orationem terram qua in caelis est; (that is) Only so that Land of the living which is in Heaven. Quamvis tota Iudeorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160. miliarum, latitudinem vero 40. & in his itam regiones, loca, urbes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Iudeis occupata, sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey of the Jewes is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countreies, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Jewes never possess, but were only granted by divine promise. In like manner the same Father speaketh upon Esay, touching the blessings promised unto Hierusalem: where he hath these words De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palestina Regione petendam, quae totius Provinciae deterrima est: & saxosis montibus asperatur, & penuriam patitur suis: ita ut celestibus utatur pluviiis, & raritatem fontium cisternarum extruizione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, festinae verunt fructores tui; From whence, saith he, we learne, that Hierusalem not to be sought in that region of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Province, & regum

Cap. 49. 14.

with craggye Mountaines, and suffereth the penurie of thirst: so as it preferreth rather water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building of Cisternes: than this Hierusalem in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders have hastened: so far S. Hierome, where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himselfe. Neque hoc dico in suggestionem terrae Iudaeae, ut hereticus Syrophantia mentitur: aut quo asperam historiam veritatem, quae fundamentum est intelligentiae spiritualis: sed ut decuriam supercilium Iudeorum, qui Synagoga angustias latitudinis Ecclesiae praeferrunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, & non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem: Neiter (saith hee) say I this to disgrace the Land of Judaea (as the hereticall Syrophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding: but to beat downe the pride of the Jewes, which enlarge the straits of the Synagoge farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, Deut. 11. 24. had his truth in the literall sense, that Euphrates or Perab, which is made the East-bound, should be taken onely in a spirituall sense) yet nevertheless that Hieromes opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perab were not to be understood for Euphrates, and that the promise it selfe was never so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of Israel.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Aher, Nephthalim, and Zabulon, held the Northernmost part, and were seated in Phoenicia, I will begin with these three, taking Aher for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the divers fancies of Translators, are diversly expressed, so that to the unskilfull they may seeme divers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diversitie (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter doe thinke fit.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

The Asherites descended of Aher the Sonne of Jacob by Zelfa, the handmaid of Lea, were increased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of 41500. and odde persons, all men above twenty yeares of age, and able to beare armes, at the time when they were mustered by Moses at Mount Sinai: all which number perishing in the Deserts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of Arnon, into the Plains of Moab, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phoenicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, unto Ptolomais Acon alongst the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelve miles: though Antoninus makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitful, abounding in Wine, Oyle, and Wheate, besides the balsamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie, Asher pinguis panis: Concerning Aher, his bread shall be fat: And he shall give pleasures for a King.

Ant. lib. 6.

Gen. 49.

†. II.

Of Zidon.

The first City seated on the North border of the Territory of Aher, was Zidon, which Iosua calleth the great Zidon, both for strength and magnitude: The Greekes and

Ec 3

2. Curtius

Justin 18. *Q. Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Justin* derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath bin called *Zidon*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Josephus* witness, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaan's* Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Joshua's* time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the Asserites, or any of their successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the coming of *Christ*: 3. a Citie interchangeably governed, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezekiel*, and *Zacharias*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the Phœnician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterraean or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontes*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which standeth betwene it and *Tyre*: the distance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* & *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces, saith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weislinus* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five & twentie miles. This difference of distance as well betwene these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the Mappe and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memorie: the story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a *Zidonian*, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*: which was also built by the *Zidonians*. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel* their principall workmen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zacharias* calling them the wise *Zidonians*. The Citie was both by nature & Art exceeding strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other Colonies abroad, that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in Greece. *Strabo* and *Plinie* give the *Zidonians* the invention of * Glasse, which they used to make of those sands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the Mediterranean Sea, neere *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of those cleere Glasses which they make at *Murano*: of which *S. Hierome* and *Plinie*: *Zidon* insignifitrix vitri: *Zidon* vitrariis officinis Nobilis; *Zidon* a famous Glasse-maker, or a skilfull worker in Glasse houses.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the *Canaanites*) worshippers of *Baal* and *Astarte*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1. Sam. 31. 10. and Judg. 10. 6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the *Zidonians*: as appears 1 Kings 11. 5. in the story of *Salomons* Idolatrie: where *Astarte* is called the God of the *Zidonians*: and 1. Reg. 16. 33. in the story of *Achab*, the chiefe worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that he marrying *Jezebel* the Daughter of the King of the *Zidonians*, worshipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Astartes* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appears by the plural names of *Baalim* & *Astartoth*, 1 Sam. 12. 10. & elsewhere: for even the name *Astartoth*, as I am informed by a skilfull Hebristian, is plural: the singular being *Astarte*: whence Judg. 2. 13. the *Septuagint* reads *idolatriam istam idolum*: They worshipped the Astarties. The occasion of their multiplying of their *Baals*, & *Astartes*, may be diversly understood: either in respect of the diversitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them: which (as fables use to be) were doubtlesse in divers Cities divers. *Augustine* quæst. 29. in Judg. thinks *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tulius*, lib. 3. de Nat. Deorum, making divers *Goddes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the found to be *Astarte*: whom he makes to be borne of *Tyrrus* and *Syria*, and to have bene the Wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrobius*, 2. Saturn. cap. 21. saies that *Adonis* was with great veneration

commonly worshipped of the *Assyrians*: and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8. 44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the *Syrians*. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewaile her Husband *Adonis*: as also the *Græcians* did in their songs of *Adonis*: *Mourne* for *Adonis* the faire, dead is *Adonis* the faire. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* nor without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose losse of her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the Egyptian Idolatrie, as with the *Græcians*, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeeth that which *Plutarch* hath, de *Iside* & *Osiride*, that *Osiris* with the *Egyptians* is called *Amun*: which word may seeme to be the same with *Ezekiels* *Thammuz*. But howsoever these *Zidonians* were thus anciently fostered with the Milke of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine of the Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the *Jewes*: who had bintought by *Moses* & the Prophets for many yeares, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*: Woe be to thee *Corazin*, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had bene done in *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, they had repented long ago, &c. but I say unto you, it shall be easier for *Tyrrus* and *Zidon*, at the day of Judgement, than for you.

It received a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeare of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the Saracens, and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hiernusalem*: in the yeare 1113. by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaiges, who came with a Fleet to visite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Joppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandement thereof being given to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeare 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while he spent foure yeare in the Warre of the holy Land. Lastly, in the yeare 1289. it was reconquered by the Saracens: and is now in possession of the Turke, and hath the name of *Zai*.

†. III.

Of *Sarepta*, with a briefe History of *Tyre* in the same Coast.

Sarepta, or after the Hebrew, *Sarphat*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, betwene it and the River called *Near*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina mihi non sunt *Gætica*, *Chia*, *Falerina*,
Quaq; *Sareptano* palmite missa bibas.

I have no wine of *Gæts*, nor *Falerina* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepts* vine.

This City had also a Bishop, of the Diocesse of *Tyre*: after it came to the Saracens and Turkes, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Possellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose fleets of shippes commanded, and gave the law over all the Mediterranean Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, & *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil*, *Urbs antiqua fuit*; *Tyris* teneræ *Coloni*, *Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spain* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos*. *Amarthum*, in *Chilis*, which Citie the Scholiast of *Apollonius* placeth neere the River *Phylis*, in *Brythania*.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Joshua* the 19. taking name from the situation; because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it seemes, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ofirum Saranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The *Zidonians* built it upon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a Colonie of the *Zidonians*, the Prophet *Esay*

before therein buried: but in the year 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the Turkes.

†. III.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

The third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Asserites could not obtaine, on the South bound of Asfer was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* to the brother of *Prolomy*. *Plinie* calleth it Ace: and otherwise the Colonie of *Claudius*. It had also the name of *Coch*, or *Cod*, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called *Hactipos*.

But lastly, it was intituled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Egyptian *Prolemies*: which City also as it is, 1 *Mac. 11.* another of the *Prolemies*, infideliouly wrestled from his sonne in law *Alexander*, which called himselfe the sonne of *Antiochus Epiphane*: the same *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra* daughter of the said *Prolomy* not long before. Therein also was *Jonathan Machabaeus* treacherously surpris'd & slaine, as it is *1 Mac. 12. 48.* by the perfidioufnesse of *Tryphon*, whom soone after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* joyned, overthrown & treacherously murdered by *Zabdiel* the Arabian: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented unto his father in law *Prolomy*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three dayes, for God stricke him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regall seate; two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the port for safety and capacity not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from *Hierusalem* some four and thirty miles: four miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from Tyre, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the midst of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Bel-Zebub*: and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like unto that called *Pharus* in Egypt: to give comfort in the night to those shippes, which came neere and fought that part. It had in it a Bishops seate, of the Diocesse of Tyre, after it became Christian: but in the year 636. (a fatal year) to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus*, the Saracen. In the year 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the helpe of the Gallis of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the renew was given in recompence. Againe, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourescore & seven, *Saladine* King of Egypt and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the year of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of England, and *Philip* King of France, it was repossest and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, in the year 1291. it was by the fury of the Saracens besieged with an Army of 150000. entred, sackt, and utterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkish.

†. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

Five miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of Saint George seated in which he was borne: the Valley adjoining bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own belief: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successours royally have continued, should have borne his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those dayes, as that the English were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or personification. The place is described by *Adrichomius* in his description of Asfer, to have beene in the fieldes of Libanus, betweene the River Adonis, and Zidon: his owne words are these:

these: Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur non longe à Beryto, memorant inclum Christi Militem D. Georgium, Regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone afferuisse: eamque mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit edificata: In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not far from Berytus, men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint George, did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: & having killed the beast, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there: Thus saith *Adrichomius*. His Authours he citeth *Ledoricus Roman. Patrie. Navigationum l. 1. c. 3.* and *Bridenbach itin. 5.* The Valley under this Castle sometime called Asfer, was afterward called the Valley of Saint George. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegorically, figuring the victory of Christ, than except of George the Arrian Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

†. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandallium, and others.

Betweene Ptolomais & Tyre alongst the Seacoast, was the strong City of Acziba, or Achazib, which *S. Hierome* called Achziph, and *Iosephus Ecdippus*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it selfe against the Asserites. *Belforrest* findes Acziba and Sandallium, or the Castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from Cadesbarne, travailed as far to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of Asfer, which Rechob, as also Beroth, which by *Ezekiel cap. 47. verse 16.* is placed in these North borders, belonged in *David's* time to the King *Hadar bezzer*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel* the 8. *1 Sam. 13. 19.* chap and 8. verse, and cap. 10. verse 6. and it defended it selfe against the Asserites, as *Zidon*, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphed did.

This Aphed it was, whose wall falling downe, slew seven and twenty thousand of *Bennadab* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had bin slaughtered by the Israelites, under the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Junius* findes that the Philistims encamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the first of *Samuel*, the 9. and 1. he takes *Aphed* there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to have bin in Juda. Of which *Ios. 15.* and 53. and in the second of *Kings 13. 17.* he reades, *Forrister*, for, in *Aphed*. Where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphed*.

The next place alongst the coast is Sandallium, first called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for *Alexander Macedon* built it when he besieged Tyre: and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene Acziba and Tyre: which Castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified; in the year of Christ 1157. when he undertooke the recovery of Tyre.

Not much above a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of water, which *Salomon* remembreth, called the Well of living Waters: from whence not only all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travaile till it recover the Sea, driveth sixe great Milles in that short passage, saith *Brochard*.

Within the Land, and to the East of Acziba, and Sandallium, standeth Hafa: and beyond it, under the Mountaines of Tyre, the City of Achfaph, or Axab, or after Saint *Hierome*, Acifapa: City of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by *Iofia*, at the waters of Merom.

†. VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

Farther into the Land towards Jordan, was seated the Castle of Thoron, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdamare* built on the Easter-most Hills of Tyre, in the year 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adjoining being very fruitful, & exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, in which *Humfrey* of Thoron, Constable to *Baldwine* the 3. King of Hierusalem, lyeth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of Asfer: where;

t. VIII

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The

Of Diocæsaria,
see Sephoris in
Zabulon.
Euseb. hist. Eccl.
l. 7. c. 14.
Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.

a *Jofeph* in
the booke of
the Jewifh war.
18. faith that
Phila the
Tetrach caft
chaffe into a
Fountaine cal-
led *Phiala*, di-
ftant 120. ftades
North-eaft
from *Cefaria*,
which chaffe
being carried
under ground
was caft up a-
gain at *Panion*
or *Dan*, where-
by it is con-
jectured that
the firft Spring
of *Jordan* is
from this Foun-
taine called
Phiala, from
whence for at
Dan receive
their waters.

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety : so in Saint Hieromes time the Citizens remembered their former *Panas*, and so recalled it, with the Territory adjoining by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Christ* healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith : who afterward, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods goodness, and no lesse grateful for the same, as *Eusebius* and *Nicephorus* report, caused two *Statues* to be cast in pure Copper : the one representing *Christ*, as neere as it could be moulded : the other made like her self, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These shee mounted upon two great Bases or *Pedestals* of the same Mettall, which shee placed by a Fontaine neere her owne house : both which (saith *Eusebius*) remained in their first perfectie, even to his owne time : which himselfe had seene, who lived in the Reigne of *Constantine* the Great. But in the yeare after *Christ* 363. that Monster *Julian Apostata*, caused that worthy Monument to be cast downe, and defaced : setting up the like of his owne in the same place : which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into sixtens : the head, body, and other parts sundred and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by *Solomonus* *Andronicus* in his fift booke, and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the *Damites*, was neerer the joyning together of those two Rivers, which arising from the Springs of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two apparent Fountaines of *Jordan* in a foyle exceeding fruitful, and pleasant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the World*. In the fields belonging to this Citie it was that Saint *Peter* acknowledged *Christ* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was answered, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c.* After this Citie received the *Christian* faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate: and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Christians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hierrusalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey of Bullion*, the King of *Damascus* wrested it from the *Christians*; and shortly after by them againe it was recovered. Lastly, now remaineth with all that part of the World subjected to the *Turke*.

†. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Among the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, **CAPERNAUM** is not the least often remembered by the **Evangelists**. This City had the honour of **Christ's** presence three yeares : who for that time was a **Citizen** thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation : according to that notable Prophecy of **Esaie** 9. *The people that walked in darkness, have seen a great light : they that dwelt in the Land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*

Land of the shadow of death, upon them hats the light for ever.
Capernaum was seated on *Jordan*, even where it entrencheth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent & rich soyle : of whose destruction *Christ* himselfe prophesied in these words, *ſc. And thou Capernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, ſhalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.* which ſhewed the pride and greatness of that City : for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in *Saint Hieromes* time, as himselfe confesseth it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne : yet those that have since, and long since seene it, as *Arnoldus Breidenbeech*, & *Saliniac* affirme, that it then consisted but of six poore Fisher-mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this description often mention'd, and in *Saint Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* also remembred; but I finde no agreement among the *Cosmographers*, what proper limits it had: and so *Plinius* himselfe confesseth for *Marine Niger*, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Cafius* in *Cafortia*, and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which description it embraceth *Phoenicia*, a part of *Coele Syria*, all *Palestina*, and *Judea*.

Florie also makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbereth four of them to be situated towards *Arabia*: to wit, first these three, *Damascus*, *Oppos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was first called *Amana*, saith *Stephanus*, or as I guess, *Amora* rather, because it was the chiefe City of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptole. Philadelphia* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Sycharia*.

fo tometim e *Nifa*, built (as is said) by *Bacchus*, in memory of this *Nurfe*, who died therein, anciently known by the name of *Beſhan* ; for the fixth the ſetteth *Gadara* (nor that *Gadara* in *Caſoſyria*, which was alſo called *Antioch* and *Seleucia* :) but it is *Gadara* in *Baſan*, which *Plinius* in this place meaneth, ſeated on an high hill, nere the River of *Hieromaia*. This River *Orielus* takes to be the River *Jaboc* : which boundeth *Gad* and *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*: but he miſtaketh it ; for *Hieromaia* ſelleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betwene *Hippos* and *Geraſa*, whereas *Jaboc* entrench the ſame Sea between *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the ſeventh he nameth *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City ſo called of a *Colonia* of Horſemen there garriſon'd by *Herod*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the *Galilean* Sea, deſcribed hereafter in the Tribe of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is alſo called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, ſeated *Joſephus* takes to be *Geraſa* : and *Geraſa* is found in *Caſoſyria* by *Joſephus*, *Hegeſippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolemy* (whom I rather follow) in *Phanicia*. The tenth and laſt, *Plinie* but *Hegeſippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Baſan* over *Jordan*, ſo called, becauſe theſe ten Hills on which it is ſeated, have the ſhape of a Camell. But the collection of theſe ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brachada*, *Breidabach*, and *Saliginia*, which make them to be theſe ; *Cajarea Philippi*; and *Aſor*, *Berberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Beſhan*. For all other Authors diſagree herein, and give no reaſon for their opinion. One place of the *Evangelift* *Saint Matthew* makes it maniſeſt, *Galilee*. For thus it is written : *And he departed againe from the coaſts of Tyrrus and Sidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middle of the coaſts of Decapolis* : ſo that it was bound by *Damascus* and *Libanus* on the North : by the *Phenician* Sea, betwene *Sidon* and *Palomaia* on the Weſt : by the Hills of *Gelboe* and *Beſhan* on the South : and by the Mountains *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermoon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the Eaſt : which is from Eaſt to Weſt the whole breadth of the Holy Land : and from the North to the South, nere the ſame diſtance, which may be each way forty Engliſh miles.

†. V.

Of Hamath.

But to look backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is leated neere the foot thereof the City of * *Hammoth* or *Chammath*, of which (as they say) the Countrey adjoyning is taken name: the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathensis*: a *Jacobus* *Leigler*, *Iuraea*. *Iuraea* Regio inter borealia sibus *Nepthali* per montem *Libanum* usq; *Trachones*. The Countrey of *Iuraea*, saith here, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nepthali*, along the mount *Libanus* to *Trachonitis*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis*, *Iuraea*, hee misseaks the seate of this Region: and soe dooth *Metator*. For indeed were *Iuraea* (which Hee

* The *Sepulch* *gint* write it *Amath*, *Hicrom* *Emath*, *Jolephus* *A*. *I. 19. v. 35.* *Chammath*, *c. 21. v. 32.* *Chammath*, *Dos*, in the fifth of *Chron.* *6. v. 36.* *Chammath*, *2 Kings* *19. 8.* *Chammath*, *Isaiah*, as *Isaiah* reads it, whereas *Isaiah* *66. 19.* for further still there is added [in *Isaiah*] to note that it was of old belonging to *Juda*, though leated in *Israhel*, that is, in the Kingdom of the ten Tribes: the other *Chammath*, being in *Syria* *Solia*. A *Zeigler* in *Nephtal*.

appus calls *Peræa* and *G. Tyrius, Bucar* (the fame with *Tracônitis*, yet *Tracônitis* it selfe
 is farre more to the East than *Hammath* in *Nephthalim*: for *Tracônitis* lyeth betwene *Cæ-*
phra *Phiippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the Hebrewes call *Gilead*: and this *So Hieron*
Hammath or *Chammath* is seated under *Cæsarea*, towards the Sea West-ward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cælophrya*, *6.52.* where
 beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which *Hierome* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with
Hammath or *Hamath* the lesser in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephthalim*, which he calleth *Epiphani* as the great, as
 for this *Hammath*, or in our Translation *Hamath* (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, as the great, as
Emath, which *2 Chron.* 8. 3. is set farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Sobá*) is remem-
 bered in *Numbers* 34. verse 8. and *Numbers* 13. ver-
 22. and in *Ezekiel* 47. 16. In the first of which pla-
 ces it bordereth the Land of promise, these being
 the words: *From Mount for you shall point* (that is,
 direct or draw a line) *untill it come to Hamath*: In
 from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Matt. Broadus* rejecting
Hierome, rather follows the opinion of *Zágle* above mentioned,
 as indeed it cannot easily be justified that either one or other of
 these is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphani* (as *Beza* placeth the fame *Cæ-*
phra in which *Jofua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath* now that the fame *Cæ-*
phra, was also called *Chammath* (whence the word *Hammath* and
Emath, were framed) may be gathered, partly because the
 other *Hamath*, *2 Chron.* 8. 3. for diffinition is called *Thar-*
thar, as this (as it may seeme by *Jofa* 21. 32.) was called *Thar-*

**Plinie* hath
of *Hippion Dion*
ed for which *Vo*
h *laterran* reads:
ad *Hippidion. Or*
ie *telius* takes
them for two
Cities.

b So Hieron
in his Com-
menton Amos,
c. 6. v. 2. where
there is men-
tion of Hamath,
the great, as it
seems for
distinction
Isa. 17. v. 1. re-
jecting
ove mentioned,
one or other of
at the same Ci-
placed in Neph-
d Hamath and
y because the
called Chamath
as Chamath-Ty-

stream Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another stream Westward into the great Sea. This River of *Chifon* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedonim* or *Cadonim*; and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorfeus*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chorfeus* by *Casaria Palestina*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dorham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so joyning with *Jordanus parvus* which runneth from the Valley of *Jephtha*, which *Josua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*: it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See Laſtan
Map in Orduis
Jof. 19. 14.

§. VI. THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

THE next adjoining Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and South-west, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at Mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land, 64300.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English miles, or somewhat more; a City wherein the *Jewes* (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, *John* the son of *Levi*) tooke armes against *Joseph* the Historian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Jewes* carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficultie by *Vespasian*, who entered it by the Sea side, having first beaten the *Jewes* in a sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; saying that his furie being quenched with the Rivers of blood running through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bond-men.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cesion*, or *Cishion*, of the *Levites*, and then *Isachar*, remembered in the first of *Kings*, c. 4. v. 17. then *Abes* or *Ebes*, *Jos. 19. 20.* and *Remeth*, of which *Jos. 19. 21.* otherwise *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron. 6. 73.* or *Jarmuth*, *Jos. 21. 29.* this also was a City of the *Levites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboa* take beginning: & range themselves to the *Mediterran* sea, and towards the West as farre as the Citie of *Jericho*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethphest*, or *Bethpasser*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen chadda*, neere which *Saul* slew himselfe under those, *Aphes* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betwene which and *Suma*, he saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, & afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirte of bloud, for herein also, saith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* assisting *Benhadad*, incurred *Achab*, and were overthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell Benhadad, Let not him that girdeth his harness, boast himselfe as he that putteth it off*: meaning, that glorie followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the yeare following, in the fields, as they say, adjoining to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* slaine: before which overthrow the servants and Counsaillers of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should overcome them*.

Under *Aphes* towards the Sea they set the Citie of *Esfrelon*, in the plaines of *Galilee*, called also the great field of *Esfrelon*, and *Mageddo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphes* to be seene, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After these are the Cities of *Casalo*, of which, 1 *Machab. 9. 2.* *Anem* or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Levites*, and *Seftima* or *Shabatima*, the West border of *Isachar*, of which *Jos. 19. 22.* From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrims*: a strong Castle, invironed with the Sea, sometime the store-house and Magazine of the *Christians*, and built by the Earle of *S. Giles* or *Tolose*.

From the Castle of *Pilgrims* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthestmost

Tarichea in
Sutten.

Jos. 17. 2. R.
Jof. 17. 2. R.
Jof. 17. 2. R.
Jof. 17. 2. R.

Josua 19.
1 Sam. 4. 1.
1 Sam. 3. 19.
1 Kings 10. 16.
In the latter
two places Jo-
seph relates A-
phes in Affir,
according to
Jof. 19. 30. in
the first he
placeth it in
Fudo, out of
Jof. 17. 43.
1 Kings 10. 16.

1 Kings 10. 16.
Judith 1. 8. 8.
7. 2.
1 Chron. 6. 73.
Jof. 21. 29.

farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the River *Chifon*, where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets and Priests of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idoll of *Baal* were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God was either in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, or perchance asleepe, &c. but at the prayer of *Elijah* the fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessills of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the banks of *Chifon* adjoining.

At the foot of this Mountaine to the North, standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of *Porcina* and *Porphyrus*, some-
times a *Snuffragane* Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Sea-coast towards *Tiberias* by the banks of *Chifon*, there are found the City of *Hapharaim* or *Aphraim*, and the Castles of *Mezra* and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chifon*: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widowes onely sonne.

Then *Seom* or *Sion*, named *Jos. 19.* betwene the two Hills of *Herman*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchantresse that undertooke to raise up the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anabarith* and *Rabbith*, named *Jos. c. 19. v. 19, 20.* Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Jos. 21. 28.* or *Dobraitha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron. 6. 71.* This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe over *Chifon*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* situate, neere the Caves of those two Theeves which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It joyneth on one side to the Mountaine of *Isachar* or *Herman*, and on the other to the Valley of *Jesrael*: which valley continueth it selfe from *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Isachar*, even to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboa* on the South, & by *Herman*, and the River *Chifon* on the North. In these * plaines *Gideon* overthrow the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*, *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tatars* against the *Saracens*.

* Called *Cam-
pus Magnus*.
1 Mac. 12. 49.
and *Harbach*
for *Harbach*.
1 Mac. 5. 23.
& 9. 2.
Judg 6.
1 Sam. 31.
1 King. 10.

§. VII. THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

†. I.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of *Scythopolis*, *Salem*, *Thersa*, and others.

THE next Tribe which joyneth it selfe to *Isachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Jordan*. *Manasse* was the first begotten of *Joseph*, the eleventh son of *Jacob*. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of *Eutiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasse*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grandchildren of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbered amongst the sonnes of *Jacob*, and made up the number of the twelve *Paatriarkes*.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being confumed in the Deserts, there entered of their issues, 57000. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the East, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Jesrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirms. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Asia* the lesse, and pierced into the South, to the uttermost of *Calasyria*, they built this Citie a new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* given by the *Greekes*.

These barbarous Northern people constrained the *Jewes* to fight against their owne Nation

Apollonia 5

Apollonia: though *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, & toward *Egypt*, betweene this City and *Joppe*, to which *Psephian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* re-built, and who therein laboured to exceed all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polisht marbles, the Theater and Amphitheater, from whence he might looke over the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers & Gates: he forced a Harborow of great capacite, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strenght of their Cables and Anchors. This worke he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not bin found in any Kingdome, nor in any age: which, because the Materials were fercht from far, and the weight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe, I have added *Iosephus* owne words of this worke, which are these: *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circum portum circumduxit, quantum putaret magne classis recipienda sufficere: Et in viginti ulnarum profundum, prae grandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraque, pedum quinquaginta longitudo, latitudinis vero octodesim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quaedam etiam majora, minora alia: To mend this inconvenience of place* (saith *Iosephus*) *he compassed in a Bay wherein a great fleet might well ride: and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fifty foute long, eighteen foute broad, and nine foute thicke: some bigger and some lesser.* To this he added an arme or cawle of two hundred foute long, to breake the waves: the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the sonne in law of *Cesar*: in whose honour he intituled the Citie it selfe, *Casaria of Palestine*: all which he performed in twelve yeares time. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that received a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishopricke, commanding twentie others under it, saith *Tyrius*.

Ioseph. l. 15. c. 13.

Euseb. l. 1. c. 11.

S. Hierome nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorius*, and *Galasius* to have bene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius* the Centurion baptized by Saint *Peter*: wherein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle: *S. Paul* was herein two yeares prisoner, under the President *Felix*, unto the time and government of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his complaint, he was sent to *Cesar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennialia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was stricken with an Angell unto death, saith *Iosephus*.

To the North of *Casaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some reade, *Ios. 1. 2.* so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by *Ihu*. But *Iunius* for in *Naphoth Dor*, reades in *tractibus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, in *regionibus Dor*, although *1 Reg. 4. 11.* for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Naphoth Dor*: The Septuagint in the place of *Iosua* call it *Nephth-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ios. 12. 23. Jug. 1. 27.*) may seeme to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull Citie, and the fourth in account of the twelve Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* upon *Macchab. 15. 11.* placeth this betweene the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the River *Chorfeus*: for so some name the River *Chorfeus*, of which we have spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where he was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious willaine that received 200. talents for the ransom of *Jonathan Macchabeus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him slew his owne Master, usurping for a while the kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seate of the Dioecesse of *Casaria*.

Gal. Ty. de Tell. fac. l. 10. c. 6.

From *Casaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangelists*, they finde in these parts near the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe* *Hierome* in locis *Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal* or *Gilgal*, was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Then *Antipatrius*, so called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees* it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabeus* overthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Judea* by a traiterous Jew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first under *Bacchides*, and then under *Nicanor*. To this was *S. Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem* and then under *Nicanor*. To this was *S. Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem* and then under *Nicanor*.

conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the Jewes. In after-times the Armie of *Gudfrey* of *Bulion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Assur*, saith *Brocard*. Neere unto this Citie the Prophet *Jonas* was three daies preserved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatrius* and *Casaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the Romanie wasted with fire and sword, because the Jewes which dwelt at *Casaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moses*. Neere unto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them; after which he himselfe is said to have obtained from God the Spirit of Prophecie also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

§. 1.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

Because these five Tribes, of *Asser*, *Nephthaim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the halfe of *Manasse*, possesse the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-Libanus* I have therefore gathered a briefe of those Kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest have perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquest of Heathen Princes, have bin torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very uncertaine: but all Cosmographers doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Captosis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomie* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Elenus*, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterranean* sea, as farre as the River of *Chorfeus*, which seemes to be that which the Jewes call the Torrent or River of *Maggedo*. *Plinie* extends it further, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budeus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia* apud *priscos* appellata (saith *Budeus*) *quae nunc Palestina Syria dicitur*: it was called *Phœnicia* of old (saith he) which now is called *Palestina* of *Syria*.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea side of *Judea*, and *Palestina*, even unto *Pelusion*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Calosyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldom deceived in his own Art. It had in it these famous Maritimae Cities (besides all those of the Ilands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Betrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Casaria Palestine*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterranean* Sea.

Strab. l. 16. Bude. de As. l. 4.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subject to that people were called *Zidonians*: the same state continuing even unto *Jesua's* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Vandal Wars*. But in processe of time the Citie of *Tyre* adjoining, became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

G g 2

But

E. 17.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Josua* yet governed *Israel*, *Agenor* an Egyptian of *Thebes*, or a Phœnician bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sonnes *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and possess the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second sonne) the use of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuit after his sister *Europa*, taught the Græcians. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surpris'd *Tyre*, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets devised the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and findes *Cadmus* his successeur, whom he calleth his grand-child: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Asdruball*, *Hannibal*: whose memorie *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses.

*Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroq; poposcit
Implevit; mero pateram: quam Belus et omnes
A Belo soliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waightry bowle
(Waightrie with precious stones and massie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemes to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these Phœnicians, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Libia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Thelegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cereps* time, saith *S. Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* successor living at once with *Josua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the use of letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kinde of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to save his owne Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the *Israelites*: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Josua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and possesse the Canaanites Land. For thought the Egyptians, by reason of the losse which they received by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by theren plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could not hinder the Hebrews from invading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *De-farts* inter-jacent, and the strong *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Amorites* & *Ammonites* their borderers: yet *Egypt* having such Vessels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use: did not in all probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the Philistines which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

E. 17. 2.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended against *Josua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Josua* called the strong Citie, *Accho*, afterward *Ptolemais*, *Aschib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those dayes.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especially by Sea, it appears, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *David* & *Salomon* could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Regali*, defended it selfe 13. yeeres against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed unresistible) spent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.
Other

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Josephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrrus* the son of *Japhet*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Calisthenes* derive it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greekes from the word *Phonon*, of slaughter, because the Phœnicians slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my selfe I take it that *Phœnix* the son of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his son in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The Ethiopians affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences and civill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselfe was instructed by the *Lybians*: to wit, from the South and superiour Egyptians: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Divinitie & Philosophie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, received Civilitie. Again, the Phœnicians challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were Affricans; whence *Lucan*,

*Phœnices primi (sama si creditur) anfi
Manfuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Lucan. 1. 3.

Phœnicians first (if same may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the son of *Agenor*, and was a Phœnician, and not an Egyptian; it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kinde of reproach was called a stranger and not a Phœnician:

*Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum? nam Cadmus et ipse
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docti libros.*

Athen. 1. Diogenes.

If a Phœnician borne I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

Out of doubt the Phœnicians were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Josephus* the Historian confirms a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great *Zalmoxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gauls* taught the *Greekes* the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gauls*, and that they sent their sonnes hither to be by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Joseph. contra Appianum.

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on *Moses*, the same hath no probability at all, for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in *Egypt*, and *Affrica*, and he himselfe was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his infancy.

But true it is, that letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall flood: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knowes; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently used by the Egyptians, and other Nations: and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutcheions, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations, *Jura naturalia communia et generalia*, &c. *Natural Lawes are common and justicem general.*

6. II.
of the Kings of Tyre.

BUt whatsoever remaineth of the story and Kings of Phœnicia (the bookes of *Zeno*, *Sachontabo*, *Masæus*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor lived at once with *Josua*, to whom succeeded *Phanix*, of whom that part of Canaan, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of Phœnicia: what King succeeded *Phanix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the Græcians besieged *Troy*, *Phasis* governed Phœnicia.

Chap. 27. 3.

In *Hieremias* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in *Juda*, the Tyrians had a King apart: for *Hieremie* speaketh of the Kings of *Zidon*, of *Tyre*, of *Edom*, &c. as of severall Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith he invaded *Greece*, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of Phœnicia, about *Tyre*, and *Zidon*: who commanded, as some writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the Phœnicians were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and petty Kings in *Hieremias* time, they were subjected by *Nabuchodonosor*, of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of *Zidon*, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependencie upon *Darius*, & that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the Græcians. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betwene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeares and somewhat more, betwene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) he rather submitted himselfe by the instigation of his Subjects (who foresaw their utter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

L. 4.

Athen. lib. 2. c. 13.

Hieron. l. 7. cont. Iosua.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenaus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certaine games and prizes for Women-dancers, and singers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled: that having beheld the most beautifull and lively among them, he might recover them for his owne use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, *S. Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the Persians were neere him with an Armie too waighy for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians, determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done, shee also therewith pierced her owne body, and died.

After *Alexander* was possessor of *Zidon*, and the other *Strato* driven thence, He gave the Kingdome to *Hephastion*, to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, desired *Hephastion* that this Honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient Kings: and presented unto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolomius*, *Iustine*, *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch*, *Alonymus*: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, sowing herbs and rootes, for his reliefe and sustenance: though otherwise a wife man and exceeding just.

These were the ancient Kings of *Zidon*: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or Aristocraticall: and by times and turns subjected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of *Tyre*, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be

be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the Tyrians; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesus*, do in no sort agree in the times of their reignes, nor in other particulars.

Abibulus is the first King of the Tyrians, that *Iosephus* & *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the sonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourth and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians.

To this *Abibulus*, *Saron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibulus*. *David* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eusepius*) constrained this *Saron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *David* complaineth, *Psal.* 83.

Prep. Evang. l. 9. c. 4.

Hiram succeeded *Saron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronimus*, sometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and sent him Cedars, with Masons and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Hierusalem*, after he had beaten thence the Jebusites. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he joyntly with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of

2 Sam. 5. 8. c.

2 Sam. c. 5.

2 Kin. c. 19. 20.

1 Chron. 14.

2 Chron. 2. 8. 9.

Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7. & 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his third booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the Greekes: and in *Zonaras*, Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent, he despised the 20. Townes which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against that victorious King *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the *Zidonian*: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Astarte*, the Idoll of the Phœnicians. *Hiram* lived 53. yeares.

1 King. 17. 2. c. 17.

yeeren.

Baleastartus whom *Theoph.* *Antiochenus* calleth *Baſormus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. yeares, according to *Iosephus*.

Abdaſtartus the eldest son of *Baleastartus*, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. yeares, according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. yeares, and lived 54. who being slaine by the four sonnes of his owne Nurſe, the eldest of them held the kingdome 12. 30 yeares.

Aſtartus brother to *Abdaſtartus* recovered the Kingdome from this Usurper, and reigned 12. yeares.

Aſarimus, or *Arharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother, followed *Aſtartus*, and ruled 9. yeares, and lived in all 54.

Ioseph. 8. 4.

Theoph. 8. 3.

Phelles the fourth son of *Baleastartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Aſta-*

Theoph.

rimus, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived 50. yeares.

Tibobalus (or *Iustobalus*, in *Theophilus*) son to the third brother *Aſarimus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddess *Aſarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Uncle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeares; the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Eitbaal*, whose daughter *Jeſabel*, *Achab* married.

Ioseph. 12.

Theoph. 12.

Badeſor or *Baſor* the son of *Tibobalus* or *Eitbaal*, brother to *Jeſabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeares, and lived in all 45.

1 King. 16. 31.

Ioseph. 12. c. 17.

Theoph. 12. c. 17.

Mettimus succeeded *Badeſor*, and reigned but 9. yeares (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*.

Ioseph. 9.

Theoph. 12. 9.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. yeares, and lived 56. In the seventh yeare of whose reign, *Elisa* sailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeares and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our account was 289. yeares after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Aeneas* and *Dido* must be farre out of square. For *Pygmalion* covetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleeve *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mothers teares, and by threats from the Oracle arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barcae* in *Africa*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hannibal*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Jedidia*, a surname of *Salomon*.

Iustine. 11.

Virgil. 1.

Ethiops succeeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. yeares: the same that overthrew the fleet of *Salmanaſſar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which he continued his ſiege before it on the Land ſide five yeares, but in vaine.

After *Ethiops*, *Ethobales* governed the *Tyrians*, who vaunted himſelfe to be as wiſe as *Daniel*: and that he knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was ſlaine in that long ſiege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13. yeares together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeares a tributary, perchanee, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers *Judges*, ſucceeding each other: *Fiſh*, *Ecmibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarns* the *Prieſt*, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them ſome 7. yeares, and odd months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeare: after him *Mervalus* ſent from *Babylon*, 4. yeares: after him *Itram* ſent thence alſo, 20. yeares. In the 17. of whoſe raigne *Cyrus* began to governe *Perſia*.

§. III.

Of *Bozias* his conceit, that the *Edumians* inhabiting along the *Red Sea*, were the Progenitors of the *Tyrians*, and that the *Tyrians* from them received and brought into *Phoenicia* the knowledge of the true God.

OF the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the *Tyrians*, mixed with a diſcourſe of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozias* that hath writtē a Traſt at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance who only is unchangeable, and the ſame for ever; yet whereas the ſaid *Bozias*, enforcing here-hence, that the proſperity and ruine of the *Tyrians* were fruits of their embracing or forſaking the true Religion; to prove this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the *Tyrians* to have bin *Edumians*, deſcended from *Eſau*, *Jacobs* brother: firſt, it can hardly be beleevēd that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her ancient glory, was in any fort truly devout and religious. But to this end (beſides the prooffe which the Scriptures give of *Hiram*s good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjecturall arguments; whereof the ſtrongest is their pedigree and deſcent: it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the *Tyrians* were *Edumians*, he endeavours to ſhew, partly by weakere reaſons, painefully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witneſſe, that the *Tyrians* came from the *Red Sea*, in which there were three Iſlands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the *Red Sea*, was (in his opinion) under the *Edumians*: as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber*; or under the *Amalekites*, who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chiefe City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appears good (as he takes it) that the *Tyrians* originally were *Edomites*: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he addes, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtaris*, the Idol of the *Sidonians*. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being *Phœnicians*, themſelves differed much in their Philoſophy from the Idolatrous cuſtomes of the *Greekes*. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the *Edumians*, was an Univerſity, wherein as may appear by *Eliphaſ* the *Temanite*, who diſputed with *Job*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozias*, who labouring to proove one *Paradoxe* by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the *Tyrians* were *Edumians*, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were *Edumians* at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought up his children, it is no where found writtē; but that himſelfe was a prophane man, and diſſuaded by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expreſſe. That his poſterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the ſecond booke of *Chronicles*. That the *Edomites* were perpetuall enemies to the houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* & ſome of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant?

rant of *David*s unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when firſt they were ſubdued: Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance betwene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Job* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the *Edomites* were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſedome of *Eliphaſ* the *Temanite* was then forgotten, and the *Edumians* puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphaſ* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoining to *Huſi*, the country of *Job*: and to ſuch the Citie of *Bildad* the *Subite*; as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text maketh maniſeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Salomon* in wiſedome, all the people of the Eaſt; nor the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is that *Eliphaſ* the ſon of *Eſau* had a ſon called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in thoſe dayes to take name of their ſonnes, I no where finde. And *Iſmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Teman* in the Eaſt had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of *Judges*, the *Midianites*, *Amalekites*, & all they of the Eaſt are called *Iſmaelites*. And he that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durſt give battaile to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeveth ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau*s his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberleſſe muſt the forces of all *Edom* have bin: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had bin ſo great: ſurely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adjoining could not have held them. But we no where finde that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or aſſiſted the *Amalekites*, when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it ſelfe, if diſtinct from the *Iſmaelites*. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtleſſe was no *Edomite*. And thus much in general for all the *Seigniory* of the *Red-ſea* coaſt, which *Bozias* imagines the *Edumians* to have held: if the *Edomites* in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Eſiongaber* on the *Red Sea* ſhore, yet in *Moſes* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelfe ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſſe all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* flood, *Moſes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that Country; and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjecturall Arguments, how probable ſoever, are needleſſe in ſo maniſeſt a caſe. For in the 83. *Psalm*, *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations: yea the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* being one people, as all good Authours ſhew, and *Bozias* himſelfe confeſſeth, were *Canaanites*, as appears, *Gen. c. 10. v. 15. & 19.* appointed by God to have bin deſtroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Iſrael*, *Joſ. 29.* becauſe they were Idolaters, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*, not Couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame Religion. For though *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed bee God that hath ſent King David a wiſdome*: we cannot inferre that he was of *David*s Religion. The Turke hath ſaid as much of Chriſtian Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the *Sidonians* then worſhipped *Aſtaroth*; and drew *Salomon* alſo to the ſame Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* ayded *Salomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his owne ends, receiving therefore of *Salomon* great proviſion of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appear that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-peſtered, being otherwiſe apt to yeeld ſilkes: as the *Andarine* ſilkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne & Oyle, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to *Salomon*. Alſo Gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiſer; who having got the gold firſt, gave to *Hiram* the worſt Villages that he had: with which the *Tyrian* was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy which enforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *David* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorough which Countries the *Tyrians* were wont to carry and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, to their ſleets on the *Red Sea*, and backe againe to *Tyrus*: ſo that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſſe, could have cut off their Trade.

But the Israelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet *Salomon*, as Lord of the Sea-townes which his Father had taken from the Philistines, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, & perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvelle) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly ayded him, and sent him cunning workmen, to encrease his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the Tyrians: so those other proofes which *Bozrus* frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me, that having more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitious, he would faine have purchased divine honours: which his Daughters, Nephews, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Every salvage Nation hath some wisdom excellently the Vulgar, even of civill people. Neither did the morall wisdom of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being Tyrians, are not knowne to have taught Idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Lepis*, *Cadix*, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which I thinke, the Islands before mentioned in the Red Sea to have bene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therefore the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozrus*, who would have us thinke them to have bene formerly a strange kind of devout Edomites. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he styeth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politici*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not knowen his name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honesty, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse, this doctrine of *Bozrus* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the Assyrians, Greeks, Romanes, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome* as fast as *Rome* it selfe grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battailes did the Romanes win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, save onely that of the Jewes, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterward entertaine in their City? Only the true God, which was the God of the Jewes, they rejected, upbraiding the Jewes with him, as if he were unworthy of the Romane Majesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd & foolish conclusion which Heathen writers used against the Christians in the Primitive Church: That such Idolatry had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozrus*, who writing against those whom he falsely termes impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour; who having once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others, or vainly fashioned in their owne braines any strange *Chimera's* of Divinity, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as Atheists & Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitie it is, that such mad dogges are oftentimes encouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.



Having now past over *Phenicia*, we come to the next Territotie adjoining: which is that of *Ephraim*: sometimes taken per excellenciam for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Joseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Desarts*, (*Josua* excepted) then entered the Holy Land of their children growne to be able men, 32500. who late downe on the West side of *Jordan*, betweene *Manasse*, and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of *Israel*, built by *Amri* or *Omri* King thereof, and seated on the toppe of the Mountaine *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottom, & as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *August. Caesar*. This Citie is often remembered in the Scriptures: & magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brocard* observeth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brocard* found greater than those of *Hiersalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewne and carved stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the sonnes of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the sonne of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cesar* called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the Prophets *Helisens* and *Abdias* buried: and so was *John Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monks.

Neere *Samaria* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, & a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine, *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden Calves, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the restoration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelosa*, and *Napolsa*: It was destroyed by *Simcon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the ravishment of their sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the foyle. *Jeroboam* raised it up againe: and the *Damasceni* a third time cast it downe.

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirathon*, on the Mountaine *Amalec*, the Citie of *Abdon* Judge of *Israel*. And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Neere to this Citie *Judas Macchabeus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Jos. 10.* and *Saron*, whose King was slaine by *Josua*: it is also mentioned *Act. 9. 35.* and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Casarea Palestina*, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as *Joppe*, faith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Saron* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitfull plaine Region; for not only this Valley is so called, to wit, betweene *Casarea* and *Joppe*, but that also betweene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so *S. Hierome* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Ezay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdias*, read *Saron* for *Asaron*: understanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diopolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the Toparchiees of *Judas*, the first in dignitie (or the third after *Pliny*) where *S. Peter* (*non sua, sed Christi virtute*) cut *Niger*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Joppe*, *Saron*. This *Joppe* was

Act. 6.
Lucas.
Niger, com. 4.
Alie. Id. 503. 12.

was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, those Ravens and spoylers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, usurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplify their owne glory, troubled the whole world: and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most salvage and barbarous Nations.

Of this Saint George see more above in this booke. C. 7. §. 3. & 5.

Epist. 11.

Salig. Tom. 6. 6. 4.

See in the Tribes of Benjamin. cap. 12. §. 1.

1 Sam. 25. v. 5.

Ant. 12. 21. de Bell. Jud. 1. 6.

Hieron. in locis Hebr.

Mac. 1. 7. 40.

In *Dioppolis* (saith *Wil. of Tyre*) was *S. George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Justinian* the Emperour caused a faire Church to be built over his Tombe; these be *Tyrus* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatrie, & Joppæ, per laicæ patentem planitiem Elutheriam petra transeuntis, Liddamque est Dioppolis, ubi & egregii Martiris Georgii usque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt. ejus Ecclesiam quædam hozerem ejusdem Martiris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio & devotione prompta edificari præcepit, &c.* They having left (saith he) on the right hand, the Sea Townes *Antipatri*, and *Joppæ*, passing over the great open plaine of *Elutheria*, came to *Lidda*, which is *Dioppolis*: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr *S. George* is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the *Romanes*, *High and Mighty Justinian*, had commanded to be built, with great earnestnesse and present devotion, &c. Thus saith *Tyrus*: by whose testimony, we may conjecture that this *S. George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slain there in an uprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian*, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, How long shall this Sepulchre stand? occasioned the uprore of the people against him: as fearing lest he would give attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might have rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had bin gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not *Georgius*, whose name lives in the right honorable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrus* above cited, witnesseth to have bin buried at *Lidda* or *Dioppolis*. The fame also is confirmed by *Virg. S. Hieron.* affirms that it was sometime called *Tigrida*; and while the *Christians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

Neere to *Lidda* or *Dioppolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Joseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Juda* neere *Thebes* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephthalim*, not farre from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fift, which is this *Rama*, in the Hills of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which 1 Chron. 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Josephus* in his Antiquities, and in the warres of the *Jewes*. Also *Balsalifa* (for which *Junius*, 2. Reg. 4. 42. reads *planities Balsalife*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon 1 Sam. 6. where we read of the Land of *Shalisha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gofsa*, one of the *Togachies* or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-Sarah*, or according to the Hebrew, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Togachies* or *Presidencies* of *Juda*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly City and strong, seated on one of the high Hills of *Ephraim*; on the North of the hill called *Gau*; which City and Territory, *Israel* gave unto their Leader *Josua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in *S. Hieron.* time, and over it the *Sunne* engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders which *God* wrought in *Josua's* time.

In the places adjoyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Judas Maccabeus* with 3000 *Jewes* overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievetenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gaser* or *Gazer* which *Josua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Levites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* rebuilt it.

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of *Jesleti*, of which *Jos. 16. 3.* otherwise *Peleti*, whence *David* had part of his *Prætorian* Soldiers, under the charge of *B. maia*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and City of *Silo*, whereon the Ark of *God* was kept for many years, till the *Philistims* got it.

To this they joyn the City of *Machmas*, or *Michmas*: in which *Jonathan Maccabæus* Secin Benjamin inhabited, a place often remembered in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from *Samaria* towards *Hierusalem*: and is now called *Byra*.

Then the Village of *Naioth* where *Saul* prophesied; and neere it *Ephron*, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after the great overthrow given him. Then *Kimbitaim*, of the *Levites*, of which *Jos. 21. 22.* which *Junius* thinks to be the same with *Jokneham*, of which 1 Chron. 6. 28. As for *Abalomus Baalafor*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it in the Plaine of *Chatzor*; and findes it in the Tribe of *Juda*; as *Jos. 15.* we read of two *Chatzors* in that Tribe; one neere *Kedeth*, v. 23. and the other the same as *Chetzor*, v. 25.

In this Tribe also they finde the City of *Mello*; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with the *Sichemites* in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a Tribute upon the people. But it seemes that *Mello* or *Millo* is a common name of a strong Fort or Citadell: and so *Junius* for *domus Mello*, reads *incole munitio*, and for *Salomo edificabit Mello*, he reads *edificabit munitio*, and so the *Septuagint* reads *edificabit Mello* in that place. And without doubt the *Millo* which *Salomon* built; cannot be that of *Sichem*, but another in *Hierusalem*.

The other Cities of marke in *Ephraim*, are *Taphuah*, whose King was slain by *Josua*; and *Janoach* or *Janoah*, spoyled by *Teglatphalassar*; *Pekah* then governing *Israel*; with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountaines of *Ephraim* sometime signifie the greatest part of the land of the sons of *Joseph*, on the West of *Jordan*: several parts whereof are the Hill of *Samron* or *Samaria*, 1 Reg. 16. 24. * the Hill of *Gahas*, Jud. 2. 9. the hill of *Tilmon* or *Salmon*, Jud. 9. 48. the Hills of the Region of *Tilph* or *Tisophim*, Ju. 9. 5. where *Rama-Tisophim* stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines upon the sides of the Mountaines, was the occasion that *Jacob* in the spirit of Prophecy, Gen. 49. 22. compared *Joseph's* two branches, *Ephraim* and *Manasse*; to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the *Wel* side, and spreading her Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezekiel*, e. 22. in his Lamentation for *Ephraim* (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was *Ephraim*) professes: as also in his Lamentation for *Juda*, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, Gen. 49. 9. comparing *Juda* to a *Lion*. Upon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of *Ephraim*, which over-looketh all the plains on both sides of *Jordan*, they finde the Castle called *Dok*: which they make to be the same with *Dagon*, of which *Joseph. 1. Bel. 2.* in which Cattle, as it is 1 Mac. 16. *Ptolomie* most trauersouly, at a banquet, slew *Simon Maccabæus* his Father in Law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of *Ephraim*, they name *Gas*, remembred in the second of *Samuel*, e. 23. v. 30. where though *Junius* reads *Hiddus ex una vallum Gahsi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatilius* reads *Giddus* of the River of *Gas*. Also in this Tribe they place the River of *Canith*, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought; where he was fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travailed (by the Spirit of *God* guided) towards *Sidon*: where he was relieved by the poore Widow of *Zarepta*, whose dead sonne hee revived, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby she sustained her life.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from Jeroboam to Achab.

OF the first Kings of *Israel* I omit in this place to speake, and reserve it to the Catalogue of the Kings of *Juda*: of whom hereafter.

Touchoing the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, an *Ephrathite* of *Zoreda*, who being a man of strength and courage, was by *Salomon* made overseer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hierusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manasse*: so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time as he went from

Hh

Hierusalem,

Secin Benjamin
Mac. 9. 36.
1 Kin. 4. 31.
see Roma in Benjamin.

Jud. 9. 6. & 20.
1 Reg. 11. 27.
Vatilius ex-
pounds Mello in
this place domus
publicum ne effe-
rium civibus Je-
rosolymitanis atq;
Israelitis.
2 Kin. 15. 29.
Joc. 17. 1. 16.
* Also the Hill
of Phinias,
where Eleazar
the high Priest
the son of Aaron
was buried, Jo.
24. 33.

And the two
tops of Hills,
Gergizim where
the blessings, &
Habal where the
curfings were to
be read to the
people of
which Deut.
11. 8. 27. & Jo.
1. 1. 16.
a It seemeth
that Jacob in
this prophetic
the rather useth
the word Daugh-
ters for branches,
therby the more
plainly to signi-
fic the colonies;
which in the
Hebrew phrase
are called
Daughters of the
Munition: as in
Josua and else-
where often.
b 1 Reg. 17. 4.
& ch. 17.

1 Kin. 15.

ria: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambrius* was also an Idolater no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subjected to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*: the Father of *Benhadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Nicophorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceive: seeing *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* was invited by *Asa* King of *Juda*, to assaile *Baalsha* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Eli*, who forewent *Ambrius*. This *Ambrius* reigned twelve yeeres, fixe in *Therfa*, and fixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

A Chab or Ahab succeeded Omri, who not only up-held the Idolatry of Jeroboam, borrowed of the Egyptians; but hee married Jezebel the Zidonian: and as Jeroboam followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: so did Ahab of his Zidonian.

The King of *Aram* notwithstanding these benefits, did againe attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. *Joram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armour to sound in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azel* ^{2 King.} obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Master, *Joram* entering upon his frontier, took *Ramoth Gilead*: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jerusalem* to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanding the Armie of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surpris'd

- Beelzebub was
the same with
Belus, and Pluto;
saith Viginere
upon Levi.
2 Kings.

2. Kün 30

2 Kin. 8:34

• Kin. 7:

Hh 2

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and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Abab*.

Pag. 86.

Jehu, who reigned after *Jehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupie the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jehoram*, for which he was plagued with grievous warre, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who spoiled all the Countreies to the East of *Jordan*: in which warre he was slaine, saith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Jehu* reigned 28. years.

2 Kin. 13.

Joachaz or *Jehoahaz* the sonne of *Jehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end subiected, leaving him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Joachaz* reigned 17. years.

2 Kin. 14.

After *Joachaz* *Josiah* his sonne governed *Israel*, who when he repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories over the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and *Elisha* covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had 10 many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with *Josiah*, who overthrew the son of *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities & Territory from *Benhadad* the son of *Azael*, which his Father *Joachaz* had lost. He also overthrew *Amaziah* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the warre, whereupon he entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it, with the Temple. This *Josiah* reigned fixteene yeeres, and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam the third from *Jehu*, followed *Josiah* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of *Jehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who reigned in his stead, governed fixe months. *Shallum* held the Kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menabem* of the *Gadites*.

2 Kin. 16. 19.

Menabem who tooke revenge of *Shallum*, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with childe. This *Menabem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of silver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menabem* governed twenty yeeres.

2 Kin 15. 29.

Pekahiah or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaceia* succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, he was slaine by *Phaca* or *Pekah* the Commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this *Pekahs* time, *Phulassar*, or *Tiglat-Phylassar* invaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wan *zion*, *Abel-Bethmaacah*, *Janoach*, *Kedesh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Gadilee*, carrying their captives into *Affyria*: he was drawne in by *Achaz* King of *Judea*, against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achaz* being waisted by *Pekah* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the *Affyrian*, who first suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this invading of the great *Affyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Judea*. *Pekah* reigned 20. years.

Then *Hofhea* or *Ofsea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Affyrian* yoke, he fought ayd from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Affyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and mastered it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Ninive* in *Affyria*, and into *Rages* in *Mesopotamia*, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cutha* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a river in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth also with those of *Ava*, which were of the ancient *Avims*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neere unto *Gath*, whom the *Captivims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the Desert, called *Havvei*, willing to returne to their ancient seats. To these he added those of *Chamath*

or *Thuraa*, the ancient enemies of the *Israelites*, and sometime the Vassalls of the *Adades* of *Damascus*, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this *Affyrian* advise himselfe better than the *Romanes* did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of *Judea* and *Hierusalem*, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thin Garrisons, which soone decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who never could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the yeare of the world 3292. the sixth yeare of *Ezekiah* King of *Juda*: and the ninth of *Hofsa* the last King of *Israel*.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1. Jeroboam	Reigned 22 Years.
2. Nadab	2 Years.
3. Baasha	24 Years.
4. Ela	20 Years.
5. Zambri	7 Dayes.
6. Omri	11 Years.
7. Achab	22 Years.
8. Ochazias	2 Years.
9. Joram	12 Years.
10. Jehu	28 Years.
11. Joachaz	17 Years.
12. Joas	16 Years.
13. Jeroboam	41 Years.
14. Zacharias	6 Moneths.
15. Shallum	1 Moneth.
16. Menabem	10 Years.
17. Pakahia.	2 Years.
18. Phaca.	20 Years.
19. Hofsa.	9 Yeares, about whose time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, and the other halfe of Manasse.

§. I.

Of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gaib, Aicaron, Azorus, and other Townes,

NOW following the coast of the Mediterran Sea, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth d' Ephraim, whereof I spake last: of which Family there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their sons 66400. bearing arms. The first famous Citie in this tribe on the Sea-coast was Joppe, or Japho, as in the 19. of *Josua*: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of *Hierusalem*. From hence *Jonas* embarked himselfe when he fled from the service of God, towards *Tharsis* in *Cilicia*. In the time of the *Macchabees* this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabeus* governed the *Jewes*, the *Syrians* that were Garrison'd in Joppe, having their fleet in the Port, invited 200. principall Citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

Matc. 23.

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by *Cestius* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ, 1250. *Lodowicke* the French King gave it new Walls and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called *Jaffa*. There are certaine Rockes in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monster by *Perseus*. This Fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of *Ædileship*, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. *S. Hierome* upon *Jonas* speaks of it indifferently.

The next unto *Joppe* was *Jamnia*, where *Judas Macchabeus* burnt the rest of the Syrian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at Hierusalem, 240 furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seate, faith *Will.* of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this time, that such a place there was.

After *Jamnia* is the Citie of *Geth* or *Gath*, sometime *Anthoned*, faith *Volatteran*. And so *Montanus* seemes to understand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistin Cities, and in the place of *Anthoned*. But *Volatteran* gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomie* sets *Anthoned* farre to the South of *Joppe*: And *Geth* was for the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philistims: and about sixteen miles from *Joppe*: where *S. Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and Seminarie of the Anakims, strong and Gyant-like men, whom *Jesua* could not expell, nor the Danites after him, nor any of the Israelites, till *Dauids* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did divers others not much inferiour in strength and stature unto *Goliath*.

Roboam the sonne of *Salomon* rebuilt *Geth*: *Ozias* the sonne of *Amazia* destroyed it againe. It was also laid waste by *Azæel* King of Syria. *Fulke* the fourth King of Hierusalem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this *Geth* was the same that *Will.* of Tyre in the Holy warre calls *Ibailin*, I much doubt: the error growing by taking *Geth* for *Anthoned*.

Not farre from *Geth* or *Gath* standeth *Bethfemes*, or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adjoining to this City (as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by ayoke of two Kine, turned loose by the Philistims: and the Bethfemes presuming to looke there upon, there were slaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter & the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great *Abel*, faith *S. Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Isachar*. *Hierome* findes a fifth in *Benjamin*.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong City of Accaron offereth it selfe, sometime one of the five Satrapies, or Governments of the Philistims. *S. Hierome* makes it the same with *Casaria Palæstina*. *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defendeth the selfe against the Danites and Idumæans. It worshipped *Beel-zebub* the god of Homers of *Eliens*. To which Idoll it was that *Aba'zab* King of Israel, sent to enquire of his health, whose messengers *Eliab* meeting by the way, caused them to returne, with a sorrowfull answer to their Master. This City is remembered in many places of Scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth *Azotus* next to *Geth*, and then Accaron or Ekron. This *Azotus* or *Afidod* was also an habitation of the Anakims, whom *Jesua* failed to destroy, though he once possessed their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the Idoll *Dagon*: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, after the Arke of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous *Judas Macchabeus* slain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the Lievtenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathan*, and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire: neere which also hee overthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinus the Romane re-built it. It had a Bishops seate while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *S. Hierome's* time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of *Ethiopia*, wherein *Philip* the Apottle baptized the Eunuchs, are *Tyrus* or *Sarza*, and *Eithaol*, and between them *Castra Danis* neere *Hebron*: though this place where *Sampson* was borne, may seeme by the words, *Jud. 18. 12.* to be in the Tribe of *Juda*.

Judab, as the other also were bordering Townes betweene *Dan* and *Juda*.

After these within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they finde *Gedor*, or as it is *1 Mac. 15. Cedron*, which *Cendebeus* the Lievtenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Jemes*, and neere which himselfe was by the *Macchabees* overthrowne.

Then *Modin* the Native Citie of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seaven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that height, as they served for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeares after their first setting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witnesse.

There are besides these the Citie of *Carithiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: seated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Arke of God remained twenty yeeres in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *David* carried it thence to Hierusalem. Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the son of *Barachias*, or *Jehoida*, who was slain between the Temple & the Altar: also *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of Hierusalem slaughtered as we finde in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it upon presumption than warrant, I omit as that of *Calpin* taken with great slaughter by *Judas Macchabeus*: and *Lechis*, whose King was slaine by *Jesua*, in which also *Amaziah* was slaine: The same which *Senacherib* took, *Ezekias* reigning in *Juda*.

Other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Josua c. 19.* from the *Per. 41.* where also is added that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Lechem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Anipus*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, & made the *Metropolis* of *Turæa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tetrarch*: but of this Citie see more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of fame.

I hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountaines of *Juda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose banks are plentiful of Vines which have no seeds or stones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taste, and favour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, located from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loved.

§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THE Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second son of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbered at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the *Desarts*, there entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing armes, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part severed, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the first Citie adjoining to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

The *Reguli* or petty Kings thereof were called *Ascalensitæ*: of which *Volatteran* out of *Xenoph.* in the History of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Afcalus* were the sons of *Hymeneus*: and that *Afcalus* being employed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie, and called it after his owne name: The same hath *Nicolas* in his Historie, faith *Volatteran*.

Diodorus Siculus in his third booke remembreth a Lake neere *Afcalon*, wherein there hath bene a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddess of the *Syrians*; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I have said before in the story of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palafino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria* *Palæstine*.

It was one of the chiefeft and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It bred many learned men

L. 3. 1. 15. de
bel Jud. Sicut.
47. 2. 14. 5. 9.

2. Mac. 11.
De bell. sac.

F. 244.

Hieron in Mi-
cham.

L. 31. c. 18.

Sam. 6. 5. 18.
* Or rather not
the Citie it selfe
but the great
Benein the field
upon which
floate the Philis-
tims for the
Arke, the change
being caſt into
Eben or Aben,
which ſignifieth
a ſtone, to ſhew
which ſignifieth
mourning.
a See in Nepht.
C. 7. ſect. 4. 7. 6.
2. King. 1.
but was beſieged
by Philistinus,
the Father of Pha-
ran Necefor 19
yeeres together,
whence Jos. 15.
v. 20. ſpeakes
of the reſidue
of Aſcalod, co-
with the greateſt
part having pre-
riſhed in this
ſiege.
c. 1 Sam. 5. 4.
di Mac. c. 6. 9.
1 Mac. c. 10.
Joſ. 19. 41.
Jud. 13. 25. &c.
18. v. 2.

1 Mac. 15. 16.

Alas Carithia-
al & Baal, or Ba-
alphoſſim.

1 Sam. 7. 1.

& 2 Sam. 6. 2.

2 Chron. 24. 22.

Mat. 23. 33.

Jer. 26. 30.

2 Mac. 12. 13.

Joſ. 11. 11.

2 Reg. 14. 19.

Hieron in Eſaiæ.
Micham 1. Brach.
Brid.
Jud. 16. 4.

* And therefore
no marvel that
dires places
named *Jaf*,
in the large-
portion of *Jaf*, be
reckoned in this
Tribe: ſee *Jaf*.
19. v. 1. & 9.
where thus
much is expreſ-
ly noted. *Jaf*.
Geog. 1. 1. f. 344.

Josep. 10.11.12.

Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariatb-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Universitie, as the
say, or *Academie* of old *Palestine*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it seemes it had the name
Dabir

THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumaea* and the South, *Asensus Scorpionis*, or *Acrab-* Num. 34.
im is placed: the next to *Arad*: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to be in Deut. 8. 15.

that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinks that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acrabathena* was denominatēd of which we have spoken in *Manasses*. On the South side also of *Judaea* they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Alhna*, *Jethnam*, and *Afor* or *Chafur*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Desart* and Forrest adjoining tooke name: where *David* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Efron*, *Adar*, *Karkab*, and *Aschemona*, or *Haimon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumaea* towards the North, we finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemab*, *Amam*, the other *Afor*, or *Chafur*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochos*: of all which see to *Jof. 15.* also *Cariath* by *Jofua 15. 25.* called *Kerith*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Is-cariath*, as it were a man of *Cariath*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampson* which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Elutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the *Levites*. In *Saint Hierome's* time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with Christians: neere unto this Citie was that remarkable battell fought betweene *Asa* King of *Juda* and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victorie as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recovered.

Not far from *Jether* standeth *Jarmuth*, whose King was slain by *Jofua*, and the Citie too overturned. Next unto it is *Marsfa* the native Citie of the Prophet *Michea*: between it and *Odolla* *Judas Macchabeus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and sent thence ten thousand *Drymas* of silver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Odolla or *Hadullam* it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Jofua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Jonathan Macchabeus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila* or *Kela* afterward *Echela*, where *David* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward he delivered from the assaults of the *Philistims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained, and was seene by *S. Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron*, sometime called the Citie of *Arbab*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the Citie of four: because the four Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plain by the places *Jof. 14. 14.* and *15. 13.* and *20. 11.* that *Arbab* here doth not signifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giantlike Anakim*, whose son it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achimam*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmai*: (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Jof. 15.*) were the sons of *Anak*, *Num. 13. 23.* The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worne for ornament; and it seems that this *Anak*, enriched by the spoiles which himselfe and his father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name and leaving the custome to his posteritie, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seven years before *Taan* or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoining, and the rest to the *Levites*. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not far hence they find *Elutheropolis*, or the free Citie, remembred often by *Saint Hierome*. Then *Eglon*, whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites* to wit, of *Hiersusalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, & *Lachis*, besieging the *Gibeonites*, were by *Jofua* utterly overthrowen. From hence the next Citie of fame was *Emaus* afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government or *Presidencies* of *Judaea*. In sight of this Citie *Judas Macchabeus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias* Lievtenant to *Antiochus*.

In the year 1301. it was overthrowen by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Casarea* of *Palestine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bedagdon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederobaima*, of which and of *Gederoth*, * *Jof. 15. 36.* and *41.* Then *Archeba*, to which *Jofua* followed the slaughter of the five Kings before named, a Citie of great strength in the Valley of * *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, *1 Sam. 17. 2.* whence (as it seemes) they feare it neere unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the *Levites*.

Jof. 15. 8.
1 Chron. 11. 6.
from out of the
1 Chron. 4. 31.
notes that this
Hebron, though
it were within
the bounds of
Juda, belonged
to *Simeon*.
Jof. 15. 48.
Hieron. in loc.
Hebr.

2 Macc. 12. 35.
Gen. 38. 1.
Jof. 12. 15.
1 Sam. 3. 1.

Jof. 10. 11.
Macc. 13.
Eusebius Chron.
Bruch. lib. 6.
* *Alfo 1 Chron.*
4. 39. as is above
remembred in
the Tribe of *Sim-*
mon.
a *junius* for in
the *Testament*
hath in *Psall*
quereat *Paulus*
keeps the *He-*
bron reading in
the *Alle Eloh.*

Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the *Jewes*, while *Joram* the son of *Josaphat* ruled in *Hiersusalem*: And next unto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Jofua* utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of *Emaus* towards the East standeth *Bethsur*, otherwife *Bethsora*, and *Bethfor*: one of the strongest and most fought for places in all *Juda*. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethsur* (the house on the Rocke, or of strength.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabeus*. *Lyfias* forc't it, and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine, *Jonathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the *Syrian* Kings.

Bethlem is the next unto it within fixe miles of *Hiersusalem*, otherwife *Lahem*: sometime *Ephrata*; which name, they say, it had of *Caleb's* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen. 38. 16.* Of this Citie was *Abelshan*, or *Iban*, Judge of *Israel* after *Jephthab*, famous for the thirty sonnes and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Etimelte* was also a *Bethlemise*, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethlem*: and married *Boaz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Ishai*, of whom *David*. It had also the honor to be the native Citie of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memorie thereof never end.

In *Zabulon* of *Galilee* there was also a Citie of the same name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethlem Juda*.

From *Bethlem* some foure or five mile standeth *Thecua*, the Citie of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoining is the Citie of *Bethacaria*, in the way betweene *Bethsur* and *Hiersusalem*: on whose Hills adjoining the glorious shield shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the *Jewes*. The Citie of * *Bezek* was also neere unto *Bethlem*, which *Adoni-Bezek* commanded, who had during his raigne tortur'd 70 Kings, by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by the sonnes of *Juda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe by until we come to the magnificent Cattle of *Herodum*, which *Hered* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, & adjoining to the Desart of *Jarnel*, between it and *Tchoa*, is that *Clivus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jehosaphat*, the *Jewes* stood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, massacring one another, when they had purposed to joyn against *Juda*: neere which place is the Valley of blessing, where the *Jewes* the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliverance.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the Dead Sea, are these; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tsohar*, which the *Vulgar* calleth * *Segor*: so called; because *Lot* in his prayer for; urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tsohar*, which signifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen. 14. 2.* In the Romans time it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) *Panner*: in *Hieromes* time *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hin-gaddi*, first *Asaphthamar*: neere unto which are the Gardens of *Balsamum*, the best that the world had called *Opobalsamum*: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopa*, the Queen of *Egypt* sent for out of *Judaea*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Antibony* her Husband, caused them to be rooted up and presented unto her: which she re-planted neere *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This Citie was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of *Judaea*; and one of the *Presidencies* thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Jesrael*: not that which was the Citie of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the Citie of *Achibon*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon* whom *Abisalom* slew: also as some thinke, the Citie of *Amasa* *Abisaloms* Lievtenant, and the commander of his Army: But this seemeth to be an error grounded upon the neerfesse of the words *Israhel* and *Jesrael*: and because the 2 *Sam. 17. 25.* *Amasas* father is called an *Israhelite*, who first of the *Chro. 2. 17.* is called an *Israhelite*: indeed the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that *Amasa's* Father is not said to be of the Citie *Jesrael*, but an *Israhelite* in Religion, though otherwise an *Israhelite*.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills and Mountaines; as those of *Engaddi* upon the

Jof. 13. ant. 9.
Macc. 1. 6.

Gen. 53. 48.

Hieron. in com. for
Mat. 22.
Mat. 2. 1.
Amos 1. 1.
1 Macc. 6. 32.
Jof. ant. 12. 14.
1 Macc. 6. 36.
* See in *Manasse*.
C. 7. 5. 7. 1.

Jof. 14. ant. 22.
2 Chron. 16. 8. 10.

1 Chron. 1. 1.
* Some call it
Bal-gadisa and
Viridula *conferantur*.
See in *Gad. 10.*
5. 5. post principium
in *Har. obs.*
Gen. 19. 10.
Hieron. in Of.
Hebr. Chasfat
Jo. thamar.
2 Chron. 28. 1.

Gen. 14. 7.

Reg. 11.

Sam. 7. 25.

Heron, in loc.
Hib. & quest.
Hebr.
Jof. 14. Am. 6. 60.

the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of Juda, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end neere *Taphna*, and these part *Juda* from *Dan* and *Simeon*. Of others which stand single, there is that of *Hebron*, at the foot whereof was that *Oake of Mamre*, where the three *Angels* appeared to *Abraham*; which *S. Hierome* calleth a *Fir-tree*, and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountaine called *Collis Achille*, on the South of *Ziph*: on the top whereof the great *Herod*, in the old *Castle*, erected by *Jonathan Maccabæus*, and called *Maffada*, garnished it with 27. high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men; being as it seemeth a place unaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the *Dead Sea*, or the lake *Asphaltitis*, this Countie had four Cities, *Adama*, *Sodom*, *Seboim*, and *Gomorrah*, destroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnaturall finnes.

§. III.

THE TRIBE OF REUBEN,
and his Borderers.

†. I.

The seats and bounds of *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, part whereof the *Reubenites* man from *Sehon King of Hebron*.

ON the other side of the *Dead Sea*, *Reuben* the eldest of *Jacob's* sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the *Desarts*, there remained to possesse the Land promised 47700. bearing armes. But before we speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of *Jordan*, something of their borderers: to wit, *Midian*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first we are to remember, that out of *Abraham's* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called *Israel*, and afterward *Jews*; by *Esaú* or *Edom* the *Idumæans*; by *Ismael*, the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the *Ismaelites*: and by *Keturah* his last wife, the *Midianites*. And againe by *Lot*, *Abraham's* brothers son, those two valiant Nations of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*: all which being but strangers in the Land of *Canaan* (formerly possesed by the *Canaanites*; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whose children were bred in *Egypt*, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

Esaú and his sonnes held *Idumæa*, which bounded *Canaan* on the South, *Ismael* took from the South-east part of the *Dead Sea*; stretching his possession over all *Arabia Petraea*, and a part of *Arabia* the *Desart*, as far as the River of *Tigris*, from *Sur* to *Havilah*.

Moab took the rest of the coast of the *dead Sea*, leaving a part to *Midian*, and passing over *Arnon*, inhabited the plains betwene *Jordan* and the Hills of *Abarim*, or *Arnos*, as farre North as *Essebon*, or *Chesbon*.

Ammon sate down on the North-east side of *Arnon*, and possesed the Tract from *Rabbat*, afterward *Saredophia*, both within the Mountains of *Gilhead*, and without them as far forth as *Aroer*, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Amorites* had thrust him over the River of *Jaboc*, as they had done *Moab* over *Arnon*. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of *Canaan*, so the border betwene the River of *Jaboc* and *Damascus* was held by the *Amorites* themselves, with other mixt Nations; all which Territorie on the East side of *Jordan*, and on the East side of the *Dead Sea*, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possesed by the *Emims*, a Nation of *Giants* weakened and broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after repulsed by the *Moabites*, as before remembered. That which the *Ammonites* held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the *Zamzumims* of *Zutæi*, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest; and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the *Ammonites*.

Now where it is written that *Arnon* was the border of *Moab*, the same is to be understood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestors

beaten the *Moabites* out of the plaine Countreys, between *Abarim* and *Jordan*, and driven them from *Hebron* over *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses* arrivall upon that border, when *Vabeb* governed the *Moabites*. For he that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the son of *Vabeb*, but his name was *Balac* the son of *Zippor*. And it may be that those Kings were elective, as the *Edumæans* anciently were.

Now, all that part of *Moab* between *Arnon* and *Jordan*, as far North as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arrived there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Jephthab* the Judge of *Israel* justly defend the regaining of those Countreys against the claime of the *Ammonites*: because (as he alleged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the *Amorites*, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (saith *Jephthab*) had 300. years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And lest any should marvel why the *Ammonites* in *Jephthab* time should make claime to these Countreys: whereas *Moses* in the place *Num. 21. v. 26.* rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the *Moabites*, than of the *Ammonites*: it is to be noted that *Deut. 3. 11.* when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seen at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the *Ammonites*, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the *Israelites* possesed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the *Ammonites*, as much of *Sehon's* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the *Canaanite* Nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sons of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amaleck* & *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Jephthab's* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Sovereignty: and againe, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely, within the mountaines of *Galaad*, or *Gilhead*, and as farre South as *Aroer*, belonged to the *Ammonites*. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then fought to recover it again. Yet at such time as *Moses* overthrew *Sehon* at *Jahaz*, the *Ammonites* had lost to the *Amorites* all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*, and between it and *Jaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the *Amorites*, having displanted both *Moab* and *Ammon* out of all within the Mountains. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Num. v. 24.* that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* unto *Jaboc*, even unto the children of *Ammon*: so as at this time the River of *Jaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountains, when as anciently they had also possessions over *Jaboc*, which at length the *Gadites* possesed, as in the 13. chapter of *Jos. v. 25* it appears.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the *Reubenites*.

THE chief cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Jeshon*. The *Vulgar* or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two verses, 36. and 37. in *Jos. 22.* being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* read *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Kedson* by writing slip into *Jeshon*.

This City which they gave to the *Levites*, imparts her name to the *Desart* adjoining: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Josua* where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Beser* & *villæjus*, reads *Bosor* in solitude *Misfor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Town called *Misfor*, in the border betwene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth* neare the *Dead Sea* (for the Countrey betwene being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Lase* or *Lebath*, of which *Genesis 10. verse 19.* The Greekes call it *Calbith*: neare which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which soone after their rising, being joyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinewes: to which *Herod* the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macharus*, in this Tribe. The like fountaines are found in the *Pyrenæ*, and in *Peru*, called the Baths of the *Ingas* or *Kings*. The other towne is *Macharus*, the next betwene *Esaú* and *Jordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing upon a Mountaine

Jos. 3.1.

Deut. 34.1.

Medebj. 106. of which also we read in the *Acts* of David against *Hezekiah* the Armenian King of Cilicia. *1 Mac. 9.36. 10.1-2.* See before. 5.57.7.

Joh. 5. 28.
Jud. 7. 24.
Joseph. ant. 4. 7.

Num.25.1.
Exod.25.10.

Num. 31. v. 3
Gen. 14. v. 5
Num. 32.
* Exod. 23.
Nomen deorum
licorum neri
domini, ne a
tus in ore ti
36. non aff
tians sum r
corum in la
meis. Hof. 2
amuche no
Bahalimor
eius.

17. Toward the East of these plains of Moab, they place the Cities, Nebo, Baal-meem, and Hesbon the chiefe Citie of Sehon, and Elhabel, & Kiriataima the feat of Giants *Emim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seemes to give a note that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the Moabites † Idolatry. For *Nebo* (in *Revel.* 18. 21. which, *Junius, Es. 46. 1.* reads *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, *Baal-meem*, is the habitation of *Baal*. Of the same Idoll was the Hill *Nebo* in the *Temple* denominat: from whose top, which the common Translators call Phalgah, *Moses* before his death saw all the land of Canaan beyond Jordan. In which story *Joseph* doth not take Phalgah or Pifgah for any proper name: but for an appellative, signifying a Hill: and so also *Parabulus* in some places as *Num. 21. 20.* where he noteth that call Pifgah that top which looketh to Jericho, & Hair as it looketh to Moab, which nation may be fomwhat strengthened by the name of a City of *Reuben*, mentioned *20.* called Ashdoth-Pifgah, which is as much as *decurfus Pifgæ*: to wit, where the Idoll dunn came down from Pifga. In the same place of *Joshua* there is also named Beth-P-

What name
they used for
Nebo it doth not
appeare: but
Baal-melit
seemes they na-
med sometime
Bajith, as *Ez.* 15.
2. and sometime
Bel-meon,
Ez. 48.23.

Of divers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.

I Sam. 25. ult.

Hierem. 48

Esa. 16. 1.

I. Reg. 14.7

Lib. 4 Ant. 7

1 Chron. 5. 19.
& 20.

Gmil.Tyr.20.be

Numb. 21.

Num.32.3.

of 13.27.
Efa. 15.1,

also encountered him. But *Abraham* coming from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either near *Bethsan*, otherwise *Scythopolis*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the west of *Jordan*) could not encounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was also called the *Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

t. IV.

Of the Dead Sea.

* So *Junius* reads for the Hebrew *Handloth* every where, &c. so also the edition of *Waldius*, Deut. 3. 17.

NOW because the Sea of *Sodom* or the dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltis*, and the salt sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tyberias* which was fresh water) and to the Sea of the wilderness, or rather the Sea of the plaines, is often remembered in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Caspian Sea*, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Josephus* makes 180 furlongs (which make 22. miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which make 18. of our miles and somewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deale lesse: but those that have of late years seen this Sea, did account it (saith * *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corrupti* or, *gravis odoris accolis pestifer: neq. vento impellitur neq. pisces aut fuit aquis vulgari patitur, incertum unde superjecta vis solido feruntur. perit, imperitig. nandi perinde attolitur, &c.* But it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious and tur, &c. But it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious and pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raised by the wind, nor indueth fish to live in it, or fowle to swimme in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swimming, as well as the skilfull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the yeare it catcheth *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like busineses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: "The fields not farre from this Lake, which were sometime fruitful, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning: 3 of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a sad face, as having lost her fruitfulness; for whatsoever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripenesse, have nothing within them, but moulder into ashes: Thus farre *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the banks of this cursed Lake, doe looke faire, and are of good colour on the outside, but being cut, have nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Asphaltis*. *Pas*pasian desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captives to be cast into it, who were not only unskilfull in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sinke.

t. V.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Country within *Arnon* *Reuben* possesse.

Num. 32. 22.
33. 24. Jos. 13.

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrey (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possesse (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite* few are known. *Junius* in the 1. of *Num.* v. 14. nameth *Vabeb*, which seems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balac*, the son of *Zippor*: which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaam*: curfines or enchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moved by the spirit of God, blest *Israel*, contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, & to doe him service, he advised *Moab* to send *Madianitish* women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolatry of the *Heathen*: but in the end he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evill counsaile, and was slaine among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: saying that we finde in the first of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joash*, *Sareph*,

Sareph, all being of the issue of *Juda*, sometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hac prius fuere*, these Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their posterity chooseth rather to abide in *Babylon*, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde *Egion* King of *Moab*, who with the helpe of *Ammon* and *Amalec* mastered *Israel*, and commanded them eighteen yeares: which *Egion*, *Ehud* slew in his owne house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of *Moab* had unto whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made warre, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him; knowing that *Saul* fought his life.

After this, *David* himselfe entred the Region of *Moab*, but not likely in the same Kings time: for hee slaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was said of *David*, *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would tread downe the *Idumæans*.

The next King after *David*'s time, of the Moabites, whose name liveth, was *Mesha*: who falling from *Juda*, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of *David*) fastened himselfe to the Kings of *Israel*, and paid tribute to *Ahab*, 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, with the wooll: who revolting againe from *Israel* after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded by *Jehoram*, with whom joyned the Kings of *Juda* and *Idumæa*: and being by these three Kings preft and broken, hee fled to *Kir-hareseth*, as is else-where shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name; when that Nation, assailed by the *Ammonites* and *Idumæans*, invaded *Jeshophaphat*: and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the Moabites and *Ammonites* set upon the *Idumæans*, and slaughtered them: and then one against another, so as *Jeshophaphat* had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, there was a King of *Moab* which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of *Moab*: many descents: for *Mesha* lived with *Jehoram*, and this Moabite in *Zedechias* time, fourteene Kings of *Judah* coming betwene, who wasted three hundred and odd yeares.

§. V.

Of the memorable places of the *Gadites*, and the bordering places of *Ammon*.

THE Territory adjoining to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountaines, was sometime in the possession of the *Ammonites*, as faire to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad*, the seventh sonne of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Desart*, 45550. and of their sonnes there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben* the Cities of *Heshbon*, *Elhale*, and *Aphec*.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently to those words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2. 36. *Ab harabero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon*: & *Circumite ipsa quæ est in flumine*; Where the Cities in the River is distinguished from the city upon the banks of the River, as also in like manner *Jos.* c. 12. v. 2. and c. 13. v. 9. thinketh that *Harabero* which doubtlesse belonged to the *Gadites* (as *Numb.* 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was indeed seated neere *Har* of the Moabites, but divers from it. For that *Har* was never possesse by *Moses*, it is plaine *Deuteronomy* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith hee hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the sonnes of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in divers places is said to be within and in the middle of the River of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Harabero*, which is said in the same places to bee on the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the Moabites, the same *Junius* proveth out of *Numb.* 21. 35. where *Arnon* is said to bee divided into divers streames, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Jos.* 13. 25. where *Harabero* is said to bee seated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah*, as it seemes, cannot bee the

shame upon *Israel* because those Gileadites using to carry a Target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nabas*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Josephus* thinks that this *Nabas* was slain in the battaile, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the Moabites of that name.

Hannu succeeded *Nabas*: to whom when *David* sent to congratulate his establishment, & to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contentedly and proudly cut off the Ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaved the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aids received from the Ammonites subject to *Adadzer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rebbob*, and *Maacab*, and from the Ammonites yett all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were overturned: their chiefe City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crowne which waighd a talent of gold was set on *David's* head; all such as were prisoners, *David* executed with strange severity: for with sawes and harrowes he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into limekilns. *Josaphat* governing *Juda*, they assited the Moabites their neighbors against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them Tributaries, & they were again by *Josaphat* forced to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which the Ammonites continued two years.

The first King of the Ammonites, of whose name we read, was *Baalis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who served *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.

Of the other halfe of Manasse.

Hereft of the land of *Gilead*, and of the kingdome of *Og* in *Basan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of **Balanis*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* over *Jordan*; of which those three latter Provinces defended themselves against them for many ages. But *Balanis* *Ptolomy* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the desert: and all those other Provinces bordered with *Petræa*, and *Ituraea*, he nameth but as part of *Calofyria*; as far South as *Philadelphus*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, saving the land neere the dead Sea, hee makes a part of *Arabia* *Petræa*: for many of these small Kingdomes take not much more ground than the County of *Kent*.

Basan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it selfe from the river of *Jaboc* to the *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the mountaines to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile, by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Carrell. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oaks, which bare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias* 3. Howle, O ye Oakes of *Basan*) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as ^b 2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the unclean spirits, which *Christ* had cast out of one of the Gadarens. It had in it threefcore cities walled & defended: all which, after *Og* and his sons were slaine, *Acoth* *Jair*, or the cities of *Jair*, conquered, and called the country after his owne name, *Acoth* *Jair*, or the cities of *Jair*.

The principall cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these: *Pella*, sometimes *Butis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Selenus* King of *Syria*, it is said to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father and *Alexander* the great were borne. It was taken and in part demolished by *Alexander* *Jannæus* King of the Jewes, because it refused to obey the Jewes lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*, *Carnaim* by the river of *Jaboc*, taken by ^d *Judas* *Maccabæus*: where the

set on fire the Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neare it they place the Cattle of Carnion, of which ² *Macc.* 12. 22. Then the strong Citie of ^e *Ephron* neare *Jordan*: which refusing to yeeld passage to ^f *Judas* *Maccabæus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

Jabes *Gilead*, or *Jabes*, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being besieged by *Nabas* King of the Ammonites, was delivered by *Saul*, as is elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof these Citizens recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his sonnes: which hung despitfully over the walls of *Bethan* or *Sycho*polis. ¹ *Gaddara* or *Gadara*, is next to be named, seated by *Pliny* on a Hill near the River *Hieromacra*, which River *Ortelius* seemes to thinke to be *Jaboc*. At the foote of the Hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at *Machærus*. *Alexander* *Jannæus* after ten moneths siege, wan it, and subverted it. *Pompey* restored it: and *Gabinus* made it one of the five Courts of Justice in Palestine. *Hierusalem* being the first, *Gadara* the second, *Emath* or *Amathus* the third, *Hierico* and *Sephora* in *Galilee*, the fourth and fifth. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonita*, accused him to *Julius* *Cæsar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible revenge of *Herod*, they slew themselves: some by strangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the East of *Gadara* they place *Sebei*, in which, *Jos. ant.* 5. 13. saith, *Jephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12. 7. *Sepulchus est in Civitate sua Gilead*, (for in *nuna* *Civitatum* *Gilead*) imagine *Gilead* to be the name of a City, and to be the same with *Sebei*. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, ¹ *Macc.* 5. 26. where it readeth *Caphor* for *Chesbon*; the same *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla* & *firma* *Gileaditarum* *Civitas*: so of one City *Hesbon* or *Chesbon*, which they call *Essebon*, the chiefe City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, hee imagineth two more: this *Caphor* in *Manasse*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth *Casbon*, of which we have admonished the Reader heretofore. Of *Gamala* (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammell) which *Josephus* placeth not farre from *Gadara*, in the lower *Gaulanitis* over against *Tarichea*, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of *Tiberias*, see this *Josephus* in the fourth booke of the Jewish warre: where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible: and in the storie of the siege, shewes how *Josephus* with much danger of his owne person, entering it, was at first repulled, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the coming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slain by the Romanes: so that none escaped, save onely two women that hid themselves.

About foure miles West from *Gadara*, and as much East from *Tiberias* (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Josephus* placeth *Hippus*, or *Hippene*, whence *Ptolomee* gives the names to the hills that compass the plaines in which it standeth: so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countrey: on the East of the Lake, as also *Plinie* noteth *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was restored by *Pompey*: after by *Augustus* added to *Herods* Tetrarchie: it was waisted by the Jewes, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were enraged against their borders.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is *Edrehi* or *Edrai*, wherein *Og* King of *Basan* chiefly abode, when *Moses* and *Israel* invaded him: and neare unto this his Regall Citie, it was that he lost the battell and his life. It stood in *S. Hieromes* time: and had the name of *Adar* or *Adara*. Not farre from these townes neare *Jordan*, in this valley, stood *Gerasa* or *Gergessa*, inhabited by the *Gergesites*, descended of the fifth son of *Canaan*. Of these *Gergesites* we read *Mar.* 8. 28. that *Christ* coming from the other side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, landed in their coats: where casting the Devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the heard of *Hogges*: in which story, for *Gergesites* or *Gergesins*, *S. Luke* and *S. Marke* have *Gadarens*: not as if these were all one, but for *Gergessa*, or *Gerasa* is a distinct Towne in these parts from *Gadara*; but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This Citie received many changes and calamities: of which *Josephus* hath often men-

Jos. ant. 16. *Ant.* 5. 13. *2 Sam.* 10. 4. 18.

Jaboc, that is, the men of *Jaboc*: *Thob* is a small Territory under *Arnon* hills. *Rebbo* is another between *Harog* and *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num.* 32. 25. of which see in the tribe of *Asher*. *Hier.* 40 & 41. *2 Chron.* 20. *2 Chron.* 36. *2 Chron.* 26.

* Another territory adjoining to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thissitis* the Countrey of *Ephraim*, as it is, *kin.* 16. 1. and of *Tobias*, 1. 10. 1. It lay on the East to the tribe of *Neph.* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.* 1. 1. & was possit by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul*, after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Ammonites* in those parts, as it is gathered out of *1 Chron.* 5. 10. whence it appears, that it was part of *Ituraea*, of which *ch.* 7. 4. 15. and 6.

a Some call them of *Mabathath*, of which *Mabathath* somewhat hath beene spoken toward the end of the fifth Paragraph of this Chapter. See the *1 Mac.* 5. 36. and *Deut.* 34. and *Jos.* 12. 5. b *Mar.* 5. 13. c Angrily, as it seems, it was called *Typhal*. See above in the bounds Made in this Chapter, 5. 4. 1. d *2 Mac.* 5.

o Of *Mispa* in *Gilead*, the Citie of *Jephtha*, see in the Tribe of *Gad*.

cap. 1. & 2.

In vila sua.

Jos. ant. *Jud.* 12.

o Another *Edrehi* *Neph.* see *Jos.* 19. 37. *Deut.* 34. & 10. *Item.* *Jos.* 34.

Marke. 5.

Luke. 8.

tion.

tion. For besides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annus* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*: and 1000. of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the year 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus*: and in the same year recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Jerusalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neare unto *Gerafa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the Syriack *Magedu*, or after the Greeke *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Saviour a signe from heaven: the same place or some adjoining to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dalmannutha*. By the circumstances of which storie it appears, that this coast lay between the Lake of *Tiberias*, and the Countrey of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both these places to be one; and findes it to be *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Jordan* according to *Josephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmannutha*. For as it appears by the story, not farre hence towards the North was the *Desart of Bethsaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the five barley loaves and two fishes.

On the North of this *Bethsaida*, they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Hérode*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the Tetrach of *Ituraa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias*, called *Julias*, as hath been further spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: wherein was noted that *Josephus* makes this *Julias* to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Upon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ* in *Matth.* 23. *Woe be unto thee Corazim*.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrey adjoining called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Og* King of *Basan*. In *Genesis* this Citie is called *Asteroth of Canaim*, whence 1. *Mac.* 5. 26. it is called simply *Canaim*, as *Jos.* 13. 21. it is called *Asteroth*, without the addition of *Canaim*. The word *Canaim* signifieth a paire of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the image of a sheepe, as is elsewhere noted, that *Asteroth* in *Deuteronomie* signifieth sheepe. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Canaim*, to have been the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphai* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen.* 14. 5.) were Giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words *Diu.* 3. 11. *Og exercitus gigantum*, with the words, *Jos.* 13. 12. *Og reliquii Raphaim*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Canajim*) were these *Raphai*, the word would not have been in the duall number: neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* have said the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphai* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphai*, or some other way fittest for perspicuity: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Not farre from *Asteroth*, *Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Bridenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazim*. This Citie (saith he) is remembered in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this Citie understand *David* in his 120. *Psalm*: and here the Sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be seen, saith *Bridenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath *Galaad* instead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth use in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalm* do rather prove that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they speake of *Seni* & *Cedreni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles*, that they were desertines, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Junius* our of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petrea*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job*, it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) have many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the historical circumstances of *Job* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrey seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded upon him, inferre what his Countrey was, and build unto him a Citie by conjecture.

Of *Job* himself, whether he was the same *Jobab* remembered in the 36. of *Genesis*, descended from *Esaú*, and King also of *Idumaea*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster* and *Balmaine* are of another opinion, yet *Saint Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregory* with

with *Athanasius*, *Hippolytus*, *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, *Emisius*, *Apollinaris*, *Eusebius*, and other cited by *S. Hierome* in his 126. *Epist.* to *Evagrius*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Hus* or *Hus* wherein *Job* dwelt is from the Greeke *ὅθεν* which the *Septuagint* use for the word *Hus*, translated by the *Vulgar* sometime *Hus*, as *Job* 1. 1. sometime *Ausitis*, as *Hierem.* 25. 20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæstina* and *Calasyria*, besides *Chamaia* (or *Hamath*) under *Palmyrene*, in the Countrey called by *Ptolomey* *Trachonitis* or *Barhanæa*, the bounds of which Countreies are confounded with *Basan* in this halfe Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Jer.* 25. 20. where he reckons the *Hushites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous or miscellaneous borderers of the *Israelites*, because their bounds were not onely joyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of *Hieremie*, *Lam.* 4. 21. speaking of the same Prophecie, of which he speaketh in the 25. Chapter, must needs be expounded, as *Junius* reads them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edom, O que habitas in terra Hus*; 3. *O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus*. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom, O que habitas in terra Hus*, *Daughter of Edom which dwelleth in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have said, and King of *Edom*, which if they understand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable, that *Esaú* when he first parted from *Jacob*, did not leave himselfe in *Edom* or *Seir*, which lyeth on the South border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the East of *Jordan*, and held a part of those Mountaines, otherwise called *Galaad*, and *Hermion*, which by corruption the *Sidians* call *Shiron*, and the *Amorites* *Shenir*, for *Seir*, and from this habitation did *Esaú* encounter *Jacob* when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esaú* his abiding. It is true that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Deserts*, that the posterity of *Esaú* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also drive the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence-forward seated themselves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Desart Paran*, and stretched their habitations over the *Deserts* as far as *Hore* where *Aaron* died.

Now for this *Hus* which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the son of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinks in his note upon *Gen.* 10. 23. or rather *Hus* the son of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the question is doubtful. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the son of *Nachor*: partly because these Families of *Aram* seeme long before to have been lost: and partly because in *Job* 32. 2. *Eliphaz* the fourth of *Jobs* friends, which seemes to be of *Jobs* own Countrey, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the sonne of *Nachor*: as also *Jer.* 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named between) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* 32. *Eliphaz* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to understand *Aram* the sonne of *Sem*, *Junius* himselfe maketh plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he saith that one of *Jobs* friends (which must needs be this *Eliphaz*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly), and in as much as hee readeth not *familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *familia Syria*, like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syr* an.

As for the other three of *Jobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Eliphaz* his being of the *Syr* an Family, or of the Familie of *Nachor*) it is implied that they were of other kindred, as also by the *Septuagint* addition, that this *Eliphaz* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Ausitis*, it is implied that they thought onely *Eliphaz* to have beene of *Jobs* own Countrey.

Franciscus Brochard the *Monke*, in his description of the holy Land in the journey from *Alex* Eastward, findeth *Sueba*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seeme to have denominated *Buz* the *Buzite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* 2. 11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Desart*, descended of *Shuach* the son of *Abraham* and *Kenan*: of whom *Gen.* 25. 2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Plinie* calls *Sacæi*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom

Maicke 15.

Marke 8.

Brochard 15.
Of this Phiale
see in *Joseph.*
Cp. 5. 4. 13.
Math. 14.
Marke 6.
Luke 9.
John 6.

Joseph 18. ant. 3.
* *Alibi*.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. 7.
§. 3. 1. 2.

* Because *Horn*
when it is poli-
shed, shineth:
hence it is that
the Verb of this
Noun is some-
time *Luceo*: as
it were common
effe: when capon
the *Vulgar*, 130.
34. 19. reading
conspiciuntur
omnes lucis
faciem, gave oc-
casion to the fa-
bulous painters
to paint *Moses*
with Hornes.
Judith 18.
1. *Cant.* 5.

Rap. Lysen Dilect.
in *Gen.* 14. in *con-*
fili. de *ver. Dei*.
S. *Ambr.* Ep.
ad *Rom.* Aug. de
civ. Dei. 13. c. 4.
Chry. Hom. 2. de
patientia *Job*.
Greg. com. *Job*.

For 90 and 90
are oft n chang-
ed one into
the other:
when they
used *Augustinus*
and so as it
seemeth they
read in the
Septuagint, *Jua*.
in *Gen.* 10. 23.

Deut. 3. 9.

When the
Septuagint call
him *ex regione*
Auside.

See *Sixtus* Se.
200. 15.

Joſ.21.27.
Deut.4.43.

1 Сирон.3.2.

*The Historie of the Syrians; the chiefe borderers of the Israelites
that dwell on the East of Jordan.*



Josep. I. 14.

to life

f Oxyphrimin
Chron.
e Vitric. 46. Will.
Tyr. Bell. Sac. 1.
17. G. I. 23. 4. 5

Herald Bell.
Sac. 4. c. 14.

Herold, J. G. C.

in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring Nations.

6. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

NOW be it that Damascus were founded by *Hur* the son of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Eliezer* *Abrahams* steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *David*'s time. For it stood without the bounds of *Canaan*; and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Josua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that *Storie*. But were it so that it had some *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *David* overthrew *Adadezer* Prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the same Nation which *David* overthrew *Nubai*, inhabiting betwene *Basania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to understand the storie of those *Syrian* Princes, whom soone after the Kings of Damascus made their vassals, the Reader may inform himself; That on the North-east parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders were *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Chamath Zoba*; of which these were the Princes in *David*'s and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of Damascus, *Adadezer* of *Syria Zoba*, and *Tobu* of *Chamath*. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the Cities subject to *Adadezer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against *Zoba* *David* to *Adadezer* was not named. And as *Josephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to *Hadad* *Hezer* from Damascus, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. Aramites of Damascus: whereof, as of the overthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his Armie, taking advantage, made himselfe King of Damascus: *Adadezer* and *Adad* of Damascus being both slaine. About the same time *Tobu* King of *Chamath* or *Ituraa*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was utterly overthrowne, sendeth for peace to *David*, and presenteth him with rich gifts; but in *dolo*, saith *S. Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of Damascus, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited; but they for the most part were in league and peace with the *Judeans* and *Israelites*. But to returne to the Kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damascena*, *Zoba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Ituraa*; to which I may add *Geshur*, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as joyning in the Territorie to Damascus (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palastina* it selfe is but a Province; I have noted in the beginning of this Tract:.) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and Damascus.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of *Idumaea*: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings feed, fled into Egypt; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queens sister, as before; who hearing of *David*'s death, and of the death of his Captaine *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe: and, as *Bunting* thinketh, that *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of Damascus, and was the first of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, *Adadezer* the sonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the Founder of that Principallitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his Fathers name, as he grew powerfull, tooke upon him the stile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Assyrians*, saith *Macrobius*, which signified Oneness or Unitie. I also finde a Citie called *Adada*, in the same part of *Syria*: of which whether these Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adadezer*, *Ben-adad* *El-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adjoynd. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *David* undertooke the warre: secondly, because he levied 22000. Aramites out of the Territorie of Damascus: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the *Damascenes* had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territorie, &c. contained of *Arabia* the *Desart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*:

and the greatest part of *Arabia Petraea*, according to *Niger*. Whosoever was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of *Idumaea*, *Rezon* was the second: Who was an enemy to *Rezon*. *Isaiah* all the dayes of *Salomon*. Besides the evill that *Adad* did, the evill that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of *Idumaea*, lately returned out of Egypt: to wit, 23. yeares after he was carried thither.

The third King of Damascus, and of *Zobah* both, was *Hezion* 30. *Hezion* succeeded *Tabrimmon*, or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of *Judah* the son of *Adiam*, the son of *Robaim*, the son of *Salomon*, being vexed and invaded by *Bascha*, the succellour of *Nadab*, the son of *Jerobam*, sent to *Benhadad* the son of *Tabrimmon*, the son of *Hezion*, King of *Aram*, that dwelt at Damascus, to invade *Israel* (while *Bascha* fought to fortifie *Rama* against *Asa*) therby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of *Israel* who according to the desire of *Asa*, having received his presents, willingly invaded the Countrie of *Nephtalim*, and tooke divers Cities, and spoyle thence: *Asa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Bascha* had brought to fortifie *Rama* withall, and converted them to his owne use.

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requirerh the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: he thought it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded *Israel*, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore: and thou shalt make streets or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus: as my father did in Samaria. And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Bascha*, at the request of *Asa*; But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Adiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betwene the invasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Bascha*'s time, and the siege of Samaria, and the overthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeares, as may be gathered out of the reignes of the Kings of *Israel*. So that if we allow 30. yeares, of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded *Bascha*, and after that 49. yeares ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolve, that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* invaded *Bascha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second invaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrowes: the first at Samaria, by a fall of 700. *Israelites*: the second at *Aphec*, where, with the like number in effect, the *Israelites* slaughtered 20000. of the Aramites; besides 27000. which were crusht by the fall of the wall of *Aphec*. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe setteth at liberty: to whom hee rendreth those townes that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render *Ramoth Gilead*, a frontier Towne, and of great importance. Now three yeares after (for so long the league lasted) *Ramoth* not being delivered, *Achab* invaded *Gilead*, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Josephar*. The Aramites came to succour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, & dyeth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Jeram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh quarrell against *Jeram*: and when *Jeram* by *Elizeus*'s intelligence had escaped his plot, the seven men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After *Benhadad* besieged Samaria again, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departed home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azel* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate if he might live. *Azel* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad* *Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar* *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towers of *Benhadad*. *Josephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his succellour *Azel* were worshipped for gods by the *Syrians* to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in Damascus. The *Syrians* also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeares are complete since their warres with the *Israelites*.

Azel or *Azel*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of Damascus, was annointed by *Asa*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad*

2 Reg. 13.7-

Reg. 14.28

2 Kin. 16. 5. 5.
Esay 7.
Jos. ant. l. 9. c. 11.

6 Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Elisba* foretold, with tears, of his advancement: the same who over-
threw *Joram* King of *Israel* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael* which
preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which took *Gehazi*
and compounded the war with *Joram*, made the Expedition thirty yeares, and perchance more.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but *Reguli*, as those of *Emath*, and *Gefur*, we find that *Tobias* was King of *Emath* or *Gamath* in *David's* time, to whom he sent his sonne *Joram* with presents, after *David's* victorie against *Adadzer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

Lastly, the Kingdom of *Juda* it self, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanasser* in vaine, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length utterly

3603.
3811.

utterly overturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeares after the captivite of *Israel* and *Samarita*: the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeare of *Hosea*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Affrica* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeare of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom *Herodinus* calleth *Labyntus*: in all about 200. yeares. After these the Persians from *Cyrus* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeares.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Provinces of the Persian Empire, & his successors the *Seleucida* reigned therein, till it became subject unto the power of the Romans, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the Israelites, with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the only people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN,
and of *Eberusalem*.

§. I.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof *Hiericho*, *Gilgal*, *Mitspa*, *Shel*, *Rama*, *Gobah* and *Gibba*.



1 Chron. 8. 12.

Mat. 12. 38.

1 Reg. 16. 34.
Jof. 18. 39.

The Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest son of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were numbered at Mount *Sinai* 35000. able bodies: all which perishing in the Deserts, there entered the Holy Land, of their issues 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Terminus on this side *Jordan*, between *Juda* and *Ephraim*: The Cities within this Tribe nearest *Jordan*, are *Lod*, *Hadid*, and *Ono*: of which, *Lod* and *Ono* were built by *Shemed* a Benjamite: they were all three re-inhabited with Benjamites, after the returne out of Captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem. 11. 35.* and *Ez. 4. 2. 35.* where *Adrichomius* reading *Lod*, *Hadid*, *Ono*, makes besides *Hadid* in *Nehemia*, a Citie called *Lodhadid*: This *Hadid* or *Chadid* was rebuilt by *Simon Machabaeus*.

Samarim or *Tfemara*, named of *Tfemary*, one of the sons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth *Jericho*, one of the Toparchies and the last of *Juda*, feared in a most fruitful valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palms. From the time of *Jofua*, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of *Achad*: in whose dayes *Chiel* of *Bethel* laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest son *Segub*: according to the curse of *Jofua*: in which and other respects, *Hof. 12. 14.* calleth *Jofua* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and re-built by *Adrian*.

To the Southeast of *Jericho* stood * *Halmon* of the Levites, of which *Jof. 21. 18.* To the South *Betharaba*, of which *Jof. 15. 15.* and *18.* Then that *Gilgal* of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Jofua* first ate of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those borne in the Deserts, and celebrated the Passeover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymologie of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Deut. 11. 30.* that the name was knowne before the coming of the Israelites into *Canaan*) is noted *Jof. 5. 9. Ob devolutionem probri Aegypti*, because their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: from thence was called *Collis praputiorum*. This *Gilgal* was also called *Geliloth*, as appeares by comparing the places, *Jof. 15. 7.* and *18. 17.* for it was in the borders of *Jordan*, of which *Jof. 22. 13.* and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, over against the two * Hills *Gara* and *Hebal*: upon the one

of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Benjamin* (of which also we read oft in the Scripture) were feared about the midst of the length of the land of *Canaan*: for which reason *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgement to the Israelites: of which two, *Gilgal*, (as is said) was neere *Jordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitspa* neere the West Sea, towards the land of the Philistims.

The third place, which is named with these two, which also *Samuel* used yearly to come, is *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal*, which was the first place where the *Arke* resided, after they past over *Jordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-jeharim*, and at length to *Hierusalem*) herein *Gilgal* it was that *Jofua* pitched up the twelve stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan*, when it was drie, that the Israelites might passe over it: by which storie as it is set downe *Jof. 4.* it appears, that the same day that they passed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitspa*, which *Samuel* came yearly to give judgement, there also were often the greatest meetings for the revenge of the Levites wife against *Gibba*, and the Benjamites, *Ju. 20. 1.* and another against the Philistims, *1 Sam. 7. 12.* Thither also *Judas Machabaeus* gathered the Jewes, (when *Hierusalem* was possessed by the Heathen) as it is *1 Mach. 3. 47.* in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitspa antea Israeli*. Touching this *Mitspa*, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the Scriptures mention four places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Juda*, of which *Jos. 15. 38.* *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we have spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitspa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himselfe, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, *1 Sam. 22. 3.* and lastly, this chiefe *Mitspa* of the Benjamites. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recovered from the *Jebusites*, and also in the time of the *Macchabees* (as we have said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Jeremy*, after the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldees, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Jeremie*, as Governour over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: untill (to the great hurt of the Jewes) he was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall bloud of *Juda*, as it is *Jerem. 41.*

Neere unto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophye against the Philistims.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was anciently called *Luz* and how it was taken by the issue of *Jofeph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehem. 11. 31.* and *Jof. 18. 22.*) and how another Citie called *Luz* neere adjoining to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud. 1.* and of the occasion of the name from *Jacobs* vision: and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it *Beth-aven*, that is, the house of Vanitie, *Hof. 4. 15.* and *10. 5.* as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may well passe them over.

The Territorie of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, (of which *2 Chron. 13.*) was taken from them, and adjoynt to the Kingdome of *Juda*: and so it continued, as appeares by the storie of *Jofua*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, *2 Reg. 23.* whence those coasts *1 Mac. 11. 34.* are called *Apherema*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Seignories* or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the Jewes, out of the *Samaritan* Country. A part of it, as appeares *2 Chron. 13. 19.* was *Hephraim*, which *Jof. 18. 23.* is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities, often mentioned

2. 1 Sam. 7. 15.
b. *Janus* in this place, for *Bethel* reads *Doman Dei fortis*, and interpretat, *Kiriath-jeharim*, wherethe *Arke* abode. For (saith he) by the Law, *Exod. 23. 17.* the greatest meeting in their annuall feasts were to be where the *Arke* was, but this place doth not speake of feasts, but of judicial meetings: and besides the Priests did use to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings wherethever they were, as appears *1 Sam. 22. 1. & 14. 18.* neither is it easie to say, that *Bethel* was neerer than for the Citie *Bethel*: though *Janus* also take it for the place where the *Arke* was, *1 Sam. 10. 3.*

c. It was no other than this *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which *Jof. 18. 38.* as appears by that which is added, *Vespasian*, for *Jofua* notes the three quarters, North, West, & East, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitspa* or *Adapha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Affra*, *1 Sam. 7. 15.* *Jof. 16. 1.*

d. Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the Kingdome of *Juda* and *Thubene* *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Jof. 7. 2.* and *18. 12.*

* 1 Chron. 5. 60. This *Halmon* is called *Hadad*, whence they make a new Citie *Ab-mush*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the Levites.

Neh 12. 34. &c.

*The first of the Egyptian Kings after Alexander Macedon, who dissolving his Religion, came up to Hierusalem to offer Sacrifice, *Isa. 1. 11.*

M. T. C. pro Sylla
raigne of Herod, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that he left them farre more stately and glorious than they had bene in the days of Salomon.

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanelly inhabited, and without wals or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeares, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Ariaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and Citie spoyled by *Bagojes*, or *Pagojes*, the Lievtenant of *Ariaxerxes*: after by * *Pholomeus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and again by *Apollonius* his Lievtenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntarie contribution of the people; and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captivitie, the people of the land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Pholomeus Lagi* to the second Temple, was required by the bountie of his son *Pholomeus Philadelphus*. The mischief wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the raigne of *Herod*, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that he left them farre more stately and glorious than they had bene in the days of *Salomon*.

§. III.

Of the destruction of Hierusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was at the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeares. But then did *Titus the Roman*, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the Jewes sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the Jewes, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the *Passover*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no maner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civill dissension, oppress them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The *Idumeans* also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Jewes Kingdome, thrust themselves into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* tooke it. And to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victorie, eleven hundred thousand soules: and the Citie was so beaten downe and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had bene any such place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* towers (works most magnificent, and over-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Roman* garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining, that there-over became victorious.

After this, such Jewes as were scattered here and there in *Judea*, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the Citie; and by degrees to re-build it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, & tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeares, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, *Elmus Adrianns the Emperour* slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold; That there should not stand one stone upon another, of that ungrateful Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he took one part without the wal, wherein stood *Mons Calvarie*, and the Sepulchre of *Christ*, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Alia Capitolina*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he caused a Sow to be cut in Marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the Jewes Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thence-forth ever enter into the Citie, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

But the Christian Religion flourishing in *Palæstina*, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and especialy by Christians; and so it continued 500. yeares.

It was afterward in the 636. yeare after *Christ*, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400. and odde yeares.

In the yeare 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of *Buillon*, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the Saracens; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because *Christ*, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained under the successors of *Godfrey* fiftie and eight yeares: till in the yeare 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of *Egypt*: and lastly, in the yeare 1517. in the time of *Sulim*, the Turkes cast out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzuburke*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it *Hierusalem* alone that hath so oftentimes bin beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in severall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath bin Gods just will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himselfe of the very places they possess; of the wals and buildings, yea, of the soyle and the beasts that fed thereon.

For, even that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertilitye and fruitfulness; witnesseth the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heaven, the Cities of the *Sodomites*; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe: neither was it enough that *Athan* himselfe was stoned, but that his moveables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Jewes.

OF the originall of the Jewes, prophane writers have conceived diversly and injuriously. *Quintilian* speaks infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them Egyptians. Others affirme that while *Isis* governed *Egypt*, the people were so increased, as *Ierosolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But *Jeshua*, of all other most malicious, doth derive the Jewes from the Syrian Kings; of whom, *Damasus*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had ten sonnes, among whom he divided the land of *Juda*; so called of *Judas* his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israel* he calleth *Joseph*: who being brought up in *Egypt*, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious; and this *Joseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished *Egypt*. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Deserts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seventh day, for this cause ever after observed the seventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth also, that they might not mixe out of their owne Tribes, lest discovering their uncleanness, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the Egyptians. These and the like fables hath *Jeshua*.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grossely belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Asse, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, having in the first booke of his owne History truly confessed the Jewes, that they worshipped one only God: & thought it most prophane to repre-

Saccæa

The desert

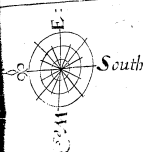
Agrei

Saua or Sabia from whence the Sabæans are said to be



Arabia the stonie

Agubeni



cious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods judgements against himselfe.

The tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did also master and possesse during this *inter-regnum* (or as some thinke, before the death of *Josua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron* and *Hierusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebusites* after re-edified. They tooke also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe over the people, as *Moses* and *Josua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their warres. For if any thinke that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good successe which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb* even while *Josua* governed, as appeares, *Jos. 10. 39.* that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterprize, he promised his Daughter *Achsah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviour in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greatest reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soone after. But while those of *Juda* made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valleyes, because they had Chariots of *Judg. 1. 19.* Iron.) The rest of the Tribes fought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories. In which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of *Joseph* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the *Judg. 1. 25.* plaine Countries, and forc't them to save themselves in the Mountaines. And now the *Israelites* unmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better advised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not onely joyne themselves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of *Baal*, and *Asherah*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their Idolatrie, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*, whom *Chusian Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and to raise up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: who by God assisted, delivered his brethren from oppression, and inforced the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Judg. 3. 10.* *Disur*, and into *Mesopotamia* adjoining: after which the *Israelites* had peace fourtie yeares, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tossanus* to have bin the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Judges* 2608. he is twice called *Othoneil*, the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others doe rather interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they signified the meanest of this kindred. Indeed it is not likely that *Calebs* Daughter should marrie with her owne Uncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othoniel* should have bin the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Jephunneh*, and *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers sonne; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* daughter. 2648.

How long it was from the death of *Josua* to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seemes to have bin no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Josua* and *Othoniel* that civill Warre brake out betweene the *Benjamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eye. And as *Juda* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was he commanded to do against *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have bin when *Josua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all *Judg. 17 & 18. & 19.* other

other times wherein they wanted Governors, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted such a civil Warre, if their power had bin as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of blood, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficulties in the computation of times.

THere lived in this Age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the first King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth year of *Othoniel*, and governed forty years. He was Father to *Eriſſheus*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables. *Cadmus* also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Diomysius*, or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the *Musician* lived. In his time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharſus* were built.

Gen. 412.
Whence came
the name of
Valerius A-
phroditus the
two first let-
ters.
Aug. de Civit.
Dei. lib. 6. c. 3.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brasse. Not long after this time, *Amphion* & *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers *Chronologers* find in *Ebud's* time. But *S. Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were devised among the Grecians and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of *S. Augustine de Civitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee heere desires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the sonne of *Eleeſius* King of *Eleeſina*: which *Eleeſius* by careful industrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent, which because he made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieve his people with Corn, from some neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves so conversant with these ancient Kings, and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the marke of time, of all others the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but conjecture: Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, which that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans understanding, save his own; but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the Judges and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Salemons* Temple, in the Persian Empire, the severitie Weekes, and in what not? Wheresoever the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men have sought by so many wayes to uncover the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condensed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this

or that year, I avow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion: which I submit to better judgements. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad unguem querenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth, sayes Diodore.*

§. III.

Of *Ebud's* time, and of *Proserpina*, *Orithya*, *Tereus*, *Tantalus*, *Tityus*, *Admetus*, and others that lived about those times.

After the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God encouraged *Moab* to invade and suppress them: to performe which he joynd the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* unto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest over *Israel*, whom God himselfe exposed to those perills, within which they were so speedily folded up. In this miserable estate they continued full eigheteen yeares under *Eglon* King of the *Moabites*, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his ears from their crying repentance: but raised up *Ebud* the son of *Gera* to deliver them: by which weak man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the justnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the *Israelites* were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt upon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguiſh, he assured himselfe of the following victory: especially giving his Nation no time to reestablish their government, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ebud* went on as an Embassador to *Eglon*, laden with presents from the *Israelites*, as to appease him, and obtaining private access to the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doores of his cloſet upon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, he had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, he did repaſſe *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army consisting of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that *Samgar* his Successor had miraculously slaine 600. *Philistims* with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* lived in peace unto the end of fourescore yeares from the death of *Othoniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeare 2691.

In the dayes of *Ebud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, travailed into *Moab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourescore yeares which are given to *Ebud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossians*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hippocoonium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the River *Cephissus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he meane not two distinct Rivers. This stealth being made knowne to *Pyrrius*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* joynd themselves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrrius*, and tare him in peeces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him, and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zetes*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrrius*, saith hee, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the *Molossians*, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*: *Proserpina* being a general name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrrius* were both taken; and because *Pyrrius* was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or enforcement, the one was given for food to *Pyrrius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Euripheus* delivered him by strong hand. The *Molossi* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (S) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines

Orta is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himselfe. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessali*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopei*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greeke questions.

The rape of *Orithya*, the Daughter of *Erichon*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehnd*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the Northwinde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In this time also *Tereus* ravished *Philomela*, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that she might not come plaine, perswading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in lawes mercilesse behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle upon cloth, and sent into *Progne*. In revenge whereof *Progne* caused her onely sonne *Itys* to be cut in peeces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so dreit as it appeared to be some other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands and feet, to be presented unto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets fained, that she was turned it to a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to be *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built neere the Rocks *Atrogi*, in the Territorie of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to have bin done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appeares that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryse*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysus*) but that *Phocis* a Countie in *Greece* not farr from *Attica*, a Citie whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good to beleeve, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should have held the Kingdome of *Odryse*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seeme to have bin partly because, as *Pausanias* says, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembering the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for ever after hate that place.

Neere this time *Melampus* (who is said to have understood the voyces of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of *Pratus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Juno*: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did use often to plough with Kine.

In the seven and fortieth yeare of *Ehnd*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gave it his owne name; about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Delpoi*, devised the Heroicall Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Maones*. Of *Tantalus* was devised the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of love: and some to the covetous that dare not enjoy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the son of *Jupiter*, by the *Nymph Pletis*: *Dionysius* and *Didymus* in *Zeſes*, give him another Mother. He was said to be the son of *Jupiter*, as some will have it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisdom and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his owne son to be slaine and dreit to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seeke after Divine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised, that he had always Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst; it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ovid*:

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captas
Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here *Tantalus* in water seekes for water, and doth misse

The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortall men: which storie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was never satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against covetousnesse:

Tantalus a labiis sitiens fugientia captas
Flamina, quid ridet? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streames that from him flee.

Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods to vaine and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quod furatus,
Coetaneis comivit
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitie,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* give

To guests of his owne age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Divinitie ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneest meates in a foule stomack, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved myteries are often perverted by an uncleane and defiled minde.

To you it is given (saith *Christ* in *Marke*) to know the myserie of the Kingdome of God, but unto them that are without all things bee done in parables. So is it said of him, that he expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre upon a place of *S. Paul*: *Quod si Paulo licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem oculum certitum usq; ad illud progressio suppeditavit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius constaret*; If *Paul* might have uttered the thing, the knowledge whereof the third heavens, and his going thither did bring unto him, peradventure wee might know somewhat more of God.

Pythagoras, saith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wife man, *Afimo lyram exponere, aut mysteria, que ita recipere, ut sens tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguento a Scarabeis: quare silentium indicxit discipulis, ne vulgo divinarum arcanorum pateficerent, que meditando facilius quam loquendo apprehenduntur*; To set as a harpe, or to learne myteries which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a wall, or Scarabie, and uncleane flies beveraigne oyntment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not disclose divine myteries to the common sort, which are easier learned by meditation than by babbling. And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their myteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehnd*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* lived whom *Apollo* slew, because he sought to force his Mother *Latoe*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the son of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoyd *Juno*'s revyenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where she was delivered of *Tityus*: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the son of the earth. *Pausanias* speaking of the grave of this Gyant, affirmes that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*:

Quant

Por:

*Perreusque novem Tityus per jugera terra,
Aspidus atro viscere pascit aves.*

Nine furlongs stretch lyes *Tityus*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet fill lived, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus King of *Theſſalie* lived also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first served as a Heard-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but having slain *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Helleſpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ovid*, which saith:

*Ilion aspiciet, firmataque turribus altis
Mantia, Apollineæ struata canore lyra.*

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harpe of wife *Apollo's* Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megarians* witness, saith *Pausanias*.

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, lived *Perſeus*, the sonne of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of *Peloponnesus*) to seeke their adventure on *Africa* side *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakly accompanied as the hunted, neere the Lake *Triton*, was surpris'd and slaine: whose beauty, when *Perſeus* beheld, he caus'd her head to be embalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as there of grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7. King of *Athen*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or after *Eufebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began also their reignes, as it is said, in the time of this Judge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who incited by *Antea* or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Præus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accus'd him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Præus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, betwene him and his sonne in law *Jobates*: giving secret order to *Jobates* to dispatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, employ'd him against *Chimæra*, a Monster vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pitying his innocency, sent him the winged Horſe *Pegasus*, sprung up of the bloud of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the souldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to transport him: a horſe that none other could master or biddle but *Minerva*: upon which beaſt *Bellerophon* over-came *Chimæra*: and performed the other services given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to have slaine him: but being victorious also over all those, he arrived to *Jobates* in safetie: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew so insolent, as he attempted to flye up to heaven upon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Jupiter* disdain'd, caus'd one of his stinging flies so to vex *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his backe, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde; of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heaven: and being fed in *Jupiter's* owne stable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diversly expounded; as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieve men in their innocency and undeserv'd adversitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreme hazard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing proud

proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremity of sorrow, and ever during miserie. Secondly by others; That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell Pyrat of the *Lycians*, whose ship had in her prow a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beaſts this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley, of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horſe: to whom the invention of sayles (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Æneas*.

Ion also, from whom the *Athenians* (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Ion*, is said to have bin about *Ehud's* time: *Homer* calls them *Ionians*, which hath a neerer resemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be so that *Ion* himselfe took name from *Javan*: it being a custome observable in the Histories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue.

The invasion of *India* by *Liber Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but *S. Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betwene the coming out of *Egypt*, and the death of *Jofua*.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gave name to *Peloponnesus* in *Greece*, now called *Morea*.

§. IIIL.

of Deborah and her Contemporaries.

AFTER *Israel* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giver of all goodnesse, and many of those being borne out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie, so is securitie as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion: of which all estates in the world have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their fines were againe ripe for punishment, *Jabin* King of *Haſor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territorie of *Israel*; and having in his service 900. iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty yeares, till it pleased God to raise up *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who encouraged *Barac* to levie a force out of *Nephthaim*, and *Zabulon*, to encounter the *Canaanites*. That the men of *Nephthaim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to have proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more sensible than in others, because *Haſor* and *Harogeth* the chiefe holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nephthaim*. So in the dayes of *Jephtha* the *Gileadites* took the greatest care, because the *Ammonites*, with whom the Warre was, pressed most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Israel* from the *Moabites*: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Jael* the *Kenites* wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest means. For the mighty Assyrian *Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, he overthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humility of a Beaſt. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he sometime punisheth by invisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell, or as he did the Egyptians in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waves of the Sea; and the *Canaanites* by haile-stones in the time of *Jofua*: sometimes by the ministrie of men, as when he overthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the household servants of *Abraham*. Hecaus'd the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* to kill upon their owne confederate the Army of the *Edomites*; and having slaine them, to let one another in the sight of *Jehoshaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake unto *Barac* in these words: But this journey that thou takeſt, shall not be for shine honour, for

Jud. 6.

did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to save themselves, they crept into caves of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitful vallies: and in harvest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattell, destroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thicke as grasse-hoppers: which servitude lasted seven yeares.

Jud. 6. v. 5.

Jud. 6. S. 7.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred up *Gideon* the sonne of *Joash*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*: whose feare and unwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearken him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set downe in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely, 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he only was the Lord of Hosts. Each of these 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terror than force, with which he gave the great Armie of their enemies an alarm: who hearing so loud a noyse, and seeing at the cracke of so many pitchers broken (so many lights about them, esteeming the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and stricken with a sudden feare, they all fled without a stroke stricken, and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the Ephraimites began to quarrell with *Gideon*, because he made warre without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a milde answer, followed after the enemy, in which pursuit being tired with travaile, and weary even with the slaughtering of his enemies, hee destroyed reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had saved themselves by flight. For they were four Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like reliefe from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatened therefore the revenge, which in his returne from the prosecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would tear the flesh of those of *Succoth* with Thornes & Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*. Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their brethren the Israelites, especially after so great a victorie: if I may presume to make conjecture, it seems likely, first, that those Cities set over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invasions, to be made by the Moabites, Ammonites and Midianites, into *Israel*, had either made their own peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were elaped with a great part of their army, might feare their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both envie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safety of their owne Countrey, though themselves may be desired to beare a part of the smart of contrary successe. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard and want, than that such men as they dislike, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in Babel, as it is thought.
Jud. 8. 10.

Now *Gideon*, how or wheresoever it were that he refreshed himselfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the uttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no further attempt upon them) he againe surprised them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: having put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he tooke *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* prisoners: whom because themselves had executed *Gideons* brethren before at *Tabar*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request, slew them with his owne hands, his Sonne whom he first commanded to doe it, refreshing it; and in his returne from the consummation of this marvellous victory, he tooke revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed against him, either by strangers or by his brethren the Israelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his owne children found soone after his death, according

to that which hath beene said before. The debts of crueltie and mercie are never left unsatisfied: for as hee slew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unusual torments, so were his owne 70. sons, all but one, murdered by his owne bastard *Abimelec*: The like Analogie is observed by the *Rabbines*, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having caused the male children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, others of them to be cast into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angel, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Armie in the red sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and him in the Government; as they offered him the Sovereignie over them, and to establish *shall my childre raigne over you, but the Lord shall etc.* But he desired the people that they would bestow on him the golden eare-rings which every man had gotten. For the *Isnadites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, used to wear them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. li. if we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew filke, purple, scarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest onely, and set up the same in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

Exod. 28.
Jud. 8. 28.

There was another kind of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the Levites used, and so did *David* when he danced before the *Arke*; and *Samuel*, while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, wee may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the first alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the Armie came in to the slaughter, and pursuit: for it is written: *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nephtalie, and out of Asher, and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in tents behinde him, when he went down to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

Jud. 7. 23.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ageus*, the sonne of *Pandion*, who reigned in *Athens*: *Eurythius* King of *Mycene*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Eurythius*, the Kingdome of *Mycene* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in jealousy, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their father. But this crueltie was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine by a base sonne of *Thyestes*; yea the grand-children, and all the linage of *Atreus* dyed by the same sword.

In *Gideons* time also those things were supposed to have beene done, which are written of *Dedalus* and *Icarus*. *Dedalus*, they say, having slaine his Nephew *Attilas*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for succour; where for his excellent workmanship hee was greatly esteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was laid to have framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the Queene, that shee, being in love with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cowe, satisfie her lust; a thing no lesse unnatural than incredible, had not that shamelesse Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appears by those verses of *Marialis*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly *Pasiphae*, in those vicious times.

*Iunxam Pasiphaen Dilecto credite Tauri
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Caesar, long eva vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Servius* makes a lesse unhonest
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construction of it, thinking that *Dadalus* was of her counsaile, and her *Pandar* for the enticing of a Secretarie of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with child; and that the being delivered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that she was delivered of the Monster *Minotaur*, half a Man, and halfe a Bull. But this practice being discovered, and *Dadalus* appointed to be slain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicily*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with boats which had oares onely, *Dadalus* framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chafe. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himselfe overbold, was overborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dadalus*, that he made Images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with legs, armes, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the bodie and head of those men, whom they carried to counterfeite, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had seene some of those that were called the Images of *Dadalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linar*, the Theban, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Tamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones course, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules* his scholler with his owne harpe.

Again, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to have been performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the *Corinthian* Armie, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and unaccessible mountainee over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon, for her crueltye. But that which *Palaphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an *Amazonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*, who when by her helpe he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightfull part, with her own troope she held the mountainee by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre upon the *Theban*, till by *Oedipus* overthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, because his son *Androgeus* was slaine by them. He possit himselfe of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, Daughter of *Misus* the King. He was long master of the sea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribune of delivering him every year seven of their sons: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was slaine at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dadalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giver to those Ilands.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Anteus* the Gyant, who was said to have 60. and odde cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was such a bodie found by *Sertorius* the Roman, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Anteus*: yet for my selfe I thinke it but a lowd lie. That *Anteus* was of great strength and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because hee cast so many men to the ground, he was fained to be the sonne of the earth. *Plinie* saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. *S. Augustine* affirms, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a subtle Sophister.

§. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonautes.

ABout the eleventh yeare of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonautes*: of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this.

Pel. as the son of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Esion*, who was *Jason* the other, reigning in *Iolcos* a town of *Thessalie*, was warned by the Oracle of *Apollo* to take

of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jason* to him, who comming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should advise him to take heed: to which question when *Jason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Colchus* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therefore *Jason* prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by *Argus* the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the counsell of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the bravest men of *Greece* to saile with him: as *Typhis* the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of *Zo Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Pelex* sonnes of *Neacrus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaras* the great Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde Boare: *Ascalaphus* and *Jalmenus* or *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*, *Laertes* the father of *Ulysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lyneus* the sonnes of *Cephareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselves: *Lyneus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Jason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prow was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could speake. They arrived first at *Lemma*; the women of which Iland, having slaine all the males, purposing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheless contented to take their pleasure of the Argonauts. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then reigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blows, in somuch that the Argonauts slew the most part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many teares they solemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe, and arrived shortly in *Myssa*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the son of *Elates*, who went to seeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was ravished by the *Nymphes*.

Polyphemus built a towne in *Myssa* called *Cioi*, wherein he reigned: *Hercules* returned to *Argo*. From *Myssa* the Argonauts sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the *Bebycces*, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the sonne of *Neptune* was then King. Hee being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him at whorle bats, in which kind of fight he had slaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by *Pollux*. The *Bebycces* in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sayled from hence to *Salmydessus* a towne in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothsayer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to be a kinde of birds which had the faces of women, and foule long claws, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonauts craved his advice, and direction for their voyage, you shall doe wel (quoth he) first of all to deliver me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be covered, and meat for on which was no sooner set down than that presently in came the *Harpyes* and played their accustomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this; they drew their swords and pursued them through the air; some say that both the *Harpyes* and the young men died of wearinesse in the fight, & pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that the *Harpyes* did covenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, & adverstised them withall of the dangerous rocks called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did shut up the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the passage: & if that passed safe, then to adventure after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, & perceiving that the Pigeon had only lost a piece of her taile, they observed the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, only the end of their poepe was bruised.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have stood still: for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonauts* came to the *Mariandyns*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycaus* the King entertained them curteously. Here *Idmon* a South-sever *Parthenius*, where *Lycaus* the King entertained them curteously. Here *Idmon* a South-sever undertooke to steere the ship. So they passed by the river *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucassus*, and came to the river *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchis*. When they were entered the haven, *Jafon* went to *Aetes* the King of *Colchis*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cause of his comming, desiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Aetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would yoke together two brazen hoof Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe Dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Aetes*.

Whilest *Jafon* was in a great perplexity about this taske, *Medea* the daughter of *Aetes* fell into a most vehement love of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came privily to him, promising her helpe if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Jafon* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preserve him from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would rise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, she bad him throw stones amongst them as soone as they came up thicker, wherupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. *Jafon* followed her counsaile; whereto when the event had answered, he againe demanded the Fleece. But *Aetes* was so farre from approving such his desire, that he devised how to destroy the *Argonauts*, and burne their ship; which *Medea* perceiving, went to *Jafon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oak in the grove of *Mars*, where, they say, it was kept by a Dragon, that never sleepe. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medea* cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, she went with *Jafon* into the ship *Argo*; having with her, her brother *Abfirtus*.

Aetes understanding the practises of *Medea*, provided to pursue the ship, whom when *Medea* perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, she scattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Aetes* finding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomus*; the Greeke word signifieth *Division*. Afterwards he sent many of his subjects to seeke the ship *Argo*, threatening that if they brought not backe *Medea*, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the *Argonauts* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

Jupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Abfirtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carryed them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands *Abfirtides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of *Jupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Asionia*, and were cleansed by *Circe*, from the murder of *Abfirtus*. Now they thereupon sayling betwene the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and alongst the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Aea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well that he stayed them. Once ly *Butes* swamme out unto them, whom *Venus* ravished, and carryed to *Lybia* in *Sittile* to dwell.

Having past the *Syrens*, they came betwene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoake. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them safe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coasted *Cistius*, where the beeves of the Sunne were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iland of the *Phaeaces*, where King *Alecinous* reigned. Meane while the men of *Colchis*, that had beene sent by *Aetes* in quest of the ship of *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, they still durst not his will, beooke themselves to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Coreyre*, others in the Ilands *Abfirtides*, and some comming

to the *Phaeaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medea* of *Alecinous*: wherto *Alecinous* made answer, that if she were not *Jafons* wife, they should have her; but if she were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alecinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchis*, not daring to returne home, stayed with the *Phaeaces*; so the *Argonauts* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland *Minos* reigned, who had a man of brasse given to him (as some of the Fblers say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was clofed up with a brazen naile; his name was *Talus*: his custome was to runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When he saw the ship *Argo* passe by, he threw stones at it, but *Medea* with her *Magique* destroyed him. Some say that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortall, she drew out the naile that stopt his veine, by which means all his blood ran out, and he died; others there are that say he was slaine by *Pan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonauts* sayled to *Regina*, where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from *Regina* they saild by *Eubaea* and *Locris* home to *Jokus*, where they arrived, having spent foure whole months in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Jafon*, understand the mystery of the Philosophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine *Chymists* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinks that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of sheep-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other metalls might be transfigured. Others would signifie by *Jafon*, wisdom, and moderation, which overcommeth all perils: but that which is most probable, is the opinion of *Derivus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Jafon* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchis*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucassus* there are certaine steep falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting use to fet many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth thorow, which *Strabo* witnesseth to be true. The many rocks, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage betwene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into those fiery bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazzards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* Sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, under Poeticall moralls: all which *Homer* afterward used (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of *Ulysses* his travels on the same In-land Seas.

§. VII.

Of *Abimelech*, *Tholan*, and *Jair*, and of the *Lapytha*, and of *Thefeus*, *Hyppolytus*, &c.

AFTER the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base sonne, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembering what offers had beene made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his perpetual Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Sovereignty, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himselfe; who being easily moved with the glory, to have a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of silver of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with Jud. 9. 1. which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wives, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but *Jotham* the veriest youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose revenges are without date and for everlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which labourteth the preservation of every being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which never dyeth, and with love that hath no end. All other

Burnt Chron.
Euseb. Chron.
Heli. 1.1.

Aug. de Civ. Dei,
1. 18 c. 19.

which time we must count her no lesse than fiftene yeares old; for the women did not commonly begin so young as they doe now. She was then at least two and fifty yeares old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when she was stollen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnassus*, doe in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first yeare of *Demophon* King of *Athens*, the successeur of *Menestheus*, the successeur of *Theseus*, seventeen dayes before the *Summer Tropique*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* crost the *Hellepont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second yeare, the next summer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But *S. Augustine* hath otherwise, That when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*, *Menestheus*, *Athens*; *Tautanes*, *Assyria*; *Habdon*, *Israel*; then *Eneas* arrived in *Italie*, transporting with him in twenty ships the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the story of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia*, *Phelus* the two and twentieth King, reigned eight yeares, beginning by the common account in the time of *Tbola*. His successeurs, *Adraftus*, who reigned four yeares, & *Polyphides*, who reigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; so is also *Menestheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atrous*, who held a great part of *Peloponnesus*. In *Assyria*, during the government of these two peaceable Judges, *Misreus*, and after him *Tautanes*, reigned. In *Egypt*, *Amesiphis*, the son of *Rameses*, and afterwards *Anemenes*.

§. V II.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

IN this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly against the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection.

*Si nulla fuit generialis origo
Rerum; & mundi, semperque aeterna fuere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojae,
Non alia alii quoque res occidere Poeta?*

If all this world had no originall,
But things have ever bin as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times *Greece* was very salvage, the inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his owne longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercoure they used little, neither did they plant many trees, or sowe more come than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of mony was not heard of in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who measures the value of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeves, and the copper armour of *Dionides* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the usuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principall City in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, the inhabitants might have enjoyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds as likewise did the *Athenians*, because their Country was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will easily appeare to such as consider what *Thucydides* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in these later times

times, idle *Chroniclers* use when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade; so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember only the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that favoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the brieve whereof is this.

Oedipus the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having bin cast forth when he was an infant, because an Oracle foretold what evill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage, contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Jocasta*, called by *Homer* *Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, hee begate two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceesse of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee understood the grievous murder and incest hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Cite. His wife (and mother) did hang herselfe. Some say that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and aided him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should raigne one yeare, and the other another yeare, and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill observed. For when *Polynices* had after a yeares government resigned the Kingdome to his Brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had reigned the first yeare, hee refused to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fledde unto *Argos*, where *Adraftus* the Sonne of *Talaus* then reigned, unto whose palace comming by night, he was driven to seeke lodging in an out-house, on the backe-side.

There hee met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom striving about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adraftus* hearing the noise, came forth and tooke up the quarrell. At which time perceiving in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, hee remembered an olde Oracle by which hee was adviled to give his two daughters in marriage to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestow his daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deippe* upon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countreies. To this purpose levying an Army, and assembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw to follow him, hee was desirous among others to carry *Amphiaras* the sonne of *Oicleus* a great Sooth-fayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaras*, who is said to have foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, save onely *Adraftus*, did both utterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaras*, offering unto her a very faire bracelet, upon condition that shee should cause her Husband to assise him. The Sooth-fayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbade his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a Jewell, that shee could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controversie betwene *Amphiaras* and *Adraftus*, was by way of compromise put unto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a Woman should that did love a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more easie to foresee than to avoide destiny, sought for such comfort as revenge might afford him, giving in charge unto his sonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother, and make strong warre upon the *Thebans*.

Now had *Adraftus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seven chiefe Leaders were himselfe, *Amphiaras*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in stead of whom some name *Mecisteus*) all Argives, with *Polynices* the Theban, *Tidus* the *Atolian*, and *Parthenopeus* the Arcadian, sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the *Nemæan* Wood, they met a woman, whom they desired to helpe them to some water; shee having a childe in her armes, laid it downe, and led the Argives to a spring: but ere shee returned, a serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was *Hippolyte* the daughter of *Theas* the Lemnian, whom shee would have saved when the women of the Ile slew all the

the males by conspiracy, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For such her Piety the *Lemnian* wives did sell her to *Pyrras*, and the *Pyrras* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country, about *Nemaa*, whose young sonne *Ophelus* or *Archemorus* she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When upon the childes death she hid her selfe for feare of her master, *Amphiarus* told her sonnes where they should find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the child, and in memorie of the chance, did institute solemne funerall games called *Nemaa*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horse *Arcon*, *Tydeus* with the whorl bats, *Amphiarus* at running and quiting, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopaus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemaa* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Ophelus* a *Lacedemonian*. Some say by *Hercules* when he had slaine the *Nemaa* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set downe.

From *Nemaa* the *Argives* marching onwards arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was thoroughly resolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the Thebans, he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much envie and malice of the people, who layd fifty men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to the Army, of which fifty he slew all but one, whom he sent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witness of his valour. When the *Argives* understood how resolved *Eteocles* was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to have had at that time seven gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster up more thousand than *Thebes* had gates) did compass the Towne, *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homolides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Cronus*, *Amphiarus* at *Proctis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopaus* at *Eleusa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypsissa*. In the mean season, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advice of *Tiresias* the Soothsayer, who promised victory to the Thebans, if *Menacius* the sonne of *Creon*, a principall man of the City, would vow himselfe to be slaine in honour of *Mars* the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Divell, and so envious at his Creators glory, that he not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice with all Divine worship, but commandeth us to offer our selves and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clouded mens understanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde devotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maidens, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gals*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, &c. of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wile, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not lesse malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbade humane sacrifices in *Afrika*, and crucified the Priests in the groves where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in stead of the living: yet among the Salvages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings have been practised of late ages: which, as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely covered and hidden by this subtiltie among civill people: so may it serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarities then reigning in *Greece*. For *Menacius*, as soone as he understood that his death might purchase victory to his people, bestowed himselfe (as hee thought) upon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the City. Then was a battell fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed so far at the first, that *Capaneus* advancing ladders to the wals, got up upon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast down, or as Writers have it) was stricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were slain in this battell, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according flew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Astacus* behaved themselves very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the sonnes slew *Hippomedon*, which was one

of the seven Princes: *Parthenopaus* being another of the seven (who was said to have bin so faire, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slain by *Amphidicus*, or, as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought unto him by *Amphiarus*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed up the braines. Upon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Jupiter* such remedie for his wounds, as should have made him immortal, refused to bestow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The host of the *Argives* being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiarus* fled: of whom *Amphiarus* is said to have beene swallowed quicke into the earth, neare to the river *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carcases, or drowned in the river: and his bodie never found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athen*: where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercie, he made supplication for their aide to recover their bodies. For *Creon* having obtained the Government of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the *Argives* to bee buried: but caused *Antigone*, the onely daughter then living of *Oedipus*, to bee buried quicke, because she had sought out and buried the bodie of her brother *Polynices*, contrary to *Creons* Edict. The *Athenians* condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send forth an Armie under the conduct of *Thebes*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the *Argives* to Sepulture: at which time *Evanthe* the wife of *Capaneus* threw her selfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Captains which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse revenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne year after having levied forces, *Aegialeus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopaus*, *Stenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Eurypylus* of *Meassius*, marched thither under the conduct of *Alcmaon*, the son of *Amphiarus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphilochus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alcmaon* were their Captain, whom afterward by another Oracle he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were encountered by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles* then King of the *Thebanes*, (for *Creon* was onely Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battell, and slew *Aegialeus*, yet was hee put to the worst, and driven to flee, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcmaon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conveyed themselves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and downe, till at length they built the Town called *Esthaa*. The *Argives*, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entering into it, sacked it, threw down the wals, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the Town was saved by *Thersander*, the son of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigine over them. That he saved the Citie from utter destruction, it is very likely, for he reigned there, and led the *Thebanes* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

§. VIII.

Of *Joseph*, and how the three hundred yeares which he speaketh of, *Jud. 11. 28.* are to be reconciled with the places, *Acts 13. 20.* *1 Reg. 6. 11.* together with some other things touching Chronologie about these times.

After the death of *Jair* (neere about whose time these things hapned in *Greece*, & during whose government, & that of *Thola*, *Israel* lived in peace and in order) they revolted again from the law and service of God, and became more wicked & idolatrous than ever. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* & *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen nations adjoining, and embraced the idols of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites*, & *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistines*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the *Ammonites* and afterward by the *Philistines*. Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most opprest, because they bordered upon

Jud. 10.
The perfectu-
tion of the Am-
monites lasted
18 yeares, and
ended in the
year of the
World 2820.
in which yeare,
Joseph began,
Jud. 1.

Jud. 11. 33.

Barin Jude.

Jud. 11. 28.

2925.
2942.Jud. 11. 28.
Act. 13. 20.
1 Kings. 6. 1.Id facit numero
eius provincie
populi.

upon the Ammonites, they were inforced to seek *Jephtha*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compassion than of divellish hatred and revenge, was content to lead the Gileadites to the Warre, upon condition that they should establish him their Governour after victorie. And when hee had disparted with *Ammon* for the Land, disproved *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same prevailing nothing, he began the warre; and being strengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not only beate them out of the plaines, but forc'd them over the mountaines of *Arabia*, even to *Mimith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities express'd here-
tofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victorie it is said, that hee perform'd the vaine vow which he made, to sacrifice the first living creature hee encountered, comming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and onely desired two monthes time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of Gilead; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that shee was not offered, is more probable, which *Borhaus* and others prove sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephtha's* victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grievous slavery that ever *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Jephtha*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Jephtha* hereupon inforced to defend himselfe against their furie, in the encounter slew of them 42000. which so weakened the bodie of the Land, as the *Philistines* had an easie conquest of them all no long after. *Jephtha*, after he had judged *Israel* fixe yeares, died: to whom succeeded *Elon*, who ruled seven yeares: after him *Elnon* was their Judge tenne yeares: in all which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* findes nor *Elnon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall be necessarie upon the occasion of *Jephtha's* account of the times *Jud. 11. 28.* (where he saies that *Israel* had then posselt the East side of *Jordan* 300. yeares) to speak somewhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scriptures touching this point, seeming repugnant or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute betweene *Jephtha* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of Saint *Paul*, *Act. 13.* the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Jephtha* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeares: Saint *Paul* giveth to the Judges, as it seems, from the end of *Josua* to the last of *Hei.* 450. yeares. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeares. To the first *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephtha's* 300. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of *Josua*, 40. of *Osiboniel*, 80. of *Adad* and *Sangar*, 40. of *Debon*, 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Tola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephtha* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certaine number for an uncertaine: *Sic ut dicat annum 450. propterea trecentisimum, ex quo nullus licet eade re moverit Israel: So he speaketh* (saith he) *assuming that then it was about or well-nigh the three hundred yeares, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right.* Codoman on the contrary findes more yeares than *Jephtha* named by 65. to wit, 365. where of 71. were spent in *Israel's* captivity, at severall times, of which (as Codoman thinketh) *Jephtha* forbore to repeat the whole summe or any great part, lest the *Ammonite* should have justly objected, that 71. of those yeares the *Israelites* were in captivity and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeares, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justify this account of 365. yeares, besides the 71. yeares of captivity or affliction, to be added to *Beroaldus* his 266. hee addeth also 28. yeares more, and so maketh up the summe of 365. These 28. yeares hee findeth out thus: twenty yeares hee gives to the *Seniors* betweene *Josua* and *Osiboniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eightene yeares to *Josua* his government, Codoman accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Josuephus*; whereas Saint *Augustine* and *Eusebius* give him 27. *Melancthon* 30. The truth is, that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeares of

of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300. yeares. Neither is it strange that *Jephtha* should leave out more than halfe of the yeares of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the *Ammonites* might except against the 71. yeares, and say, that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the *Israelites* had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. *Martin Luthers* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeares remembred by *Jephtha*, to be 306. which odd yeares, saith hee, *Jephtha* omitteeth. But because the yeares of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* add to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Desarts of *Arabia*. 1. *Petræ*; which forty yeares of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgement herein: for in the dispute betweene *Jephtha* and *Ammon* for the Land of Gilead, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel took my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jabboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly, or in peace.* So by this place it is plaine, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was posselt. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel took my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephtha's* answer also confirmeth in these words: *When Israel dwells in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Arer, and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeares: why did ye not then recover them in that space?* so as this place speaks it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 300. yeares: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Israel* had to posselt it, it seemeth somewhat strained to mee: for we doe not use to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, and sayes, that this time of 300. yeares hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Jephtha's* narration: when he makes a brife repetition of *Moses* whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeares (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeares: and not onely the time in which *Israel* posselt Gilead, according to the Text, and *Jephtha's* owne words: of which I leave the judgment to others; so whom also I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. yeares, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Jephtha's* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching *Jephtha's* three hundred yeares of possession of the East side of *Jordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the *Israelites* posselt it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossest *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the *Israelites* had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to *Israel*; and so *Jephtha* might say that they had posselt those Countries 300. yeares, reckoning 266. yeares of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the *Israelites* had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of S. *Paul*, *Act. 13.* that from the end of *Josua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeares. And this place *Luther* understandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Funicus Krentzheimus*, and *Beza*) for I have not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, to the last yeare of *Hei.* but 357. yeares: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. yeares.

Now forasmuch as S. *Paul* (as it seemes) findes 450. yeares from the death of *Josua*, to the last of *Hei.* and leaves but thirty yeares for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who wore the Crown three whole yeares ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was error in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450. yeares, unto the time of Samuel the Prophet*: the words [then afterward] being clearly referred to the death, or after the death

Act. 13. 20.

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of

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Codoman answereth, that these 480. years, 1 Reg. 6.1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from Egypt, which he makes to be 25. years after the beginning of Othomels government, from whence if we cast the years of the Judges, with the years of servitude (which summes, according to his account, of which we have already spoken, make 397. years) and so to these years adde the 40. of Samuel, and Saul, and the 40. of David, and the 3. of Salomon, wee shall have the full summe of 480. years. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the *annus egressionis*, 1 Reg. 6.1. should be understood *egressus non incipiens, sed finis*, the yeere of their coming out of Egypt (for so it is in the original) or the yeare after they came out of Egypt, may well be understood for the yeare after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandering from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40. yeares after they had set foot out of Egypt, are said to have bin done in their going out of Egypt; as Psal. 114. When Israel came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven backe, and Deut. 4.45. These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egypt. And thus farre it seemes we may very well agree with Codoman, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exivissent*, or *ab exitu finis*: for if *finis*, Deut. 4.45. doe well read *quum exivissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be *postquam exivissent*?

20 The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to have had
end untill the 25. year after the victory of *Orbaniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that
then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened
not untill this time : at which time the Danites at length feared themselves, as it is declar-
ed, *Jud.* 18. For doubtleffe to this time the expedition may most conveniently be re- *Jud.* 18.
ferred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* re-
concile the account of *Jephtha*, and *S. Paul*, with that in the first of *King. c. 6.* Now where-
as it is said that the expedition of the Danites was when there was no King in Israel : to
this *Codoman* answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that *Orbaniel* liv-
ed all those 40. yeares of rest, of which *Jud.* 3. 11. so that by the 25. year after his vic-
tory, either he might have bin dead, or at least, as *Gideon* did, he might have refused all
sovereignty, and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit, the 25.
year after *Orbaniels* victory) there was no King in Israel. This opinion of *Codoman*, if
it were as consonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plaine
Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might per-
haps be received as good : especially considering, that the speeches of *S. Paul* have not
otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such man-
ners as they found, and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority,
we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded ; it being such
as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who
hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in
the five and twentieth yeere of *Orbaniel* ? Or what other probability hath hee than his
owne conjecture, to shew that *Orbaniel* did for renounce the office of a Judge after five
and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truly said there was no King in Israel, but every
man did that which was good in his owne eyes ?

Now concerning the rehearsal of the law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed bee properly said to have been, when Israel came out of Egypt, likewise we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all journeyes with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limitteth a journey by an accident, or faith by converting the proposition, when *Jordan* was turning back, Israel came out of Egypt. Indeed most unpropitious it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely, to say, that King *Edward* at his arrivall out of *Palæstina* did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlisle*. How may we then bekeve that enterprize performed for many yeeres after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the journeyes end) should be said to have bin at the time of the departure out of Egypt? Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the only guide for certaine ages in *Sacred Chronologie*, should not take name and beginning

*Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:
 Maximus unde Pater (sive audias recordar)
 Teuctrus Rhæteus primum est aducltus adoras:
 Optavitq; locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arcus
 Pergameæ steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
 Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaq; ara,
 Idæumq; nemus.*

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lye:
 Whence *Jove* was borne, thence is our progeny.
 There is mount *Ida*: there in fruitfull Land
 An hundred great and goodly Cities stand.
 Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Tencer the eldest of our grand-fires came
 To the Rhætean shores: and reigned there
 Ere yet faire *Ilium* was built, and ere
 The Towers of *Troy*: their dwelling place they fought
 In lo west Vales. Hence *Cybelis* rites were brought:
 Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remove:
 And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Tencer* first gave name to that Country, wherein he reigned ere *Troy* was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speaks thus:

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
 Terra antiqua, potens armis atq; ubere gleba,
 Oenotrii coluere viri: nunc fama minores
 Italian dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
 He nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus ortus:
 Jassusq; Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.*

Hesperia the *Gracians* call the place:
 An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,
Oenotrians held it: now the later progenie
 Gives it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italy*:
 This seat belongs to us, hence *Dardanus*,
 Hence came the author of our stocke, *Jassus*.

Alfo *Atmidæ*.

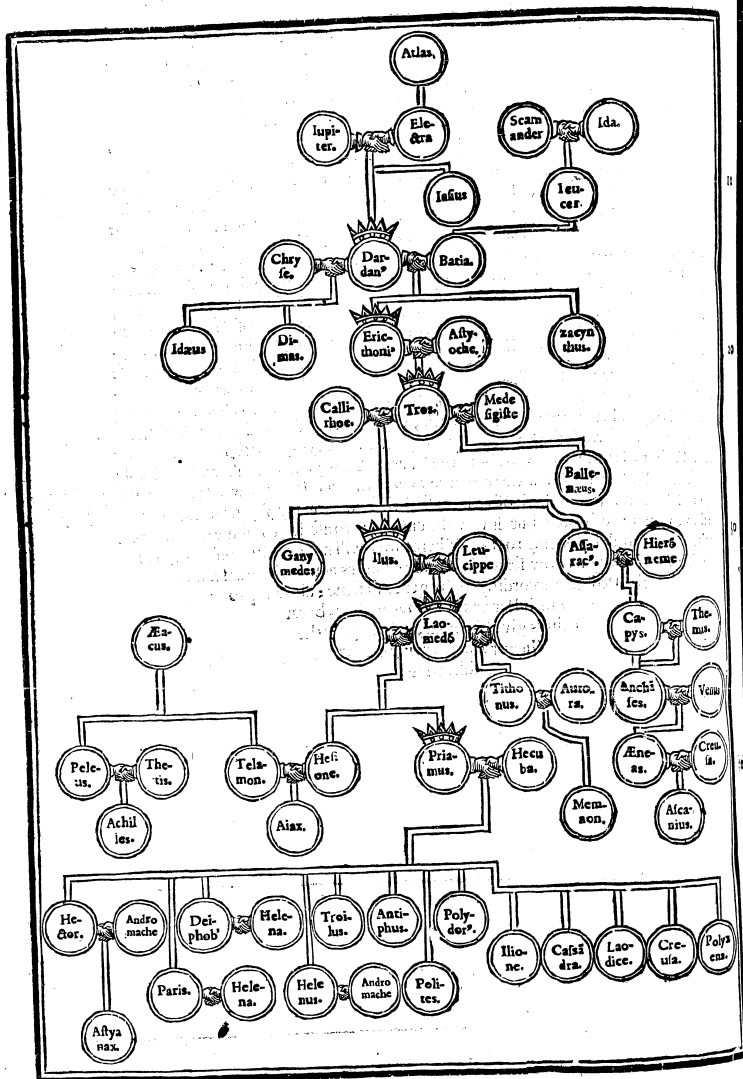
*Atq; equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
 Auruncos ita fere senes, hic ortus us agris
 Dardanus Idæus Phrygia penetrauit ad urbes,
 Threiciamq; Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
 Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
 Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia celi
 Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Auruncans*, I remember well,
 (Though time have made the same obscure) would tell
 Of *Dardanus*, how borne in *Italy*:
 From hence he to *Phrygia* did flie.
 And leaving *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
 With *Corytus* did flie to *Samothrace*;
 But now inthronized he sits on high,
 In golden Palace of the starry skie.

But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinks that these names, *Troes*, *Tenari*, and *Thracæ*, are derived from *Tarus* or *Tharus* the son of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Myrians*, & *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Trojan*.

were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Ashtenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrey, Lake, and river of *Ascanius* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Ashtenaz* gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Ascanis*, *Dardanis*, and many others, did in after-times passe into *Europe*: that the name of *Tencer* came of *Tyrus*, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Tencer*, whereas *Hal carnassius* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose authority is the more to be regarded because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully sought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Tencer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus* founder of *Troy*. *Reineccius* further thinke that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise; and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the sonne of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Heituria*, to whom the bare *Jassus*. *Annus* out of his *Berosus* findes the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jassus*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscurity of the historie gives leave to *Annus* of saying what he list. I, that love not to use such libertie, wil forbear to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Jupiter*, it must have bene of some elder *Jupiter* than the Father of those that lived about the Warre of *Troy*. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almost every name of gods: but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Tencer* such Parents as *Diodorus* gives, because others give him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

*Dion. lib. 4. c. 3.
 Boccace de gen.*



Concerning the beginning and continuance, the Trojan Kingdome, with the length of every Kings reigne, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a History, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow uncertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilest it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. yeares more ancient than the beginning of the ninety fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did passe betwene the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the first yeare of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeares, that is 408. yeares went betwene the destruction of Troy, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proofe, who elsewhere tels us, that the returne of the *Heraclidae*, which was 80. yeares after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeares before the first *Olympiad*.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seventh *Olympiad*, that is, foure and twenty yeares after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of Troy. *Solinus* in expresse words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. yeares later than the destruction of Troy. The summe is easily collected by necessary inference out of divers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth *Eusebius*, reckoning exclusively agree: and *Eratosthenes* (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeare, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

The other collections of divers writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collateral history, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of Troy being in the yeare before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: we must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards, through the reignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty yeares, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed under *Laomedon*, we are faine to doe as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from *Annius* his Authors; beleeving *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reignes, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may give us leave to thinke that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no history or accompt of time depends upon the reignes of the former Kings, but onely upon the ruine of the Citie under *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeare.

True it is, that some objections appearing weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeares, wherein the Greeks knew no good forme of a yeare; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprize that was undertaken by generall consent of all Greece, was the last warre of Troy, which hath bin famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there assembled; the great batailles fought with variable success: the long insurance of the siege: the destruction of that great Citie: and the many *Colones* planted in sundry countries, as well by the remainder of the Trojans, as by the victorious Greeks after their unfortunate returne. All which things, with innumerable circumstances of a speciall note, have bin delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion, among other worthy deeds, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith:

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles
Argensur, ignotiq; longa
Noctē: carens quia vate sacro.

Many by valour have deserv'd renowne
 Ere *Agamemnon*; yet lye all opprest
 Under long night, unwept for, and unknowne:
 For with no sacred Poet were they blest.

Yet so it is, that whilst these writers have with strange fables, or (to speake the best of them) with Allegories farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawne into suspition that great vertue which they sought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, as of such actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose works are both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted, otherwife; but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, shall find matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things, excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much disagreement of Authors, written of this great warre. All writers consent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the son of *Priamus*, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the rape of *Helen*: and strength of both sides for the Warre.

HERODOTUS fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; saying, That whereas the Phœnicians, had ravished *Io*, and carried her into Egypt, the Greeks, to be revenged on the Barbarians, did first ravish *Europa*, whom they brought out of Phœnicia into Creta, and afterward *Medea*, whom they fetcht from *Colchus*, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of *Io*. By these deeds of the Greeks, *Paris* (as the same *Herodotus* affirms) was emboldened, to doe the like; not fearing such revenge as ensued. But all this narration seemes frivolous: For what had the King of *Colchus* to doe with the injury of the Phœnicians? Or how could the Greeks, as in revenge of *Io*, plead any quarrell against him, that never had heard the name of Phœnicians? *Thucydides*, a writer of unquestionable sincerity, maketh it plaine, that the name of Barbarians was not used at all in *Homer*'s time, which was long after the warre of Troy: and that the Greeks themselves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to thinke, that they should have fought revenge upon all Nations; as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people else should have esteemed of the Greeks, as of a people opposed to all the world; and that even then when as the Greeks had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Hesione*, King *Priamus*'s sister, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have bene true: for *Telamon* (as it seemes) was an excellent man, seeing his owne sonne *Tenar* durst not come in his sight, after the warre of Troy, but fled into Cyprus, onely because his brother *Ajax* (which *Tenar* could not remedy) had slaine himselfe. Yet, were it so, that *Hesione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her brother would seeke to take her from her husband, with whom shee had lived about thirty yeeres, and to whom shee had borne children which were to succeed in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medea*, or *Hesione*, but was merely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his lust, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely Greeks from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greeks, as *Herodotus* discoureth; but all people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them: and having stolen them, either to sell them away in some farre Countrey, or keep them to their owne use. So did *Theseus* and *Pirithous* attempt *Proserpine*, and so did *Theseus* (long before *Paris*) ravish *Helen*. And these practices, as it appears in *Thucydides*, were so common, that none durst inhabite neere unto the Sea, for feare of piracy, which was accounted a trade of life no lesse lawfull than merchandize: wherefore *Tyndareus*, the father of *Helen*, considering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theseus* had made, caused all her wooers, who were most of the principall men

in Greece, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if she were taken from her husband, they should with all their might helpe to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cause which drew the Greeks unto Troy in revenge of *Helen*'s rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, besides his great Dominions in Peloponnesus, was Lord of many Ilands: he was also rich in mony, and therefore the Arcadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for Troy in his owne ships, which were more than any other of the Greek Princes brought to that expedition.

This did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or desirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprize; take armes against the Trojans. The Greeks Fleet was (by *Homer*'s account) 1200. sayle, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with decks; onely they used (as *Thucydides* saith) small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120. every man (except the Captaines) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appears that the Grecian army consisted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that ever was raised out of Greece: and the greatnesse of this armie doth well declare the strength and power of Troy, which ten whole yeeres did stand out against such forces: yet were the Trojans which inhabited the citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* said in the second of *Homer*'s Iliads; but their followers and aides were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Mysia, and the greatest part of Asia the lesse, tooke part with the Trojans. The Amazons also brought them succour. And *Rhesus* out of Thrace, and *Memnon* out of Assyria (though some thinke out of Ethiopia) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to Troy, and of *Helen*'s being detained in Egypt, and of the sacrificing of Iphigenia.

WHEREFORE the Greeks, unwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might be compounded by treaty, sent *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* Embassadors to Troy; who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus*'s house. What answer the Trojans made hereunto it is uncertaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the Egyptian Priests, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to Troy. The summe of his discourse is this.

Paris in his return with *Helen*, being driven by foule weather unto the coast of Egypt, was accused for the rape of *Helen* by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing *Paris* without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the Greeks demanding *Helen*, had answer, that she was in Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not bene there, they returned home, sending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this History, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odysses*, *Homer* speaks of *Menelaus* his being in Egypt, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not easily believed that he made for pleasure: and if he were driven thither by contrary Windes, much more may we thinke that *Paris* was likely to have bin driven thither by foule Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking such Windes as he could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Haven in the Greek Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in Greece, and there have remained with good entertainment, untill such time as the Wind had come about, and served for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the saying of the Egyptian Priests which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had bene utter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Heitor* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truly, when he said that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almost as old as *Queen Hecuba*, considering that she had bene ravished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to have bene twines) who sailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principall Commander in the Trojan warre. But whether it were so that the *Trojans* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Ambassadors returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to have been a Runnagate *Trojan*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines, and all the Hoast with many troublesome answers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnons* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddess was contented with a Hind, it is needless here to bee disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Divell, which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, than where mens ignorance is weak. *Calchas* also told the Greekes, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some small impediments were removed: and that till ten yeares were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the Greekes proceeded in their enterprise, under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his Brother *Nelauus*: *Achilles* the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phenix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the sonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meneones*; *Nestor* and his sonnes *Antilochus* and *Thrasymedes*; *Ulysses*, *Meneleus* the sonne of *Petrus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the sonne of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wife and learned *Palamedes*, *Ascalaphus*, and *Jalmenus* the sonnes of *Nereus*, who had sailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* also the sonne of *Peon*, who had the sorowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the Citie could not be taken; after the son of *Oilus*, *Penelopeus*, *Thobas*, *Emelus*, *Tylandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sithonius*, *Tlepolemus* the sonne of *Hercules*; *Podalirius*, and *Machon*, the sonnes of *Esculapius*; *Epeus*, who is said to have made the wooden Horse, by which the towne was taken; and *Prociplaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatened death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Grecians at the siege.

THese, and many other of lesse note, arriving at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the warre would be more than one yeares worke. For in the first encounter, they lost *Proteus*, whom *Heitor* slew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Trojans*: save only that by their numbers of men, they were ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the smallnesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherronesse*: others to rob upon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeares, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receive little losse by them, having equall numbers to maintain the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retreat if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* saith, That from the first yeare, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, & *Heracleide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodotus*; that the Greekes did not lyve before *Troy* the first nine yeares: but only did beare up and downe the sea

exercising their men, and enriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies countrey, did blocke up the towne, unto which they returned nor, untill the fatall time drew neere when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquire which *Priamus* made; when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeare, for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting upon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have bene supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne so many yeares together. Betweene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodotus*, the difference is not much; the one saying, that a few of the Greekes remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilst the rest made purveyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions *Achilles* was employed, whom the armie could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had bene to be performed before the Citie. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the Greekes: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in revenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any ranfome: but *Heracleide* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who raised pestilent Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the campe was over-pestered with those, who had bene abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

About the same time arose much contention betweene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie; whereof *Agamemnon*, as Generall, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then *Ajax*, *Ulysses*, and so the rest of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father *Apollo's* Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had bene given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* desired him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as notable to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captaines. But the Greekes, encouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the Citie without him and his troops.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great succours, all the neighbour Countries having sent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the warre began (as appears by his words in *Homer*), or for love of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well ghesse) incited by the wrongs received of the Greekes when they wasted the Countries adjoining unto *Troy*. So that when *Heitor* issued out of the towne, he was little inferior to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Trojan* armie, were *Heitor*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sonnes of *Priamus*: *Eneas*, *Antenor*, and his sonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Astus*, and the sonnes of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slaine the first night of his arrivall; *Memnon*, *Queen Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Betweene these and the Greekes were many battels fought: the greatest of which were; that at the tombe of King *Ilus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Heitor* brake through the fortifications of the Greekes, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Ajax*, the son of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against *Heitor*, when the state of the Greekes was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* troops, relieving the wearie Greekes with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Ulysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*, repelled

repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was lost, and his bodie, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the manner of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of those warres, having slaine a man, to strip him and hale away his bodie, not restoring it without ranfome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the successe of their Captaines; who rode not upon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some trustie followers of theirs, which drave up and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where need required, threw first their Javelins, and then lighting, fought on foot, with swords and battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with a new darta as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their armes defensive were helmets, breast-plates, boots of brasse, or other metall, and shields commonly of leather plated over. The offensive were swords and battel-axes at hand, and stones, arrows or darts when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keep them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest ware heaviest: also that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; every man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repaire it with the like, or had any fitting, taken from some Captaine whom he had slaine, and stripped: or else to borrow of them that had by such means gotten some to spare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had lost his armour which *Hector* (as is said before) had taken from the bodie of *Panclius*, he was faine to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very desirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himselfe unto *Achilles*, not onely restoring his concubine *Brisis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excusing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did so behave himselfe, that he did not onely put the *Trojans* to the worst, but also slew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be beleved) he chased three times about the walls of *Troy*. But great question may be made of *Homer's* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would stay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leape over the rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he must have done in that fight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Hector* in such an extremitie, would have borne to open some of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what meanes soever) slaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrusting leathern thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the field, selling the dead bodie to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranfome. But his crueltie and covetousnesse were not long unrevenge; for he was shortly after slaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* sayes, in the *Scæan* Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in love, having slaine so many of her brethren; and his bodie was ranfomed (as *Lycophron* saith) at the selfe-same rate that *Hector* was by him sold for. Not long after this, *Penthesilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after some proofe given of her valour, was slaine by *Epyrrus* the son of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of *Troy*, the wooden Horse, the Booke of *Dares* and *Dyctis*, the Colonies of the reliques of *Troy*.

Finally, after the death of many worthie persons on each side, the Citie was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the treason of *Aeneas* and *Antenor*; or by a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame (which

(which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertaine. Some write that upon one of the gates of *Troy*, called *Scæa*, was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gave occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificial horse. It may well be that with some wooden engine, which they called an horse, they either did batter the wals, as the Romanes in after-times used to do with the Rammets, or scaled the wals upon the sudden; and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a wooden horse, it had bin a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpose. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and slaine all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this report they are said to have thought upon: for they might have left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their wals upon the sudden to doe it:)) by which meanes they who were shut into it, must have perished for hunger; if they had not by lifting forth unseasonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is said, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, considering that without their helpe there was way sufficient for the armie, so that the surprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose.

John Baptista Gramay in his Historie of *Asia*, discursing of this warre, saith that the Greekes did both batter the wals with a wooden engine, and were also let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the townesmen sleeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoisted saile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into security. That the Citie was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that warre made against the common report: had it not bene that either those books were even in those times thought frivolous; or else contained no such repugnancie to the other Authours as now is found in them.

Also concerning the number of men slaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* say to have bene above 600000. on the *Trojan* side, and more than 800000. of the *Greeks*, it is a report merely fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greekes* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as he could, to bee somewhat lesse than 1200. saile, and the armie therein transported over the *Greek* seas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fiction of men to extoll the deedes of their Ancients: for which cause both *Homer* magnified the Captaines of the *Greekes* that served in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their Citie, from which the *Romanes* descended. Yea, the Athenians long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the Persian King made against all Greece, did not forbear to vaunt of the great cunning which *Nestor* the son of *Peleus* had shewed in marshalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had bin a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld unto *Gelon* King of almost all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in these parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in such their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probability, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italy*; and from them the *Romanes*, brought into that Country by *Aeneas*: the *Venetians* first seated in *Padua*, and the Countrey adjoining by *Antenor*: the *Chonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the sonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellenicus* addeth, that the posteritie of *Hector* did assemble such of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Concerning the *Greekes*, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slaine anon after their arrivall: others were debarred from the Sovereignie among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to have beene the dispersion of the Armie, which, weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell injuries, being divided into so many pieces under severall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising upon the division of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and perform some sacrifices to *Minerva*. Heron upon they fell to hot words, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but some returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his own course. But the whole fleet was vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor* and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oristes* afterwards slew also *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who nevertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driven soone after to seeke new seats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Phylia* in *Italie*. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home; but was forthwith slaine by his wife, and by the Adulterer *Egythius*, who for a while usurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandering long upon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helan*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her, *Ulysses* after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much ado recovering the mastery of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driven into exile, and faine to seek out new habitations.

Ajax the son of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Danus*; who was Lord of the *Japyges* in *Apulia*; some of the *Locrians* were driven into *Africa*, others into *Italie*, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Gracia*, by reason of many Towns which the *Greekes* were driven to erect upon that coast. Finally, it appears in *Homer*, that the *Græcian* Ladies, whose husbands had bin at the war of *Troy*, were wont to call it. The place where the *Greekes* suffered miserie, and the unluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and those that warred there: the overthrow of which Citie, as hath bin said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Israel*, whom *Samson*, after a variance or *Inter-regnum* for certaine yeares, succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of *Samson*, *Eli*, and *Samuel*.

§. I.

Of *Samson*.

2970.



HE birth and acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Storie, First, that the *Angel* of *God* forbid the wife of *Manassah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke Wine or strong drink, or to eat any unclean meat after she was conceived with child; because those strong liquors hinder the strength; and as it were wither and shrink the child in the mothers wombe. Though this were even the counsell of *God* himselfe, and delivered by his *Angell*, yet it seemeth that many women of this age have not read,

or at least will not believe this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, filling themselves with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinks far more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel* of *God* refused the sacrifice which *Manassah* would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore those that profess divination by the helpe of *Angels*, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are Devils who accept thereof, and not good *Angels*, who receive worship that is proper to *God*.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull reares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods; by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas evertit: Whom no force could over-master, Voluptuosity overthrew.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Israel* from the oppression of the *Philistims*; though in some sort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in harvest time, and given them a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did *Israel* feare the *Philistims*, as they assembled 3000. men out of *Juda*, to besiege *Samson*, in the rock or mountain of *Etam*, using these words: Knowest not thou that the *Philistims* are rulers over us? &c. After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philistims*, for feare of their revenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but he gave them another overthrow, and slew 1000. with the jawbone of an Asse.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, he was content to end his owne life, to be avenged of his enemies, when hee pulled downe the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truly said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sepe lesa vertitur in furor*; *Patience often wounded is converted into furie*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

§. II.

Of *Eli*, and of the *Arke* taken; and of *Dagons* fall, and the sending back of the *Arke*.

THE Storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, & prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased *God* to call the *Israelites* under the swords of the *Philistims*; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sons of *Eli* being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stock of *Ithamar* the son of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successively in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the first, *Eleazar* the second, *Phinees* the son of *Eleazar* the third, *Abisue* the son of *Phinees* the fourth, his son *Bocci* the fifth, &c. the son of *Bocci* the sixth, and then *Eli*, as *Josaphus* and *Lyranus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon*, who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadoch* and *Achimeas* and their successours. The *Arke* of *God* which *Israel* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philistims*. For as *David* withnesseth, *God greatly abhorred Israel*, so that he forsake the habitation of *Shilo*: even the *Tabernacle* where hee dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivity, &c.

Now as it pleased *God* at this time, that the *Arke* whereby himselfe was represented should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the *Chaldeans* to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the Romans to overthrow the second Temple; and the Turks to overthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the *Israelites* put more confidence in the

2 Sam. 15.

Now while the *Philistims* triumphed after this victorie, God strooke them with the grievous disease of the *Hemorrhoides*, of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written, that the *Lord* de^{stroyed} *them*. It was therefore by generall consent ordered, that the Arke should be removed from *Astus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philistims*; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. For the hand of the *Lord* was against this *City* with a very great de^{struction}, and he smote the men of the *City* both small and great, &c. And being not yet satisfied, they of *Gath* sent the Arke to *Ebron* or *Accaron*, a third *City* of the *Philistims*: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be slain thereby; For there was a de^{struction} and death brought on all the *City*. In the end, by the advice of their Priests, the Princes of the *Philistims* did not onely resolve to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts unto the *God* of *Israel*, remembering the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of *God* from their inheritance, and from his le^{gacy}, by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the *God* of *Israel* to be almighty, and that their owne Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a fin offering,

2 Sam.5.9.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the
 writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, & yet did
Moses account himselfe such a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will*
raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto mee, &c. But hee is distinguished from those that
 preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *beforetime in Israel, when a man went to seek an*

2 Sam 6. &
1 Chron. 12.
See in this
book, c. 12. §. 1.
in the margin.

Which Region
was called
Ephrata, as ap-
peareth, *Jud. 12.*
5. whence for
distinction we
read *Ruth 1. 2.*
Ephratai is *Beth-*
lehem *fenuda*, the
town *Ephra-*
ta which is
Bethlehem in *Ju-*
da, *Gen. 35. 19.*
from the region
of *Ephrata*,
which is in
Mount *Ephraim*,
whence *Psal.*
132. 6. Ephra-
ta is put
for *Silo*, which
was in the Tribe
of *Ephraim*.
Ver. 15.
I Sam. 1.

1 Sam. 13.
See in this
book, c. 12. §. 1.

answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us go to the Seer: for hee that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; yet in the time of Eli; there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether withdrawn his grace from Israel: but as the Chaldean Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before Samuels time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein Samuel judg'd were *Matpha* or *Mitpha*, seated on a hill in Benjamin neere *Juda*: also *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

* Plutarch reports of Numa the second King of Rome, that when as he was sacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing dismayed, answered, &c. go against sacrifice. 1 Sam. 2. 10.

The *Philistims* taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of Warre at *Mitpha* in the beginning of Samuels government, gathered their Armie, and marched towards to the Citie: at whose approach the *Israelites* stricken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and servitude, besought Samuel to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the *Philistims* were in view. But God being moved with Samuels prayers (as he was by those of Moses, when *Israel* fought against the *Amalekites* at their first entrance into *Arabia*;) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beat downe the Armie of the *Philistims*, according to the prophesie of *Hanna*, Samuels Mother, *The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall he thunder upon them, &c.* Josephus affirms, that a part of the *Philistims* were swallowed with an earthquake: and that Samuel himselfe led the *Israelites* in the prosecution of their victorie. After which Samuel erected a Monument in memorie of this happy success, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which Josephus called *Lapidem fortis*: *Samuel, Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victorie, the *Israelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lost, and held long in the possession of the *Philistims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the *Israelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that they might not be assaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philistims* towards the West and Sea-coast, the *Canaanites* toward the North and East, and the *Idumites* on the South. The estate being thus settled, Samuel for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turns, as hath bene elsewhere said.

CHAP. XVI. OF SAUL.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.

BUT whenage now began to over-take Samuel, and that hee was not able to undergoe the burthen of so careful a government, hee put off from himselfe the weight of the affaires on his sonnes, *Iud* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beersheba*, a Citie, the very utmost towards the South of *Judaea*. And as the place was inconvenient and farre away, so were themselves no lesse removed from the justice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of covetousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain; to recover which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Justice and Judgement to the best Chapman. Which when the Elders of *Israel* observed, and saw that Samuel as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discern the errors of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre, and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable success which followed the rule of Eli his sons, when those of Samuel by their first blossomes promised to yeeld fruit no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they so much revered, but by the choyce of a King.

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from God: which surely he did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed was not intolerable, but such as hath bene borne, and is so still by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know, that the King will use their sonnes in his owne service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: so are likewise the offices of women-servants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatened, *He will take your Feeldes and your Vineyards, and your best Olivetrees, and give them to his servants*; with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination confute this Text farre otherwise, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Sovereigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God fore-sheweth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings; as many wives, covetousnesse, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to raigne over *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learn to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them: that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes*. But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which is just and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayst live*. Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of *Israel*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sonnes: and againe, This shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne over you. God thereby fore-shewing what power, severed from pietie (because it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in *Achab*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should be judged with righteous judgement*. Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was falsely accused, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of *Israel*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* testifieth of himselfe: *Posuisti me in caput gentium*: For this of *S. Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata equitas, non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio: Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie & dissimulation*. Such in effect is their disputation, who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Only thus much I will say, That if practice doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, even the best Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoever they pleased in the

Gen. 49.
Gen. 17.
Gen. 17.

the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes and of their owne brethren to be slaine without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, thretho to be slaine without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *David* confessed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Isaiah* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receive this change of government; it was not only fore-told by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture: *The Septuagint* *shall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing: For it was not only assured that his issues should in number equall the starres in heaven, but that Kings should proceed of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the pattern of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Universall; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath beene by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath observed what civill warre *Israel* had: what outrageous slaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servitude they lived for many yeares: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrey. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*, the *Philistines* the Sea-coasts; and the *Jebusites* *Hierusalem* it selfe, till *David*'s time: all which that King did not only conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the *Israelites* were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to live under a Monarch, or whether by this means they sought to be cleared from the finnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the persuasions and threats which *Samuel* used, insisting upon this point, that they would have a King, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, he sent every man to his owne Citie and abiding.

1 Sam. 8.

§. II. Of the election of Saul.

After that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, he forbore the election of a King, till such time as hee was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to anoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feast for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also having wandred divers dayes to seeke his fathers Asses, at length, by the advice of his servant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which journey it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Ass and not a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheepe of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of *David* the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts; and changed his sheephooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of *Juda* and *Israel*. So *John* and *James* were taken from cutting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignity that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours doe; but permanent and everlasting in Gods everlasting kingdom.

1 Sam. 16.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, hee prepared a banquet for the King, whom hee expected and stayed his arrivall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of, that hee should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Israel*, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the Seer dwelt; *Samuel* answered, that himselfe was the man hee sought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the kingdom, and of Gods

Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following anointed him King of *Israel*.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should encounter him by *Rabbi*'s Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beasts, to doubt the loss of his son: that he should then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a companie of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophesie with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most revered number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings; and wrought miracles of which number were *Moses*, *Josua*, *Samuel*, & after them *Gad*, *Nathan*, *Abias*, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, *Esaie*, *Jeremie*, *Chryso*, *Isidore*, and the rest; for these Prophets, saith *S. Chrysostome*, *Omnia a temporis percurrunt, praeclerita, praesentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom *S. Paul* speaketh, *1 Cor. 14. 14.* who enriched with spirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At *Mizpah* *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had past betwene him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveale it, till he were confirmed by general consent. When the Tribes were assembled at *Mizpah*, the general opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimbi* thinks by the answer of **Urim* and **Thummin*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mysterie upon his breast when he asked counsell of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used among the *Jewes*, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose garments the *Jewes* also cast lots. *Cicero*, *Plantus*, *Paulinus*, and others, have remembered divers sorts of lots, used by the *Romanes*, *Grecians*, and other Nations: as in the division of Divisorie; the third, Divinatorie; and unto one of these three all may be reduced: all which kinds, howsoever they may seem chancefull, are yet ordered & directed by God: as in the *Proverbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord*. And in like sort fell the kingdom of *Israel* on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himselfe in modestie, as both *Josephus* confutes it, and as it may be gathered by his former answers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* enlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the chosen king of *Israel*, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offering him presents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to avoyd sedition, tooke no notice.

§. III. Of the establishing of Saul by his first victory.

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdom, but that he received knowledge that *Nahab* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to besiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation since the great overthrow given them by *Jephtha*, never durst attempt any thing upon the *Israelites*, till the beginning of *Saul*'s rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwayes attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the *Amorites*, and then *Israel* dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in *Jephtha*'s time; yet they never perswaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the *Israelites* that did not willingly submit themselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembered that the *Philistines* had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had used

*The *Urim* and *Thummin* in the ornaments of the High Priest, were inserted within the decorative, which therefore was a duplication of the High Priest's place in the peccatorial over against the heart of the High Priest: it is plain that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the artificers. See *Exod. 38. 1. Cfr. de divin.*

1 Sam. 8.

Jud. 20.

used great care and policie that they should have no Smithes to make them swords or spears: neither was it long before, that of the *Benjaminsites*, and places adjoining, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, even occasion it self invited them to enlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neereſt. Besides, it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened against *Jabes Gilead*, in respect of their weakness: since the *Israelites* destroyed a great part of them, for not joyning with them against the *Benjaminsites*: at which time they did not only slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjaminsites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himself with the opinion, that *Israel*, having for long time been disarmed by the *Philistims*, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ransom themselves, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be utterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath beene spoken: *Saul*, both to value himself in his first yeares reigne, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjaminsites*, gave order to assemble the forces of *Israel*, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers over all the coasts, protesting thus: *That whoſoever came not forth after Saul and after Samuel, ſo ſhould his Oxen be ſerved* threatening the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven dayes had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the *Gileadites* had obtained the respice of these seven dayes to give *Nabab* the *Ammonite* answer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from *Israel*, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezer*, neere *Jordan*, that hee might readily passe the river; which done, he might in one day with a speedie march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*.

1 Sam. 11. 8.

The Armie by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirtie thousand, he returned an answer to those of *Jabes*, that they should assure themselves of succour by the next day at noon. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the armie of *Nabab* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might set on them on all sides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the sword untill the heate of the day, and the wearineſſe of *Sauls* troope enforced them to give over the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of *Jabes* promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe, the people were so farre in love with their new King, that they would have slain all those *Israelites* that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne down.

1 Sam. 11. 10.

1 Sam. 11. 11.

After the Armie removed, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now at third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed King: and here *Samuel* used an exhortation to all the Assemblies, containing precepts, and a rehearsal of his owne Justice, during the beginning of his government to that day. After *Saul* had now reigned one year before he was established in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he strengthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his sonne at *Gibeab*, the Citie of his nativitie: the rest he kept about his owne person in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Beihel*.

§. IIII.

Of *Sauls* disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the *Philistims* and *Amalekites*, which caused his finall rejection.

Jonathan with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of *Philistims*: the same, as some thinke, which *Saul* past by; when he came from *Rama*, when he was first anointed by *Samuel*, which

which they thinke to have beene *Cariath-jearim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a Garrison. 1. Sam. 10. is called the hill of God, which they understand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* understands this Garrison to have beene at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* neere *Gibba*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Israel*: & now being greatly enraged by this surprize, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, & fixe thousand Horse, wherewith they invaded *Judea*, and incamped at *Maclmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hierusalem*, and in the middest of the Land betwene the Sea and *Jordan*. With this suddain invasion the *Israelites* were stricken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselves in the caves of the mountaines; others fledde over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not farre from the passage of *Josua* when he led *Israel* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the coming of *Samuel* seven dayes: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1. Sam. 13. 9.) to exercise the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the Ecclesiasticall Lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word, *obstulit*, in this place, by *obstulit per Sacerdotem*, and so make the sinne of *Saul* not to have beene any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandement, in not staying according to the appointment, 1. Sam. 10. 8. secondly a difference or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoever was his sinne, notwithstanding his excuses, hee was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in termes unfitting his estate, had not extraordinary warrant beene given to *Samuel* so to doe, from God himselfe: at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should bee conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his posteritie.

1 Sam. 13. 5.

1 Sam. c. 13.

Veise 14.

1 Sam. 13. 19.

1 Sam. 13. 21.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeab*, where *Saul*, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but *Saul* and his sonne *Jonathan* onely. For the *Philistims* had not left them any Smith in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to *Saul*, came hastily, and left such weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should bee able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirtie thousand men, if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themselves withall, save onely in the hand of *Saul* & *Jonathan* his sonne. But howsoever, all the rest of the people were formerly disarmed by the *Philistims*, & all those craftsmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Israelites* only files to sharpen and amend such stuffe as served for the Plough, & for nought else: yet that they had some kind of armes, it is manifest, or else they durst not have attempted upon the *Philistims* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but onely that there was not any found among those 600. souldiers which stayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had sharply reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forooke him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie souldiers, & of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were fledde from him before *Samuel* arrived.

With this small troope he held himselfe to his owne citie of *Gibeab*, as a place of more strength, & better assured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the *Philistims* should thus disarm the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoever in the time of *Samuel* much had beene done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from Heaven: and when these craftsmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no marvell if they could not in a short peace under *Samuel* be replanted againe. For this tyrannie of the *Philistims* to bee understood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, seemed to have reduced unto the *Philistims* remembrance their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel* 3, so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertooke, by turnes all his bordering enemies, namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, & the *Arabians* of *Zobab*, against all which he prevailed. Hethen assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commendement of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Azazel*, wafting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petraea*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Sbur*, which bordereth *Aegypt*, in which warre heooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Aegypt* in *Moses* time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of *Agag*, but reserving the best of the beafts and spoile of the Countrey, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that God would cast him from his royall estate, to which he was raised when he was of babe condition, and, as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of God by *Samuel*, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not bee ignorant how severely it pleased God to joyne up the *Israelites* to revenge themselves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites* should put out the remembrance of *Amalec* from under heaven. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* used against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were over-wearied, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to bee revenged on him, and his Nation above 400. yeeres afterwarde, and now hee was to pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers borrowed from the

The *Philistines* having well considered (as it seems) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilst they had fitten fill & forborn to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new tryall of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Israel*, might be repaid with advantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Soldiers, and all warlike provisions, the *Philistines* had so reason to thinke themselves equal, if not superiour to *Israel*. The successe of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisdom, impute them to second causes; as to attempt happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Armie, possessed with needlesse feare, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mulstered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neare to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joining in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the Valley that lay betweene their Camps. Just causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the *Philistines*, whose late attempts had bin confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they fought to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroke from heaven were to be feared. *Goliath* of *Gath*, a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertooke to defete the whole Host of *Israel*, provoking them with despihtfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as overcome in grosse, and become vassall unto the other. This gave occasion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had anointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe

to encounter the great strength of *Goliath*, untill *David* (sent by his father on an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes, offensive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Gyaunt, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Hereupon the Philistims, who should have yielded themselves as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their owne side propounded, fled without stay; and were purged and slaughtered even to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their Townes were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of Israel. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, hee then became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Abimelech* fedde *David* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his fedde *Abimelech* taken from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite* *Dag* murdered his owne conquest, which from *Goliath*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite* *Dag* murdered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also hee destroyed the Citie, and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Ox and Ass, and sheepe. And he that had compasion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was attentive to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattell, contrary to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*; had not now any mercie in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of Israel. Yea, he should have slaine his owne sonne *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *David*'s innocence; as also once before for tasting the honey, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelty are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former hee shewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promised him; and againe in taking her away from him to whom hee had given her; also in that when as *David* had twice spared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errors, yet he sought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the Witch of Endor, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from God, he had bin alwaies victorious; from the Oracle of the Divel this successe followed, that both him selfe, and his three sons, with his nearest & faithfull servants, were all slaughtered by the Philistims: his bodie with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) hung over the walles of Bethsan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of *Jabes* stolne their carcases thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed Israel, together with *Samuel*, 40. yeares, & by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeares, according to *Cedemur*, *Theophilus* and *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written, that *Samuel* died; and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a faire Entrance to all those victories which *David* afterward obtained ; for he had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations ; cruelt the Syrians, and their adherents; broken the strength of the Amalekites; and greatly waisted the power and pride of the Philistims.

§. VI.

Of such as lived with Samuel and Saul; of Hellen and Hercules, and of their issues; upon occasion of the Dores, with the Heraclidæ, entering Peloponnesus about this time.

IN the second yeare of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *David* borne : after *Adonias*, later, and in the ninth yeare : after *Busting* in the tenth. For *David*, faith hee, was thirtie yeares old when hee began to reigne : whence it followeth, that hee was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeares, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh yeare of *Samuel*, *Aeneas Silvius* the sonne of *Posthumus* beganne his reigne over the Latines in Alba, who governed that State one and thirtie yeares. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from

from *Aeneas*, and four King of *Alba*, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilus* sat in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire forty years. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponessus*, and at once with the *Heracidae*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possess a great part thereof 328 years before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *Æolians*, *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes* of *Hellen* the Sonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrey of *Phthia* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants; neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many *Colonies*, and sundry great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrey under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every severall Nation after some one of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had raigned over it. And because this is the farthest antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amiss to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

Jupiter (as the Poets fable) was the son of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents had in the Greeke tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

20 *Japetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read
Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*; *Pyrha*; *Deucalion*: & his wife *Pyrha*
reigned in *Thessalie*, which was then called *Pyrha* (as *Cretenſis* *Berſianus* affirmeth) *Pyrha*
the Queene. In *Deucalions* time was that great flood, of which we have ſpoken elſe-
where. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whole ſonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Eolus*: of *Dorus*
and *Eolus*, the *Dores* and *Eolians* had name. The *Eoles* inhabited *Boeotia*. The *Dores*
having firſt inhabited ſundrie parts of *Thessalie*, did afterward ſear themſelves about *Par-*
naſſus, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldeſt
ſonne of *Hellen*, being baniſhed by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his
owne uſe ſome part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the
30 Daughter of King *Erichonius*, he begat on her two ſonnes, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe
two, *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fledde into *Pelopon-neſus*: and ſetting
himſelfe in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as ſome write) he after-
wards departed; and levying an Armie, recovered the Kingdome of his Grandfather in
Thessalie.

Ion being General for the Athenians when Eumolpus the Thracian invaded Attica, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby fuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to some occupation, or good course of life. Whenthe people multiplied, he planted Colonies in Sycionia, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialia*: In which Countie *Salutius* then reigning, thought it safer to give his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his Wives name in *Ægialia*, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave ro that Land denomination. But in after times the *Dores* affisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponnesus*, and overcoming the *Achaens*, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achai* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achai* driven to seek a new feat, came unto the *Tones*, desiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and allgedd in vainethat *Ion* and *Achaens* had beene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenus*, the son of *Orestes* in that warre.

Thus were the *Ionæ* driven out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they failed into *Asia*, and peopled the Western coast thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at least without any universal or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Ionæ* into *Asia* hath bene mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. years after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. years after the descent of the *Heracleidæ* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heracleidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdom about 700. years. Of their Father

Hercules many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which some are like to have beene true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greeks* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to have performed these great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean* Lyon: secondly, he slew the serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very swift Hare: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which haunted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia*: the fifth was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxen-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: the sixth was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: the seventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: the eighth was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: the three last were, to fetch *Gerions* Beeves from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Heperides*; and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both over-long to bee here set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For some by *Hercules* understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sunne*, and his travailes to bee the twelve signes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihoode, than the fables: that hee tooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *Oebolia*, and other Townes, being assited by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him. Also that hee slew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His travailes through most part of the world, are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hercules Libyensis*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death, no citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the verue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King *Eurystheus*. This *Eurystheus* was Sonne of *Sthenelus*, and grand-child of *Perseus*; hee reigned in *Mycene*, the mightiest City then in *Greece*. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murder, which in his madness he had committed upon his own children; but as others say, because he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for employing the strength of *Hercules* to his good purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best Writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great jealousy by *Eurystheus* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous services, wherein hee was employed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all *Greece*; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threescore Children. These Children *Eurystheus* would faine have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Thracina*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Eurystheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountered *Eurystheus*. *Iolans* the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assited him in many of his travels, was captaine of the *Heracleida*. It is said of him, that being dead hee obtained leave of *Pluto* to live againe till hee might revenge the injuries done by *Eurystheus*: whom when he had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there along time forgotten: he came againe into *Greece* to assit his cousins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* understood that *Eurystheus* was slaine, they tooke *Atræus* the Sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Against him the *Heracleida* marched under *Hyllus*, the sonne of *Hercules*. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echeneus* King of the *Tegeata*, a people of *Arcadia*, who assited *Atræus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heracleida* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred years. In that combat *Hyllus* was slaine, and the *Heracleida* compelled to forebare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Aristodemus* (as the best authority doth shew, though some have said that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Doræ*, whom

whom they planted in that country, as is before shewed, having expelled the *Achei*, over whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Eurystheus* foure generations.

§. VII.

Of *Homer* and *Hesiod*, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.

About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Maæones*, descended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have beene long after these times, rashly framing his *Æra* according to *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment of *temporibus*; and makes seven more of this name to have flourished in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, spring the diversitie of opinions, both of the time and of the native Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blinde men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe *homer*: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* lived. So also *Anulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oration ad gentes. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flourished 950. years before the Consulship of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth up in the worlds year 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. years: and about 350. years before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flourished about the time of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much ancients. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers consideration, that by this one instance hee may ghesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errors in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diversitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates the Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. years after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heracleida* returned unto *Peloponnesus*: and * *Eratostenes* after *Troy* 100. years. *Theopompus* 100. years after the armie of *Greece*, failed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to raigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. years after *Rome* was built) and *Sofisibius* saith, that he was 90. years before the first *Olympiad*: which hee seeks to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*; *Philochoerus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the searing of the Colonies in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirmes that he lived while *Agessilus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young years, about 100. years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. years after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* flourishing 622. years before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. years after the *Trojan* war. *Eusebius* seems to make him to have beene about the time of *Josias* King of *Juda*, 124. years before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronologie* hee notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his *Evangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citheth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greece* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Pheonius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Museus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Anulus Gellius* reports that *Philochoerus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Historian, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he findes that they lived together some certaine years, where-in hee confirms himselfe by an *Epigram*, written upon a *Trevir*, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. years before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about 140. years after the fall of *Troy*. *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. years after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acassus* the sonne of *Pelias*, King of

Funct. Chron. fol. 1. col. d.
a This Author secut with *Berosus* and others, first at *Babilon* and after with *Ptolemaeus* his Comment at *Antiochia*, in *Asia* *fol. 147.*
b *Nat. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 12.*
c *Idem. lib. 7. cap. 11.*

* As both *Cle. Alexand.* and *Tatian.* report his opinion re-
rum *Phil. 43.*
Ref. in *discep.*
porum *Phil. 43.*
com. in *Archilog.*

Her. in vita Hæ.

Nat. Antic. lib. 3.
Var. de imag. lib. 1.
Nep. in Chron.
Call. lib. 1. annal.
a This number *Mercator* corrects and reads 240. for it.

b *Euthym. in Chr. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*
of

of *Thessaly*. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liv'd; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty and disagreement of Historians, as well in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For, the curiositie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the inquisition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Mēin*, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In designation whereof *Lucian* faining himselfe to have beene in Hell, and to have spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherisobris* was his successeur, who preceded *Naphres*, father in law to *Salomon*.

Ends & Coss.
In Clere.

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time, according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amalekites* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Asia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And besides the overthrow of that famous state of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeares before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not only by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung up somewhat nearly together, sixe Kingdomes into greatneesse, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of *Greece*, those of *Lacedamon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achai*. In *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Soba*, and *Damascus*, the *Adads* made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Israel* in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* having now altered the forme of government, began to flourish under Kings, of which *David*, in a few yeares, became master of all those neighbouring nations, who by entrenchance of times had subjected the *Judeans*, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a most abject and grievous slavery: to wit, the *Edumans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Iturians*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistines*, *Jebusites*, *Geshurites*, *Machabites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Sovereigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of David.

§. I.

Of Dauids estate in the time of Saul.

He hazards which *David* ranne into while he was yet onely designed King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliath* in the view of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Jonathan* the sonne of *Saul*, that hee loved him as his owne soule: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perswade his sonne that *David* would assuredly be the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cause; *Jonathan* could never bee perswaded, never forc't, nor ever wearied from the care of *Dauids* life, and well doing. It was not long after this signall act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his household servant, and his Esquire, or Armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evill spirit, was advised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him upon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that hee might finde ease; which came to passe accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpose, and began to favour him, giving him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the jealous Tyrant soone waxed wearie of his good affection, and sought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved onely through envie of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the midst of his raving fit, at which time he threw a speare at *David* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him ease.

Censorinus remembreth one *Aesclepius* a Physician, who practised the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Musick: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kinde of harmony, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of *Saul* came from the cause of causes;

and was thereby incurable, howsoever it sometimes left him, and yeelded unto that Musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto *David* the Command over 1000. souldiers to confront the *Philistines* withall. For he durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, hee promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his younger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistines*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philistines* would take *Dauids* head, than see their foreskinnes. This hope failing, when as now *Dauids* victories begat new feares and jealousies in *Saul*, hee practised with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murder him in his owne house, but *Michol* his wife delivered him. So *David* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himselfe, he was forc't to counterfeite both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistines*, he converted himselfe in the Cave of *Achis*, and after conveying such of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him, into *Mobab*, he hid himselfe in the desert of *Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hills of *Engaddi*, where hee cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the desert of *Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which hee repaired to *Achis* of *Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his master *Saul* was knowne to persecute him.

Of *Achis* *David* obtained * *Siglag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade *Judaea*: but he bent his forces another way, and strooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of *Israel*, letting none live to complaine upon him. *Achis* supposing that *David* had drawne blood of his owne Nation, thought him selfe assured of him: and therefore preparing to invade *Israel*, summoneth *David* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himselfe to *Siglag*. At his return he found the towne burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and assurance to recover all againe: which hee did.

This armie of the *Philistines* commanded by *Achis*, encountered *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes, with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amalek*, by a man of the same Nation, who avowed (though falsly) that himselfe at *Sauls* request had slaine him. *David*, because he had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to bee slaine at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that that every man ought to be beleaved of himselfe to his owne prejudice. For it is held in the law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscens*. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unlessse some other proofe informe the conscience of the Judge. For a man may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Judge by examination may know to bee impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodia reorum l. si confessor, & in cap de penis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Gloss reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confitetur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in judgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth persevere in his confession, it is enough*. That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him being a King, with whom in effect the strength of *Israel* also fell, could not but stirre up sorrow, and move compassion in the heart of *David*.

The victorie which the *Philistines* had gotten, was so great, that some Townes of the *Israelites*, even beyond the river of *Jordan*, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left unto the enemy, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seem strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the *Philistines*, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seeke to make the Conquest entire.

Most

* It seemeth that *Simon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is said in the 1 of *Sams* c. 27. v. 6. therefore *Siglag* pertained unto the King of *Juda* unto this day.

2. *Sams* x.

In F. de quest. lxi.

Most like it seemes, that the civill warre immediately breaking out between *David* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an easie victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, left by so doing they should enforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which means both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Davids reigne, and the warre made by Abner for Isboseth.

After the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, sought to advance *Isboseth* (or *Jebus*, according to *Josephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Mephiboseth* the first son of *Jonathan* lived. Against this *Abner* and *Isboseth*, *David* made a defensive warre, till *Abner* past *Jordan*, and entered the border of *Juda*; at which time he sent *Joab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboseth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountered each other nere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combate betweene the *Lacedemonians* and the *Argives*, remembered by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were only left unslaine. The like tryall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliath* the *Philistin* made, whom *David* slew: a custome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like tryall in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this warre of *David* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whose force and valour was so equall, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrell staid not here; for the Army of *Juda* prest *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundred and sixty men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Asahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turne upon him, wounded him to death with the stroke of his speare. For though *Asahel* were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde *Roe*, and, as *Josephus* reporteth, contended not only with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame if hee could have mastered *Abner* (who, as *Asahel* perswaded himselfe, had by being overthrowne, and flying away, lost his courage) yet here it fell out true, That the race is not to the swift.

That this civill warre lasted two yeares, we finde it written in the second of *Samuel*, the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention durd longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceive that *Isboseth* had then reigned two yeares, when this was written, the Warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew jealousie betweene him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murder of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner slaine by Joab, and of Isboseth by Rechab and Baanah.

A*Abner*, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *David*s Favour, and in the commandement of his forces; by which he was growne so powerfull, as *David* forbore to call him to account: for thus much he confesseth of himselfe; *I am this day weak, and these men, the sons of Zerviah, be too hard for me*. In this sort *David* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of *Joab*, hee followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the bloud fall on the head of Joab, and on all his fathers house: and let them*

be subject to ulcers, to the leprosie, to lameness, to the sword, and to povertie, &c. For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murder committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *David*s estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *David* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to give them great respect, as hath bene already shewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the armie of *Juda*, and thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire; if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to *David* in kindred, and had bene partaker of all his adversitie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefites, be made his partner. Indee hee was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that hee afterward slew *Amasa* his owne kinsman and the Kings, upon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdain to see him joyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of *Juda*; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour; and such a one as had slaine his brother, and bene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoever *Joab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *David* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the oversight by which he might seeme to have perished, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, But as a man fallen before wicked men, so (said he) diddest thou fall. And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares, or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all under the Sunne are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever *Isboseth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, hee depaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were posselt with great feare: inasmuch as two of *Isboseth*s own Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murdered *Isboseth*, and presenting his head to *David*, received the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to the have slaine *Saul*. *Isboseth* being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where hee was he third and last time annointed by generall consent.

§. IV.

Of the flourishing time of Davids Kingdome, the taking of Jerusalem, with two over-thrones given to the Philistines, and the conduition of the Arke to the City of David.

When *David* was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprife was upon the *Jebusites*, who in derision of his force, & confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their walls with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which *David* soone after entered, all their other forces notwithstanding. For having mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *David*) hee became Lord of *Hiernsalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Josua*, and after them almost 400. yeares. There are who expound this place otherwise: Except thou take away the blind & the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebusites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angel, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to molest them. But for my selfe, I take it with *Josephus*, that they armed their walls with certaine impotent people at first, in scorn of *David*s attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeares against all the children of *Israel*, *Josua*, the Judges, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *David*.

When he had now posselt himselfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and received congratulatory Embassadors and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines, and married moe wives, by whom he had ten sons in *Jerusalem*, and by his former wives, he had fixe in *Hebron* where he reigned 7. yeares.

The *Philistines* hearing that *David* was now annointed King, as wel of *Juda* as of *Israel*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his fear. And being encountered by *David* at two severall times in the Valley of *Rephaim*, or of the *Giantes*, they were at both times overthrowne. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

Then *David* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the Arke of God from the house

house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the *Citie of David*; which businesse was interrupted by the death of *Uzzah* the sonne of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was shaken. But after three yeers it was with great solemnity brought into the *Citie* with fancies, musicke, dances, and all signes of joyfulness, in which *David* himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, & afterward told him in scorn, *That he was uncovered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his servants*; namely, that hee forgat his regall dignity both in apparell and behaviour; and mixed himselfe among the base multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and streetes: not that shee disliked *David's* behaviour (as I take it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but rather the abundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembering the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the sonne of *Ishai* had built this his greatnesse: together with the many new wives and concubines embraced since his possession of *Jerusalem*, made her breake out in those despitefull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

1 Chro. c. 9.

This done, *David* consulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or house of God: but was forbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed blood. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatened, not in vaine, that he would require the blood of man, at the hand of man and beast. The warres, in which *David* had made were just, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who thinke by blood-shed & terrour of their warres, to make themselves in greatnesse like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy & goodness, or seeke the blessednesse promised by our Saviour unto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleasing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *David's* founding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promise of the everlasting Throne, that should be established in his seede.

§. V.

The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

2 Sam. 8. v. 1.

Soone after this *David* overthrew the *Philistims*, which made them altogether powerlessse, and unable to make any invasion upon *Israel* in haste. For it is written, *Acceptis frantum Amgaris de manu Philistheorum*; which place our English Geneva converts in these words, And *David* tooke the bride of bondage out of the hand of the *Philistims*. The Latine of *Junius* giveth another and a better sense; for by that bride of *Amgar* was meant the strong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and so the *Geneva* hath in the marginall note. This Citie of *Gath* was the same which was afterward *Dio-Casarea*, set on the frontier of *Palestina* at the entrance into *Judea* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retreat in all their invasions; which being taken by *David* and demolished, there was left no such frontier towne of equal strength to the *Philistims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* stood, the Hebrews call *Amme*, whereof & of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his first book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plaine and confirmed in the first of *Chro.* the 18.

Junius in c. 8. of the 2. of Sam.

There was no nation bordering the *Jewes* that so greatly afflicted them as the *Philistims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kinde, but inforced them to come downe into their territorie, for all yron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the *Israelites* till this time of *David* were seldome free from paying tribute to the *Philistims*.

After this he gave them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came betweene. In the first of which he was endangered by *Ishbi-benob*, the head of whose speare weighed 300. shekles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abishai* succoured *David* & slew the *Philistim*, whereupon the

the Counsellors and Captaines of *David* (left the light of *Israel* might by his losse be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazard himselfe in any battaile. The second and third encounter and overthrow of the *Philistims* was at *Gob*, a place neere *Geth*, and the last at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better assured of the *Philistims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithstanding in his adversitie hee sought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not knowne.

The *Rabbines* saie that *Moab* slew those kinsfolkes of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Saul's* time; but questionlesse *David* well knew how that Nation had bin always enemies to *Israel*, and tooke all the occasions to vex them that were offered. And he also remembered that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded *Israel* not to seek the peace or prosperity of the *Moabites*; which *David* well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, hee led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the son of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

The warre which David made upon the Syrians.

It is written in the Text: *David smote also Hadadezer, &c. as hee went to recover his border at the river Euphrates*. Now whether the words (as hee went to recover his border) bee referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinks that the article (hee) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tobu* opprest by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any such enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in farre better case to have proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) hee had now left no enemy on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines upon him at his returne.

Again, seeing *David* was either to passe through a part of *Arabia* the desert, or by the plains of *Palmirena*, his army consisting of footmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultivated places, by which hee was to have marched before hee could have reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But wee finde that *David* returned to *Jerusalem*, after he had twice overthrowne the Syrian army; nor bending his course towards the river *Euphrates*, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King *David*, that was going to enlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of *Syria*, *Damascena*, & of *Damascus*, whereof that region is so called, hearing that *Adadezer* was overthrowne by the *Israelites*, fearing his own estate, & the losse of his own country which adjoined to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, sent for an Army of *Aramites* or *Syrians* to his succour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too soone for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This King of *Damascus*, *Josephus* (out of *Nicholus* an ancient Historian) calleth *Adad*, who was also of the same name and family as all those other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the *A Syrians*, as is shewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced *Damascus* under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in *Edom*: having also sackt the adjoining Cities of *Beath*, & *Berathi*, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which cities *Ptolomie* calleth *Berab*, *Taubai*; and *Berathi* be nameth *Berathena*, *Tobu* or *Tbi*, whose country of *Hamath* joyned to *Adadezer* (as in the description of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) sent his son *Joram* to congratulate this successe of *David*: partly because he had war with *Adadezer*, & partly because he feared *David* now victorious. He also presented *David* with vessels of gold, silver, and brasse; all which, together with the golden shields of the *Aramites*, and

the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his returne. *Iunius* translated the words (*Clypeos aureos*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold, but the bosses only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brasse in place of these of *Adadezer*, at such time as *Shicab* the Egyptian sackt the Temple of Jerusalem, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Adadezer* were golden shields.

2 Sam. 1.

This done, *David* sent Embassadors to *Hannu* King of the Ammonites, to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdom: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had been relieved by *Nahash*, the father of *Hannu*. But this Ammonite being ill advised, and over-jealous of his estate, used *David*: messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beards, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre upon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all theaydes purchased, could put off or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassalls of *Adadezer* twentie thousand, and of *Machab* and *Ishob* thirteene thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of silver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the Ammonites, were by *Joab* and his brother *Abisai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retreated into their Cities, the one holding themselves within the walles, the other in their desarts adjoining, till *Joab* was returned to Jerusalem.

Machab the North part of *Tracanis* remembered in *Deut. 3. 14.* *Ishob* or *Thob* a country neere *God* under the rocks of *Armon*. 2 Sam. 10.

Helam or *Chelem* which *Pipilony* collecteth *Armonia* neere the founts of *Euphrates*. 2 Sam. 10.

* See 2. 8. 5.

Adadezer hearing that *Joab* had dismissed his Armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent all the Companies that hee could levie out of *Mesopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of Israel, and marched towards the Syrian Armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia; to wit, at *Helam*, a place no lesse distant from *Damascus*, towards the North-east, than Jerusalem was towards the Southwest. Now *David* (speaking humbly) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the chiefest off journey that ever hee had) because hee was now Lord of *Damascus*, which lay in the midway. Hee also posselt himselfe of * *Thadmor* or *Palmyrena*, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this Citie was but one dayes journey from *Helam*, and the river *Euphrates*. So had hee two safe retreats, the one to *Thadmor*, and the next from thence to *Damascus*. In this encounter betwene *David* and the Syrians, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The *Chronicles* call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and so *Iunius* converts it, and so is it very probable. For the Armie of Israel consisting of footmen, could hardly have slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quiered their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbered at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that served in them, with the conductors, are included: so as there dyed of the Syrians in this warre against *David*, before hee forc'd them to tribute, 40000. footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggons, and besides all those that *Joab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites, before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Juda often: but the Kings of Israel they impoverished even to the last end of that State.

David having now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians, from the partie and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Joab* the Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and destroy their territorie, & to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelpia*, which after a while the Israelites mastered and posselt. The Kings Crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *David* let on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *David* stayed at Jerusalem following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbore the last assault, & entrance thereof, till his masters arrivall. To the people he used extreme rigour (if wee may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them hee rare with

rowes

rowes, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kills, in which he baked tyle and bricke.

S. VII.

Of Davids troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

But as victory begetteth securitie, and our present wordly felicity a forgetfulness of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giver of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise observation of his Lawes and Commandements. For having now no dangerous apparent enemy (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) hee began to bee advised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not only satisfied to take *Uriah*s wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but hee imbrodered his adultery with *Uriah*s slaughter, giving order to his trustie servant *Joab* to march him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gave an assault upon the suburbs of *Rabba*, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, hee was content that many others of his best servants and souldiers should perish together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which hee began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the rootes (as hee hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witness of *David*s own mouth against him, as *David* himselfe did against the Amalekite, which pretended to have slain *Saul*, hee had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death hee suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his owne error in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bereaver being Lord of many: Hee then vowed it to the living Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *David* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet hee delivered him Gods justice together with his mercy in the tennour following: *Now therefore the sword shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, & hast slain Uriah with the sword of the children of Ammon.* Soone after this, *David* lost the childe of adulterie which he begot on *Bethsheba*. Secondly, his own sonne *Amnon*, being in love with his halfe sister *Thamar*, by the advice of his cousin-german the sonne of *Shimeah* *David*s brother, posselt her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despitfull manner. Two years after which foule and incestuous act, *Abisalom* caused him to be murdered, at the feast of his sheepe-shearing: not per chance in revenge of *Thamar*s ravishment alone; but having it in his heart to usurpe the Kingdome, in which, because hee could not in any sort bee assured of *Ammon*, he thought his affaires greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice first made his owne brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the safeguard of *Adams* King of *Gessur*, neere *Damascus*, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abisalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *David* towards his sonne) was brought againe, first to the Kings favour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *David* his father, seeking by the pretence of common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win unto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatened by the Lord as a punishment of *David*s sinne.

The company which *Abisalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from Jerusalem to Hebron, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achisophel* repaired unto him, & many troups of people

2 Sam. 15.

2 Sam. 16.

2 Sam. 17.

2 Sam. c. 12. v. 1.

2 Sam. 17. 14.

2 Sam. 17. 23.

people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, & was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *David* doubting to be set upon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of *Jerusalem*, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surpris: but incamped in the fields and deserts with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests hee left in *Jerusalem* with the Arke of God, from whom hee desired to bee advertised of those things that chanced; to whom he directed *Hushai* his trustie friend, & servant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counsells of *Abshaloms* party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover unto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counsaillor, whose practices hee greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to betray his master *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *David*'s prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illightned) holding himselfe upon the advantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at *David*, and most despitfully cursed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forsooke *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Abshalom* being now possessor of *Jerusalem*, was advised by *Achitophel* to use his fathers concubines in some such publike place, as all *Israel* might assure themselves, that hee was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resolutely adhere to *Abshalom* and his cause, without feare of being given up upon a reconciliation betweene them. This salvage and impious (though crafty counsaile) *Achitophel* indeede urged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Abshalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: I will rise up evil against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and hee shall be with thy wives in the sight of the Sunne: in showe diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all *Israel*, and before the Sunne. Hee also gave advice to *Abshalom*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee employed at the instant for the surprizing of *David*, which had willingly beene imbraced by *Abshalom*, had not *Hushai David*'s faithfull servant given counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading *Abshalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of *Israel* to pursue his father, than by such a troope, which *David*'s valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Abshalom*, and advantage of time gained by *David*, was indeede, after God, the losse of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forsooke both the party and the care of *Abshalom*, and of his owne life.

David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past *Jordan*, possessing himself of *Mahanaim* in the Tribe of *Gad*: the same wherein *Mephibosheth* himselfe in the war against *David* after *Saul*'s death feared himselfe. To which place there repaired unto him *Shobi* the sonne of *Nabash* the Ammonite, whom *David* loved, the same which *Josephus* calleth *Shipbar*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and propable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hannum*, whom *David* for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after *Hannum*'s overthrow: in thankfulness whereof hee relieved *David* in this his extremity. There came also to *David*'s assistance *Machir of Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephibosheth*, and among others *Barzillai* the Gileadite, who willingly fed *David* and all his companie.

2 Sam. 18. 14.

In the meane time both the King and *Abshalom* prepared to fight; *Abshalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of *Israel*, the same place which *Joab* held with *David*, an office next the King himselfe, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in France. *David*, perswaded by his company, stayed in *Mahanaim*, & disposed the forces hee had to *Joab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of *Mahanaim*, that they should spare the life of *Abshalom*. But *Joab*, besides that hee was very cruell by nature, remembered that *Abshalom* had lately disposed of his government to *Amasa*, and therefore the victory being obtained, and newes brought him that *Abshalom* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when hee could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, hee himselfe with his owne servants dispatcht him.

It appeared also by the sequell that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the disposition of *Abshalom*, hee imbraced the present advantage offered. 2 Sam. 8.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *David*, hee mourned and forrowed, not only as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joyes, and seene every delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victorie, covered themselves also in the citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* presenting himselfe before *David*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the armie. For first, hee told him that hee had discountenanced his faithfull servants, who had that day preserved his life; inferring that nothing could bee more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge so great a love and constance in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolutely expose themselves to great perils for his sake: but on the contrarie, grieve and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abshalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, hee urged that it was generally beleev'd, that hee loved his enemies & hated his friends; and that hee witnessed by this his mourning, that hee had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull servants, but would more have joyed if they had all perished, and *Abshalom* lived, than in the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

Lastly, hee used this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatening, And that will bee worse unto thee than all the evil that fell on thee from thy youth hither to. By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raised *David* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the citie among the people, whom hee assured of his love and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the armie of *Abshalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Abshalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, hee might draw from him a great part of the strength of *Israel*, now under his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards *Jordan* homeward, where in his passage hee pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remission was but extemall, as appeared afterward. Hee also accepted of *Mephibosheth*'s excuse, whom *Ziba* had falsely accused and betrayed. 2 Sam. 19. 23.

Hee also intreated *Barzillai* the Gileadite, his late liberall Oast, to follow him to *Jerusalem*, that hee might reward his service done him; who excusing himselfe by his age, appointed his sonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

At *Gilgal* on this side *Jordan*, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in *David*, the Armie brake, and *David* returned to *Jerusalem*. But *Sheba* the son of *Bichri*, a Benjamite, of the faction of the house of *Saul*, finding some discontent among the *Israelites*, withdrew them from *David*, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but *Juda*, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. *David* employed his reconciled Captaine *Amasa*, to give him contentment, and to witness his trust, as also because hee conceived that *Amasa* had interest in those revolts of *Israel* more than *Joab* had. Hee received commandement from *David* to assemble the Armie within three dayes, which hee foreflowed: but being onward on his way, *Abishai*, *Joab*'s brother, was sent after him, with *David*'s guard and best Souldiers, whom also *Joab* accompanied: and overtaking *Amasa* neere *Gibeon*, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no lesse jealous of *Amasa* than he was of *Abner*, whom hee murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, hee pursued *Sheba*; and finding him inclosed in *Abel*, assaulted the citie with that furie, that the citizens by the perswasions of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off *Sheba* his head, and flung it to *Joab* over the walls: which done, hee retrained his Armie to *Jerusalem*, and commanded, as before, all the Host of *Israel*. 2 Sam. 20. 10. 2 Sam. 20. 12.

The next act of David, was the delivery of Sauls sons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, whom those citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers crueltye. David had knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeeres, came by reason of Saul and his house, to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore hee willingly yielded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himselfe, as also, if wee may judge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom he and his might, atwell in the present as in the future, bee greatly molested and endangered; only he spared Mephibosheth the sonne of Jonathan, both for the love he bare to his father, and by his oath and vow to God.

2 Sam. 21.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sonnes of Rispah, whom hee bore unto Saul, and the five sonnes of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites*: Junius calls this Michol the sister of her that was Davids wife, the whom Saul married to Phaltiel: but Michol here named, had Adriel to her husband; the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promised to David when hee slew Goliath in the valley of Raphaim: and because it is written that Michol loved David, which perchance Merab did not, whether David had any humane respect in the delivery of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now where the Geneva nameth Michol for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kined, as in the 19. verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of Goliath, *whose speare was weighie as a Weavers beame*, when as by the same eclipsis it must bee understood by the brother of Goliath; Goliath himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of David, leaving no head unto rebellion: so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forreine enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number & qualitye, that people of Israel is not knowne to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Capitaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Over these were sixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinary, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to have beene given upon meere consideration of their vertue. For Abisithai the brother of Joab, who in the warre against the Ammonites & Aramites was Lieuteneant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his nearnesse of blood unto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approved services. All these Coronels and Capitaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to have beene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readines for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required, into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, and beene hardened with his adversities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their severall Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of Saul; but these Capitaines and Coronels, (who with Joab, that was General of all the Kings forces, make up the number of 37.) were the speciall men of warre, and reckoned as Davids Worthies. The long reigne of David, as it is knowne to have consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be guessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we finde no where mentioned. For the sonnes of Zervia, who had beene too hard for David, were worne away, and only Joab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abisithai to stand by his side in his last extremity.

2 Sam. 23. 39.

By the actions forepassed in the time of David, it is gathered, that hee had reigned now 33. yeeres or thereabouts, when the posterity of Saul was rooted out, so that hee enjoyed about seven yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of Salomon in his fathers throne. In this time also David having established all things in Juda and Israel, and the borders thereof, he againe displeased God by numbering the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which hee employed Joab, with other Capitaines of his Armie, who as yet

nine moneths and twentie dayes travell, returned with the account & register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirtie thousand, besides Levi and Benjamin, whereof in Juda and the cities thereof five hundred thousand, and in Israel eight hundred thousand. 2 Sam. 24. 1 Chr. 21.

For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seven yeeres famine; 3. moneths warre, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three daies: David made choice to bow himselfe under the hand of God only, and left himselfe subject to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 700. thousand. And hereby hee hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reason, *For his mercies are great.* 2 Sam. 24.

6. VII.

of the last acts of David; Adonijahs faction; the revenge upon Joab and Shimei.

LASTly, when he grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet advised to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when hee was in a manner bed-ridden, Adonijah his eldest sonne (Ammon and Absalom being now dead) having drawn unto his partie that invincible, renowned and feared Joab, with Abiathar the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now living of Davids sonnes, and a man of goodly personage, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppose) hee presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when David had knowledge by Bersabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that Salomon her son should reigne after him (Nathan the Prophet affirming the same thing unto the King, and seconding her report of Adonijahs presumption) the King calling unto him Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, and Benajah the Capitaine of his guard, gave charge and commission to anoint Salomon, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe used to ride in his greatest state: which done, Salomon, attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choicest men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, shewed himselfe to the people. These tidings being reported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, David had remaining two especiall cares, whereof hee was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might bee disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all means to advance, and make the businesse publick. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of Israel, the Princes of the severall Tribes, all the Capitaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power; who did repaire unto Jerusalem. 1 Reg. 3. 1 Chr. 28. 19.

In this assembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Juda (as Jacob in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choise of him among all his fathers sonnes. In this manner he said that God himselfe had appointed Salomon by name to bee his successor: whereupon he earnestly charged both the people and his sonne to conform themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke, according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, hee exhorted all others to a voluntarie contribution. 1 Chr. 29.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that where as hee himselfe had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of silver, they added unto it seven thousand of gold, & ten thousand of silver, besides brasse, iron, and

and jewels, heartily rejoicing in the advancement of so religious a worke. This buisness being so well dispatched, a solemne feast with great sacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, and received fealtie of all the Princes & people of the Land, & of all the Princes his brethren, the sonnes of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus established King, his Father *David* finding himselfe even in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which himselfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprises, hee uttered these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, &c.* to the performance of which, *God* O fastened the succession, and prosperity of his issues. For this done (saith *God* himselfe) *Thou shalt not want one of thy posterity to sit upon the Throne of Israel.*

Secondly, hee advised him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had served *David* from the first assault of *Jerusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, saving that he fastened himselfe to *Adonijah* (his matter yet living) & thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as *God* hath never left cruelty unrevenge, so was it his will that *Joab* should drinke of the fame cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste, & that *Joab* suffer the same violence which himselfe had unjustly strooken others withall, *Qui gladio percussit, gladio peribit*: for he had bereaved *Abner* & *Amasa* of their lives, having against the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slaine in the time of warre, and could not avoid him: against the other but a meere jealousie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* assured himselfe that *Abner* & *Amasa* being dead, there was none left either to equal him or supplant him, yet *God* (desiring the policies of wicked men) raised up *Benajah* the sonne of *Jeboadab*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *David* giveth this cause to *Salomon* against *Joab*, that hee slue the Captaines of the hoste of *Israel*, and shed blood of battell in peace, and to this apparent & just cause, it is not improbable but that *David* remembered the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifest by the untimely setting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed against *David*, in which in these words hee put his sonne *Salomon* in minde; *Thou knowest also what* *Joab* the sonne of *Serviah* *did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Asaph*, contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words used to him when hee mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abshalon*; or whether it were the publishing of *David*'s letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their matters cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath overthrowne many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to *Salomon* to rid himself of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast stones at *David*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise *David* spared *Shimei* all the time himselfe lived, yet being dust and in the grave, he slew him by the hand of *Salomon* his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the seventh of England had his patterne, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eighth to execute *Pool* as sonne as himselfe was buried, having made promise to the King of Spaine when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while hee lived hee would never put him to death, nor suffer violent hands to bee laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Salomon* any such great profit or assurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, and *Resin* of *Damascus*, to vex him: who, as the Scriptures witness, were emboldened to enterprize upon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* slept with his fathers, and that *Joab* the Captaine of the Host was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in fortie yeares, to wit, in Hebron 7. yeares, and in *Jerusalem* three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces, hee so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, hee was said by *God* himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The Psalmes which hee wrote witness his pietie and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to

Paulinus

Paulinus: *David* *Simonides* *noſter*, *Pindarus*, & *Alcaeus*, *Flaccus*, *quoque* *Catullus*, & *Serenus*, *Christum* *lyra* *personat*, & *in decachordo* *Psalterio* *ab inferis* *fufcit* *refurgentem*; *David* (saith he) our *Simonides*, *Pindarus*, *Alcaeus*, *Horace*, *Catullus* and *Serenus*, be playeth *Christ* on his harpe, and one a ten stringed *Psalter* beeaſeth him up riſing from the dead. And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth *Christ* more lightſomly and lively than all the reſt.

The booke of the Psalmes, saith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and distinguished by *Ezechias*; but whether all the Psalmes were written by *David*, it is diversly disputed. For *Chanaſius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors answering the titles of the severall Psalmes, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the reſt hereafter named; and that only 73. Psalmes were composed by *David* himſelfe, namely, thoſe which are intituled *ipſius David*. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, eleven other on the ſonnes of *Korath*; and eleven are aſcribed to *Moses*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and ſo they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and *Septuagint* (three excepted) ſtile them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine Authors of theſe Psalmes which *David* wrote not, *Sixti*. *Senenſis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *David*'s ſingers) *Aſaph*, *Ethan*, *Ezechias*, *Eman*, *Ezra*, *Idithun*, and the three ſonnes of *Chore*. But *S. Chryſoſtome* makes *David* the ſole Author of all the Psalmes, & ſo doth *S. Auguſtine*, ſo reasoning in this manner: Although (saith hee) ſome there are that aſcribe thoſe Psalmes only to *David*, which are over-written *ipſius David*, and the reſt intituled *ipſi David*, to others; this opinion (saith he) *Vox Evangelica* *Salvatoris* *ipſus* *refuſatur*, *ubi* *ait* *quod* *ipſe* *David* *in ſpiritu* *Chriſtum* *dixerit* *eſſe* *ſuum* *Dominum*, *quoniam* *Psalmus* *109. ſic incipit*, *Dixit* *Dominus* *Dominio* *meo*, *Sede* *a* *dextris* *meis*, &c. The voyce of the Goſpell refutes this opinion, where it ſaith, that *David* himſelfe in the ſpirit called *Chriſt* his Lord; becauſe the 109. Palme begins thus: *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Laſtly, his teſtimonies are uſed both by *Chriſt* and the Apoſtles, and hee was as a patterne to all the Kings and Princes that ſucceeded him.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the firſt of *Chron.* 29. verſ. 19. For the ſeverall parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were as it ſeemes, written by theſe three holy men.

Conſtantine Manaffeſ hath an opinion, that the Trojans during the time of the ſiege fought for ſuccour from *David*, and that hee ſtayed neuter in that warre. But it ſeemeth that *Manaffeſ* did miſcaſt the time twixt *David* & the Trojan warre. For it is generally received that Troy fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samsun* Judges of *Iſrael*, about the worlds yeere 2848. and *David* died in the yeere 2991.

6. I X.

Of the treaſures of *David* and *Salomon*.

His treaſures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the firſt of *Chro.* verſ. 4. *nicles*; that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thouſand talents of gold; and a thouſand thouſand talents of ſilver, and of braſſe and yron paſſing all weight, which is more than any King in the world poſſeſſed beſides himſelfe, and his ſonnes, to whom hee left it. For it amounteth to three thouſand three hundred thirty & three cartload, & a third of a cartload of ſilver, allowing two thouſand weight of ſilver or fix hundred pound ſterling to every cartload, beſides threeſcore and ſeventene millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thouſand pound: a matter, but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleeſe. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appeare, ſeeing that the Judges had not any treaſure, nor any ſovereign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by ſuch voluntaries as the ſeverall tribes by turns gave them: ſeeing alſo that *Saul* who was of a meane parentage, & perpetually vexed and invaded by the Philiftines, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſſed by his enemies.

Therefore it were not amiſſe to conſider how *David* within the ſpace of not very many yeeres, might amaffe up ſuch mighty treaſures. For though paſſimony be it ſelfe a great

Perigint.
Hieropol. N.
Ch. Radz. Epist.

Monuments of these Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of *Uluka*) they remained within these thirty yeeres, and are like to remaine still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed upon them.

§. X.

Of the Philistims, whom David absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with David.

OF the Philistims, whose pride David was the first that absolutely mastered, in this conclusion of David's time somewhat heere may bee spoken.

They defended of *Caftion*, who, according to *Isidor* and *Josephus*, was one of the sonnes of *Misraim*, and was surnamed *Philistim*, as *Esaú* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob* *Israel*. There were of them five Cities or pettie principalities, namely, *Asdod*, *Gaza*, or *Azaph*, *Ascalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Caftion* was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the Canaanites and the Egyptians.

The first King of these Philistims, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife.

The second *Abimelech* lived at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumaea*; which *Abimelech* married *Isaac* his wife, as his father had done *Sara*.

After *Abimelech* the second, the Philistims Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *David's* time: perhaps the government was turned into *Aristocratie*. For they are afterwarde named Princes of the Philistims, howsoever *Achib* be named King of *Gath*, the same to whom *David* fled, and who againe gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Saul's* time.

After him we reade of another *Achib* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch backe his fugitive servant, what time the seeking of his servant was the losse of his life. *Jeremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palastin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The rest of the warres of the Philistims are remembred in the Catalogue of the Judges, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is said to have ruled that part of Italy fiftie yeeres. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontide*, without regall name governed *Athen* during their life.

The reasons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of sovereignty, but in honor of *Codrus* only. For when the *Grecians* of *Doria*, a region between *Phocis*, & the mountain of *Oeta*, fought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entered the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountered, was himselfe forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31. King of *Affrya*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. yeere of *David*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heracleide*, the sonne of *Evristhenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the second of the *Heracleide* in *Lacedaemon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his successours were called *Agide*, for many yeeres after. Hee restored the *Laconian*s to their former libertie: hee overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavery: whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helosi*.

In like sort from the *Sclavi* came the world *Slave*. For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Russia*, had seized upon the country of *Illyria*, & made it their owne by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that therupon they called themselves

by a new name, *Slaves*, which is in their language *gloriosus*. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northerne hardiness, and not spiced their wits) when they were trodden down, and made servants with their neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *slaves*, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and somewhat later, about the 23. yeere of *David*, and say, that *Acheftatus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*, *Euseb. in Chron.*

In the tenth yeere of *Acheftatus*, *Androclus* the third sonne of *Codrus*, assisted by the *Iones*, built *Ephesus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoining of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was slaine by the *Carians*, whose countrie he usurped. He was buried (saith *Pausanias*) in one of the gates of *Ephesus* called *Magnetis*, his armed Statua being set over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Ephesus* on the sea coast of *Asia* the lesse) he enlarged his Dominions upon the *Eoles*, which joyneth to *Ionis*; and that his posteritie governed the Cities of *Ephesus* and *Erythrae* by the name of *Bastide* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came thither out of *Peloponnesus*, I have *spoken already upon occasion of the return of the *Heracleide* into *Peloponnesus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achai*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Iones* succeeded that of the *Heracleide* 100. years.

The Citie of *Ephesus* became exceeding famous: first, for the Temple of *Diana* there, in built, which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, sustained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were most curiously graven, and all the rest of choyce marble polish'd, the worke being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of *Gnosus*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which *Timothy* was Bishop: to whom, and to the *Ephesians*, *Saint Paul* wrote his Epistles so intitled. The other Citie possesst by *Androclus* in *Bolis*, was also universally spoken of by reason of *Sibylla*, surnamed *Erythrae*: who lived 740. yeeres before Christ was born. *S. Augustine* avoweth that a Roman Proconsul shewed him in an ancient *Greek* copie certaine verses of this Prophete: which began (as *S. Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these words: *Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Salvator: Jesus Christ Son of God, the Saviour*.

About the time that *Joab* besieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Naphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the time that was father in law to *Salomon*, whose Epistles to *Salomon*, and his to *Naphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the Citie of *Magnesia* in *Asia* the lesse founded, the same which is seated upon the river *Maander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best horses of the lesse *Asia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

Et Magnetis equis, Minge gens cognita remis.

About the same time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumeans* of *Bolis*, saying, that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the citie. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous scholler of *Isocrates*. *Eusebius* and *Cassiodorus* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *David*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Mettimus* the son of *Baetor*, brother to *Jezabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Israel*; and between the death of *David*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 95. yeeres.

In this time also *Acastus* lived, the second of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a Magistracie of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Helians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Orseus*, possesst the Citie and Iland of *Thibes* about this time. In the 32. yeere of *David*, *Hiram* began to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Josephus*, who saith that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar error in *Josephus*, to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any account. For it is manifest, that *Hiram* sent messengers, and *Cedars* unto *David*, soone after his taking of *Jerusalem*, which was in the very beginning of *David's* reigne over *Israel*, when as yet hee had reigned onely seven yeeres in *Hebron* over the house of *Juda*. Wherefore it must needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30. years.

years before *Salomon*; unless more credit should be given to those Tyrian records which are cited by *Josephus*, than to the plain words of Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the same *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

CHAP. XVIII. OF SALOMON.

§. I.

Of the establishing of *Salomon*: of his birthright, and the cause of *Adonijah's* death, and of *Salomons* wisdom.

Salomon, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan* began to reign over *Juda* and *Israel*, in the year of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Jedidias*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, because the Lord loved him.

Hiram King of *Tyre*, after *Salomons* anoynting, dispatched Embassadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome between Princes very ancient. Whence we read that *David* did in like sort salute *Hiram* King of the Ammonites, after his obtaining the Kingdom.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reign were peaceable. For soone after *David's* death, he caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slaine by *Benasiab* the sonne of *Jehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adonijah's* desiring by *Bersheba*, that the young maide *Abisag* (which lay in *David's* bosome in his latter dayes, to keep him warme) might be given to him. Whatsoever he pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and sought the Kingdom contrary to the will of *David*, whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wife, and he that fees but the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: so it may seeme that to the quick-sighted wisdom of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijah's*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had bin Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wished *Abisalom* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but shut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it seemes was the depth of *Isobabers* quarrell against *Abner*, for having his fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David*: *I have given thee thy Masters house, and thy Masters wives*. And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had chosen *David* to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *David* in his latter dayes, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdom to *Salomon*. There may be divers further occasions; as either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *David's* last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the customes of the Jewes: yet the Kings of the Jewes were so absolute, as they did therein, & in all else, what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to use this paternal authority in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely of *Jacobs* disinheritance of *Ruben*, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joseph*: of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Bersheba* & *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirme, or that the refusal of the people had authority to frustrate the elder

elder brothers right to the Kingdom, it now here appeares in the stories of the Jewes. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at *Galgai*: that is, they acknowledged and established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse*.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himselfe also of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had advised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and because he had borne the Arke of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdom, he tooke the daughter of *Vaphres* King of Egypt to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* calls him. He offered a thousand sacrifices at *Gibeon*, where God appearing unto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands: *Salomon* chooseth Wisdom, which pleased God. And God said unto him, *Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy self, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words*: by which wee may informe our selves, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in respect of our selves, cannot but proceed of selfe-love, which is the root of all impiety: the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousnesse, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers slaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God; but because *Salomon* desired wisdom onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to give him withall that which he desired not. And I have also given thee (saith God) that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour. This gift of wisdom our Commentators stretch to almost all kinds of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture testifieth; though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* wisdom, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdom: whence, as it were for an example of his wisdom, the Scripture telleth how soone he judged the controversy between the two harlots.

§. II.

Of *Salomons* building and glorie.

Hee then entred into league with *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David*, that He called *Salomon* his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of *Israel*: so doth *Tostatus* give the force of a divine precept to these words, *Behold, a son is born unto thee; &c. He shall build an house for my Name*.

He began the worke of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at which time also he prepared his fleet at *Eziongaber* to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a worke. For that the Temple was in building while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the *Almaggin* trees brought from *Ophir*. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was given by God himself) many learned men have written; as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Buradus*, *Azerius*, *Vilalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand every month by course: he also used 80. thousand Mafons in the mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he selected out of the Profelites, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his worke; so as he paid and employed in all, one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the *Sidonians*; which were farre more

2 King 5.9.

1 King 5.11.

skilfull in hewing timber than the Israelites, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* caused his servants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and thence sent them in raffles to Joppe, or the next port to Jerusalem. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the over-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassalls of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of Egypt. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thousand measures of wheate, and twenty measures of pure oyle yearly. *Eusebius* out of *Eusepius* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left us a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Huram* and *Hiram*) King of Tyre in these words:

Rex Salomon Saroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phenicia regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater praecepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te scriberem praecepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King Salomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sydon, & Phenicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father David, the Kingdom: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send mee Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

To which the King Suron made this answer.

Suron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phenicia Rex, Salomoni Regi salutem. Lectis literis gratiū Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quantum scribis fabros, ministrōsq; ad condendum Templum esset tibi mittendum, misi ad te milia hominum octaginta, & Architectum Tyrum hominem ex matre Judaea, virum in rebus architectura mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut necessarii non egeant, & Temple Dei condido, ad nos redeant.

Suron of Tyre, Sydon and Phenicia King, to King Salomon greeting: When I read your letters, I gave God thanks who hath installed you in your fathers kingdom. And because you write that Carpenter and Workmen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I have sent you fourscore thousand men, and a Master builder, a Tyrian, borne of a Jewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessities be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.

Joseph. 1.3. c.2.

The Copies of these letters were extant in *Josephus* time, as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene (saith he) *Tam in nostris quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals*. But he delivereth them somewhat in different termes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But werethis intercoure betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eusepius* or *Josephus* set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

1 King 5. from the 1. v. to the 9.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is said to have written to *Vaphres* King of Egypt, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas some Commenters upon *Salomon*, find that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Vaphres* King of Egypt, gave *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eusepius* in *Eusebius*, I do not finde any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius*, in the last chapter of that ninth book: neither is it in *Josephus* in the eighth book and second chapter of the Jewes Antiquities: it being a vaine title used by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and used likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, inso much as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightineffe.

Joseph. 1.3. c.2.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified Jerusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazor which had beene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before *Jesaa's* time: so did he Gaza of the Philistines: he built Berothon, Gerar, & the Millo or munition of Jerusalem. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth

in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of Ephraim; and took Gerar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place and Territory he gave *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable, that because *Salomon* was then buied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the Egyptians to visit those parts againe before they were sent for; and in his son *Rehoboams* time *Shebact* this mans successor did sack Jerusalem it selfe.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Jordan, and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either *Ptolomies* Thamoron in the desert of Juda, or (as *Josephus* thinks) *Palmira* in the desert of Syria; which *Palmira*, because it stood on the utmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of *Dauids* conquest when he wane Damascus; it may seem that *Salomon* therefore bestowed thereon the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Josephus* calls this place Thadmora, by which name (saith he) given by *Salomon*, the Syrians as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of Hebrew places, calls it Thermeth. In after times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building, *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hirams* servants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty townes in or neare the upper Galilee, but because they stood in an unfruitfull and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called Chabul.

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: sed quia sub ditione regis Gentilis erat. Nor that it was possess'd by the Gentiles (saith Nauchrus) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile*. Howsoever it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. year fortified those places which *Hiram* refused. Further, he made a journey into Syria Zobah, and established his tributes; the first & last warre (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his dominions, passing from Thadmor to the North of *Palmirena*, and so to the Desarts of Idumaea, from whence he visited Eziongaber and Eloth the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I have described in the Story of *Moses*.

§. III.

Of *Salomons* sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about *Salomons* riches; and of *Pinedas* conceits of two strange passages about Affricke.

Here *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of ships for India, with whom *Hiram* joyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet passe to the East India, which was not farre off, namely, to Ophir, one of the Islands of the Moluccas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesseth the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manila; and recover a great quantity from thence, and with lesse labour than they do in any one part of Peru or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to foure hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450 talents: whereof 30 talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420 talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crownes, came cleere. And thus must those two places be reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred sixty and fixe talents of gold; that summe, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yearly, and which came to him besides those profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedily returne to Jerusalem from the East Indies, than in three years; and that *Tharhis* in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the first booke.

2. Reg. 10. 14.
Lib 4. d. 10. 14.
Salomonis c. 6.
c. 15.

Only it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of Bætica, would faine have Gades or Calis-malis, in old times called Tarteſſus, which is the Southweſt corner of that Province, to bee the Tharſis from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it ſeemes, but for love of his own country, and becauſe of ſome affinity of found between Tharſis and Tarteſſus. For whereas it may ſeeme ſtrange that it ſhould be three yeeres ere they that took ſhip in the red ſea, ſhould return from the Eaſt Indies to Jeruſalem, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of ſundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages between Jeruſalem and the red ſea, and perhaps alſo elſewhere : ſo that wee have no need to make *Salomons* men to goe many thouſand miles out of their way to Gades, round about all Affrick, that ſo they might be long a coming home.

For the direct way to Gades (which if *Salomon* and the Iſraelites knew not, the Tyrians which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterranean ſea, and ſo (beſides many wonderfull inconveniences, and terrible navigation in Jeruſalem Africa) they ſhould have eſcaped the troubleſome land-carriage between Jeruſalem and the red ſea, through dry, deſart, and the theeviſh Countreys : and within 30. miles of Jeruſalem at Joppe, or ſome other haven in *Salomons* own Country, have laden and unladed their ſhips.

But this direct courſe they could not hold (ſaith *Pineda*) becauſe the huge Iſland of Atlantis, in largeneſſe greater than all Affrick and Aſia, being ſwallowed up in the Atlantick Ocean, hindered *Salomons* ſhips from paſſing through the ſtraits of Gibraltar for this hee alledgeth *Plato in Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straits of Gades were filled with mud, and made unpaſſable, that there could be no coming to Gades by the Mediterranean ſea : or that this indraught where the ſea runneth moſt violently, and moſt eaſily ſcoureth his channell, ſhould be filled with mud, and not alſo the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iſland is ſuppoſed to have ſtood : or that *Salomons* ſhips being in the red ſea, ſhould neglect the golden Mines of the Eaſt Indies (which were infinitely better and nearer to the red ſea, than any in Spain) to ſeek gold at Cadyz by the way of compaſſing Africa; it is moſt ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himſelfe that hath alſo the rich Peru in the Weſt, forſaketh in the Eaſt Indies, and inhabites ſome part thereof, as in Manila, finding in thoſe parts no leſſe quantity of gold (the ſmall territory which hee there poſſeſſeth conſidered) than in Peru.

The ſame *Pineda* hath another ſtrange paſſage round about all Africa, which elſewhere he dreames of: ſuppoſing whereas *Jonas* ſailing to Tharſis the Citie of Sicilia, was caſt out in the Mediterranean ſea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes ſwimming above twelve thouſand English miles along the Mediterranean ſea, and ſo through the ſtraits of Gades, and along all the huge ſeas round about Africa, caſt up *Jonas* upon the ſhore of the Red Sea, that ſo he might have perhaps ſome ſix miles the ſhorter (though much the worſe) way to Nineve. This conceit he grounds onely upon the ambiguity of the word *ſuph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red ſea, as if we ſhould call it *mare algaſum*, the ſea full of weeds; for the red ſea. But in *Jonas* c. 2. 5. it is generally taken in the proper ſignification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place againſt his owne rule (which elſewhere he giveth us) ſuppoſeth ſtrange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finiſhed in three dayes, is a greater ſeeme, than the very preſervation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale : and therefore ſeeing there is no neceſſity of this miracle, we ſend it back unto him, keeping his owne rule, which in this place hee forgets; *Miracula non ſunt multiplicanda*. And againe, *Non ſunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda*; *Miracles are not to be multiplied without neceſſity, nor delivered without cauſe, nor ſained at pleaſure*. Therefore we leave this man in his dreames, which (were hee not otherwiſe very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our ſtory of *Salomon*.

The Queene of *Saba* coming from farre to *Salomon*, (as it ſeemes, from Arabia ſeelix, & not, as ſome think, from Ethiopia) and her rich preſents, and *Salomons* reciprocal magnificence, and his reſolving of her difficult queſtions; thoſe are ſet downe at large in the Text. But herein *Joſephus* is greatly miſtaken, who calleth this Queene of *Saba* *Nicomitis*,

Nicomitis, the ſucceſſor (ſaith hee out of *Herodotus*) of thoſe thirty and eight Egyptian Kings which ſucceeded *Menus* the founder of Memphis; adding, that after this Egyptian, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in Egypt. For as it is elſewhere proved that the Queene was of Arabia, not of Egypt and Ethiopia; ſo were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred yeeres after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* ſlew *Joſias* King of Juda. *Joſ. a. 8. 1. 2.*

It is alſo written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garriſons fourteene thouſand Chariots, and twelve thouſand horſemen; that hee ſpent in Court every day thirty meaſures of fine flower, threeſcore meaſures of wheate, one hundred ſheepe, beſides ſtags and fallow deere, bugles and fowle; foure thouſand ſtalles of horſes he had for his chariots and other uſes, and for the twelve thouſand horſemen of his guard. For, the ten thouſand ſtalles in the fiſt of *Kings* the fourth, are to bee taken but for ſo many horſes, whence in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thouſand ſtalls or teemes, and in every teeme ten horſes, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* underſtand it. He was ſaid to be wiſer than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the Ezrahite, than *Heman*, *Chaleai*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fiſt, to wit, *Ezrach*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an Ezrahite by Nation. *Joſephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Eman*, *Chalcus* and *Donan* the ſonnes of *Hemon*. Hee ſpake three thouſand Proverbs, and his ſongs were one thouſand and five, whereof either the moſt part periſhed in the Captivity of Babylon, or elſe becauſe many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publike Records of Civill cauſes, and not Eccleſiaſtical, therefore they were not thought neceſſary to bee inſerted into Gods Booke. *1 Kings 4. 31.*

§. IIII.

Of the fall of *Salomon*, and how long he lived.

Now as he had plenty of all other things, ſo had hee no ſcarcity of women. For beſides his ſeven hundred Wives, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people ſhould accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he tooke Wives out of Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: and when hee fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods; as Afteroth of the Zidonians, Milcom or Molech of the Ammonites, and Chemosh of Moab.

Theſe things God puniſhed by *Adad* of Idumæa, *Rezin* of Damascus, and by *Jeroboam* his owne ſervant, and one of the maſters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his ſonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dam in peccatis animarum verius, aliorum peccatis miſer, quæ ipſe non fecit*: God in puniſhing ſinners, uſeth the ſins of others, which he himſelfe wrought nor. *P. Martini.*

In the reign of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great Indian voyage already mentioned. Fortie yeeres he reigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and muſt therefore be found only by conjecture. The moſt likely way to gheſſe at the truth in this caſe is, by conſidering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may beſt make eſtimation of the yeeres which they continued, and conſequently learne the true, or poſſibly yeere of his nativity. Seven yeeres *David* reigned in Hebron: in his eighth yeere he tooke Jeruſalem, and warred with the Philiftims, who alſo troubled him in the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke ſeemes to have been in the tenth yeere of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere enſuing, at which time hee had ſufficient leiſure, living in reſt. After this he had warres with the Philiftims, Moabites, Aramites and Edomites, which muſt needs have held him five yeeres, conſidering that the Aramites of Damasco raiſed warre againſt him, after ſuch time as hee had beaten *Hadadezar*; and that in every of theſe warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely, that theſe ſervices occupied any longer time, becauſe in thoſe dayes and places there were no wintering camps in uſe, but at convenient ſeaſons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, diſpatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly upon the ſpyole of the enemies countrey, partly upon the private proviſion which every ſouldier made for himſelfe. The 17. yeere of *David*, in which he tooke *Mephithopheth* the ſon of *Ammon*, was the laſt of his life. *1 Kings 7. 1. 2.* *1 Sam. 17. 2. 17.* *2 Sam. 1. 18.*

Devinus Sal. 4. 10. 11.
As it appears
he tooke a ſhip
at Joppe or Jop
pe. *1. 2. 3.*

In the sixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne, *Hiram* of Tyre dyed, to whom *Baliastru* succeeded, and reigned seventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sons. *Iosephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochens* against *Antoliscus* finds *Bozgorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted betwene the death of *Hiram* and the reigne of *Bozgorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sefac* or *Shishak* (as our English Geneva termes him) began to govern in Egypt, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sofachis*; *Iosephus*, *Sufac*; *Cedrenus*, *Sufesinus*; *Eusebius* in the catalogue of the Egyptian Kings, *Smemdes*; and in that of the Hebrewes, *Sufac*. *Iosephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveh it as an error in *Herodotus*, that he ascribeth the Acts of *Sufac* to *Sesoftris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by comparison, accounting *Sefac* another *Sesoftris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesoftris* I have spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: only in this hee was reprov'd, that hee caus'd foure of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was dispos'd to be seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesoftris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe upon the two foremost wheeles next him; which *Sesoftris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheele was suddenly carry'd about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Sesoftris* had judiciously weigh'd, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like servitude in the future. Of this *Sesoftris*, and that hee could not be taken for *Sefac*, I have spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

Eijh. Misell. 17.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons Successors untill the end of Jehosaphat.

S. I.

Of Rehoboam his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and Jeroboams Idolatrie.



Rehoboam the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an Ammonitess, now forty years old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Israel were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Jeroboam* as yet in Egypt, since he fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arrivall the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius est fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metu;* so

Ant. 18. 3.

should his Empire (saith *Iosephus*) be more assured, if hee desired rather to be beloved than feared: whereof hee tooke three dayes to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *David*, that hee was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe he knew not how to resolve, so had hee not the judgement to discern of counsels; which is the very test of wisdom in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that hee had consulted with those grave and advised men, that served his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: hee was transported by his familiars and favourites, not only to continue on the backes of his subjects those burdens which greatly crush'd them; but (vaunting falsely of greatness exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more unupportable loades on them. But as it appeared in the successe, those younger advisers greatly mistooke the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be used for the helpe, and not for the harme of subjects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people: and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been

twisted

twisted and forged by love onely: His witlesse parasites could well judge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* designs. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achias* of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into furie) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arriv'd, than elected King of Israel: the people cryed out, What portion have we in *David*? we have no inheritance in the Sonne of *Israhel*. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes of Israel, had consented to *Davids* anointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgot both the bands of nature, and their dutie to God; and, as all alienate resolved hearts doe, they served themselves for the present, with impudent excuses. And now over-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hateful to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beate to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from Sichem with all speed, and recovered Jerusalem, where preparing to invade Israel, with an hundred and fourescore thousand chosen men, *Shimei* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was stayed for the present. In the meane time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified Sechem on this side, and Penuel on the other side of Jordan; and fearing that the Union and exercise of one Religion would also joyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *David*, and having in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, hee set up two Calves of gold for the children of Israel to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods which delivered them out of Egypt: and refusing the service of the Levites, hee made Priests fit for such gods. It must needs be that by banishing the Levites which served *David* and *Salomon* through all Israel, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were given them by *Moses* and *Jesha*, for as it is written, *The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out untill Israel for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecy and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affectations maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Jeroboam* could not be moved now by the Authority of *Abia*, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it over the Altar, which also clave asunder according to the signe, which the man of God had given him by the commandment of God, who againe recovered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policie to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught to them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; observing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie (saith hee) politici voluntarii, & propria commoditate presentemq; utilitates sibi tanquam ultimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, si justitie bonitasque leges subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessumdanda, si denique omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intantatum, nil per fas nefasque relinquendum censent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modo id, quod est resus esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareve possit Deus: So they who are now called Politicians, proposing to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit, are wnt to alledge the case of state forsooth, as the principall point to be regarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppress their neighbour, to overturne all laws of justice and honestie, if Religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and man must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may have what they would: as who should say, there were no Gods that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeede this allegation of *raggione del stato*, did serve as well to uphold, as at the first

Verse 5. Verse 6.

• Kings 19:20

6. II.

† King. 14. 13.

PLEASE

CA 47.0.13

6. III.

* Chiron, 16.22

13 Sam. 25. 1.

the like finnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sicknesse, and calamities; howsoever the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke every alteration that happeneth.

§. IV.
of Asa and his Contemporaries.

2 Chron. 14.

2 Chron. 15. 16.

2 Chron. 14. 9.

* In the former
booke, c. 4. §. 14.
item, c. 8. §. 10.
* 6.

2 Chron. 14.

2 Chron. 16. 1. & 2.

TO *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enjoyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time hee established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatresse, but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idoll, stamp it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leisure of peace. For not long after hee was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering *Judaea*, and with such a multitude entered the territorie of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that Nation, either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the *Judeans*, *Zerah* of *Ethiopia*, with an hoste of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountered with an Annie of five hundred and fourescore thousand, levied out of those two Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, which obeyed him, and with which hee overthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoile both of their Cities and Campes.

That this *Zerah* was not an *Ethiopian*, I have * proved already, and were it but the length betwene *Ethiopia* and *Judaea*, and the strong flourishing Regions of *Egypt* interjacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appeare how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were *Ethiopians*. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that *Gerar* was belonging to *Zerah*, and the cities thereabouts were spoiled by the *Judeans*, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that *Gerar* standeth upon the torrent of *Belor*, which *David* pass over when he surprized the *Amalekites* or Arabians; this proveth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the Arabians, & that *Gerar* was a frontier town standing on the uttermost South-border of all *Judaea*, from all parts of *Ethiopia* six hundred miles. Also the spoiles which *Asa* tooke, as the cattell, camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed five thousand, shew them to be Arabians adjoining, and not far off, and not unknown *Ethiopians*. And if it bee objected that these desert countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that Arabia *Petrea* and the Desert, which compass two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arme five hundred & fourescore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceede in number; for God spake it of *Ismael*, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that hee should beget twelve Princes, &c.

Baalsha a King of *Israel* began to reigne in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatnes of *Asa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of *Syria*, of the race of *Adad*, to joyne with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified *Rama*, which lieth in the way from *Jerusalem* towards *Samaria*.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of *Asa* his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Baalsha* died in the 26. yeere of *Asa*; therefore could not *Baalsha* begin this war in the 35. of *Asa* his reigne, but in the 35. yeere of the division of *Juda* & *Israel*; for so many yeeres it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. yeeres, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seeme strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred & fourescore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily drive away *Baalsha*, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of *Abia* against *Jeroboam*, and of *Asa* himselfe against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in minde, which might well have emboldened the men of *Juda*, and smuch disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which

caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousand of hands, in the late service against *Zerah*, had caused many mens private businesse to lye undisparched, whereby the people being now intensive to the culture of their lands & other trades, might be unwilling to stir against the *Israelites*, choosing rather to winke at apparent inconvenience, which the building of *Rama* would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might have deterred *Asa* from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, & committing the success into the hands of God. Howsoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the *Syrian* against *Baalsha*, whose employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baalsha*. For the *Israelites* were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his invasion) nor his successors after him ever gave over, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now entred into *Nephtalim*, without resistance, hee spoiled divers principall Cities thereof, & enforced *Baalsha* to quit *Rama*, & to leave the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which hee had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being laden with the spoiles of *Israel*, and the treasures of *Juda*, returned to *Damascus*. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that he now relied on the strength of *Syria*, and did not rest himselfe on the favour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppress his people, and was therefore strooken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two yeeres continually tormented, he gave up the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There lived with *Asa*, *Agessilau* the sixth of the *Heraclidae*, & *Bacis* the fifth King of the same race in *Corinth*, of whom his successors were afterward called *Bacidae*: *Asartus*, & *Asarimus* were Kings in *Tyre*. *Asarimus* took revenge on his brother *Philetus*, for the murder of *Ithobalus* Priest of the goodesse *Asarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Asis* and *Capsy* ruled the *Latines*: *Pirithiades* & *Ophreatus* the *Affyrians*: *Terpsippus* and *Phobas* the *Athenians*: *Chemmis* reigned in *Egypt*; who dying in the 36. yeere of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successeur, that reigned fifty sixe yeeres, even to the 16. of *Joas*.

§. V.
of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of Asa.

IN the reigne of *Asa* the Kingdome of *Israel* felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegiance to the house of *David*, if the wisdom of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter dayes, the sentence of heave vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of *Israel*, for the sinne of *Salomon*, and his reigne over the ten Tribes. One son *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom only God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-holde his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples love, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile unthankfulness to God, that he durst not suffer his owne name to be used in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisdom, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the son of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the second and third yeeres of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeed his fathers last yeere of two and twenty did run along (how farre is uncertaine) with the second of *Asa*, whose third yeere was the first of *Baalsha*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. Hee did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seemes that hee little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that

was secure of his owne estate, he armed all Israel against the Philistims, & besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill success, and recalled to mind their grievous losse of five hundred thousand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unluckie family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slaine he was by *Baasha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his stead. *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the house of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, & not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the same sentence from God, that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him also in the same sort. He began to infest *Asa*, by fortifying Ramah, but waft diverted from thence by the Syrian *Benhadad*, who did waft his Countrey, destroying all the Land of *Nephthali*. Fourteen and twenty yeeres hee reigned, and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his son; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* had done, two yeeres current, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. Hee sent an Army against Gibbethon, the same town of the Philistims, before which *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam* perished; but he sate at home the whilest, feasting & drinking with his Ministers, whereby hee gave such advantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, and by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set upon *Ela* in his drunkenness, and slew him. Presently upon which fact, hee stiled himselfe King of Israel: and began his reign with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but unto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri*'s expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of Gibbethon) presented themselves before Tirza; which in short space they may seeme to have forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seven dayes he is said to have reigned: accounting it is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also an idolater, *Walking in the way of Jeroboam*; & therefore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the reign of seven dayes, and those consumed partly in murdering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to have defended his own will. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; where by it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set up against him, who doubtlesse would never have appeared, if there had not been ready in his hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army, which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not find; onely it appears that his side was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successor than his concurrent.

§. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel with Juda, which might have bene effected by these troubles.

ANie man that shall consider the state of Israel in those times, may justly wonder how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civil warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themselves with the mighty Tribes of Juda and Benjamin; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed Tribes, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessity, or yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, as a man forsaken; and to have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that GOD was pleased to have it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will

the cause of all things) unlesse it could be proved, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that businesse, as hee forbade *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appears by the Warre continued betwene Israel and Juda, so many yeeres following: wherein *Asa* so farre prevailed, that hee won a great battaile, and recovered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which hee annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the second causes, moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new tyrants, rather than to cast their eyes upon that Royall house of *David*, from which the succession of five Kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have bene laid upon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, but did worse than all that were before him; which as it might serve alone to prove, that *Asa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baasha*, (*Asa* his mortall enemy) gives manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more justly than he have expected the friendship of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherefore, in searching out the reason of this backwardness in the ten Tribes (which was such, that they may seeme to have never thought upon the matter) to submit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Jeroboam*, who followed the wars in person, as a man of spirit & courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavy yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to have a King that should not oppress them; not to have no King at all. And therefore when the arrogant follie of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediately choose *Jeroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them; for which hee had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the institution of his new devised idolatry; where hee told the people, that it was too much for them, to travaile so far as to Jerusalem. But whether it were so; that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reign of his son, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesy of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King, that hee still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleerly apparent, that the whole army of all Israel joynd with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboam*'s house.

Now the reign of *Baasha* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his Kingdom harried by the Syrians; neither did he win that one town of Gibbethon from the Philistims, but left that businesse to his son; who likewise appears an unprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs bee, that the favour of the people toward the house of *Baasha* grew from his good forme of Civill government, which happily hee reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to doe. And surely hee that shall take pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the Kings of Israel and Juda, in administration of justice, will finde it most probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so averse from the line of *David*; as to thinke all adversity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that house. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeede by them deferred; yet in that they suffered it without forme of judgement, they suffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealousy: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may be supposed that many were cast away) hee would have slaine *Jeroboam* (if hee could have caught him) before hee had yet committed any offence; as appears by his consistent returne out of Egypt, like one that was knowne to have ended wrong, having not offered any.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, & upon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Joash* did to death *Zachariah* the son of *Jehojada*, who had made him King, even in the court of the house of the Lord: and *Manasses* did shed innocent blood exceeding much, till hee replenished *Jerusalem* from corner to corner: and this was imputed to him as another fault; besides his sinne, wherewith he made *Juda* to sinne. Contrariwise, among the Kings of *Israel* we finde no monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unlesse perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the sonne of *Abab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of Elisba the sonne of Shaphat shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plain whether hee meant to kill him without more ado, or to have him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the *Amorites*, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a sufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. The death of *Nabab* sheweth rather the liberty which the *Israelites* enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Nabab* did not feare to stand upon his owne right, though *Abab* were even sicke for anger; neither was hee for that cause put to death, as upon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a judicial forme, which might give satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

The murder of the Prophet is continually ascribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent woman, and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, & laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of *Juda* (such as are registered) prover them to use a more absolute manner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witness the contrary. For of those which reigned over *Juda*, from the division of the Kingdome, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Abazias* and his brethren, slaine by *Jehoiada*, with the destruction of all that Royall seed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) stirre up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddenesse and uniformity testifie the affection to bee generall, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unlesse we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seven yeeres reign, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government, whereon she had seized. On the other side, such of the Kings of *Israel* as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so far from embroiling their hands in the blood of their Sovereignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good successe of treason, unlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being thoroughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traitorously got and usurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seven remaine, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtful. Though indeede it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ababs* children by *Jehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because they were exceedingly afraid: and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging to forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre, in their quarrell. And certainly (howsoever all that the Law calls treason, bee interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the blood of some great Officers; no such rebellions; howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their natural Sovereigne, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royall person: which if any man impute unto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who

who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his 100. hands give assistance to *Jupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarches need not to feare any curbing of their absolutenes by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will bee sure to come in on their side. Though indeede the storie might very well have borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of government sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and throwdest Politicians: every Sheriffe and Constable, being sooner able to anne the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any over-weening Rebelle, how mighty soever, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldome found in *Juda*, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept usually difarmed. For otherwise it would have bene almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Abab*, a stranger to the Royall blood of *Juda*, should by the onely authority of a Queene-mother have destroyed all the seed of *David*, and usurped the Kingdome very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Jehojada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to set up *Joash* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to give to these Captaines and their men, the speares and the shields that were King *Dauids*, & were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more uncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did never seeke to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their fixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Asa*, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would consubject themselves with those of *Juda* and *Benjamin*; under a more honourable, but more heavie yoke.

So *Asa* having seen the death of 7. Kings of *Israel*, died himselfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leaving *Jehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Abab* the sonne of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII.

Of *Jehosaphat* and his contemporaries.

Jehosaphat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happy; hee destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the Arabians and Philistims: from the one he had silver, from the other sheepe & goates to the number of fifteene thousand & foure hundred. The numbers of men of war were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Jehobanani* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these in *Benjamin*, of those that bare shields, which we call *Targetiers*, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, & under the commandement of *Jehozabad* a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbered together make eleven hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to have waited upon the King besides his garrisons.

That *Juda* & *Benjamin*, a territory not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, should muster eleven hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *Dauids* time found five hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* five hundred and fourescore thousand: *Amazias* enrolled all that could beare armes, & they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely, whereas

* Chron. 24. 21.

* King. 2. 16.

* King. 6. 31.

* King. 19. 10.

* King. 10. 4.

* Chron. 17.

* Sam. 24. 4.

whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoshaphat* that Moab & Ammon were entred his territory to the West of Jordan, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude; it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field 111. hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better judgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17. distributed to severall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thousand under *Adnah*, and the 200. and fourescore thousand under *Jehohanan*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliada*, and *Jehoshabad*: for the grosse and totall is not in that place set downe, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aides which *Jehoshaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the Moabites & Ammonites which he feared, could never make the one halfe of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Jehoshaphat*'s Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithstanding his greatnesse, yet he joynd in friendship with *Ahab* King of Israel, who had married that wicked woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehoshaphat* visited at Samaria, and caused his son *Joram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Ahab*'s daughter.

Ahab perswaded *Jehoshaphat* to assist him in the Warre against the Syrians, who held the City of Ramoth Gilead from him, & called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Baalites, to foretell the successe: who promised him victory. But *Jehoshaphat* believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Israel. Hereupon *Ahab* made answer that he had one called *Micahiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because he alwayes foretold of evill, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Micahiah* was sent for to the King; but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise victory unto them as they did. But *Micahiah* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who should persuade Ahab, that hee may goe up and fight Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, & be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: It is not you that speake, but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: so in a contrary kinde did the devill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or *Satan*, encourage *Ahab* to his destruction. And as *Martyr* upon this place well observeth, these evill spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, & are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime employ. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to save & deliver from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evill that hee punisheth and destroyeth; both which are said to performe the will of their Creator, *sicet non-odem animo*. Ecclesiasticus remembereth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are every-where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure throates. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Micahiah* having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, & the Prophets, whose spirit he discovered, was stroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Ahab* himselfe committed to prison: where hee appointed him to be reserved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Micahiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by mee*. Nevertheless *Ahab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Jehoshaphat* returned to Jerusalem, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

After this the Aramites or Damascens, joynd with the Moabites, Ammonites & Idumaeans to invade Judaea: who passe Jordan & encamp at Engaddi; & when *Jehoshaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Jahaziel* foretold him of the victory, which should be obtained without any blood-shed of his part: & so when *Jehoshaphat* approached, this assembly of Nations, the Ammonites & Moabites, disagreeing with the Idumaeans, & quarrelling for some causes among themselves, those of Ammon & Moab set upon the Idumaeans, & brake them utterly: which done, they also invaded each other; in which broile *Jehoshaphat* arriving, took the spoile of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold & promised

2 Chron. 18.

2 Chron. 20.

misled by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Jehoshaphat*, forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joy in with *Ochozias*, the son of *Ahab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to Ophir, hoping of the like returne which *Salomon* had but as *Eliizer* the Prophet foretold him, his ships perished, & were broken in the port of Ezion Gaber, and so that enterprise was overthrowne.

2 Chron. 20.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram* the brother of *Ochozias*, against the Moabites, with which Kings of Juda & Israel the Edomites joyne their forces, nor forgetting, it seemes, that the Moabites, assisted by the Ammonites, had not long before destroyed their army.

The Moabites, subjects to *David* & *Salomon*, forsaking the Kings of Juda, gave themselves for vassals to *Jeroboam*, & so they continued to his successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Jehoshaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth he was drawne into this war, both to bee avenged of the Moabites for their defection from Juda to Israel, as also because they had lately joined themselves with the Syrians against *Jehoshaphat*, & thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook Juda, & now Israel.

Both Kings resolved to passe by the way of Idumaea, thereby the better to assure that Nation; for we find that both Moab, Ammon & Edom were all in the field together at Engaddi against *Jehoshaphat*. But whether they had then declared themselves against *Jehoshaphat*, it is not certaine; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. vers. 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, Edom rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to mee that the Edomites, when they were slain by Moab & Ammon, not finding themselves satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, & to joyne themselves with the army of Juda. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoshaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain c. 21. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoshaphat*'s death. Now in the passage of these Kings towards Moab, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the year, or whether the Idumaeans having a purpose to rebel, misled the army of Juda & Israel, with intent to interble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Craesus* & *M. Antonius* did in their Parthian expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly perished, had not *Elisha* taught them to cut trenches whereinto the water sprang, by which not onely *Jehoshaphat* and his army, but *Jehoram* King of Israel an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy & godnes of God having ever been prone to save the evill for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evill.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the King of Edom, for sacrifice, on the rampire of his owne City, I have already written in the life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of Israel. *Jehoshaphat* reigned 25. years and died; he was buried in the valley of *Jehoshaphat*, and a part of the Pyramis set over his grave is yet to be seen, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the son of *Hanani*.

Broch. 167. f. 102.

There lived with *Jehoshaphat*, *Ophrates* in Assyria, *Capetus* & *Tiberinus* Kings of the Albans in Italy; of the latter the river Tiber (formerly *Albula*) took name. In *Jehoshaphat*'s time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in Athens: *Agelaus* or *Agessilaus* in Corinth; and *Archilaeus* of the same race, of the Heraclidae the seventh in Laedæmon. *Badsorus* ruled the Tyrians; *Achab*, *Ochozias* and *Jehoram* the Israelites.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the sonne of Jehoshaphat, and Ahaziah.

§. I.

That Jehoram was made King sundry times.

JEHORAM the son of *Jehoshaphat* King of Juda began to reigne at thirty two years of age, & lived untill he was forty years old, being eight yeers a King: but of these eight yeers, which *Jehoram* is said to have reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with *Ahab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his stead, as *Ahab* did his son *Ahaziah*. This appeares by the severall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Jehoram*'s Kings of Israel and Juda, and to *Ahaziah* the eldest son of *Ahab*. For *Ahaziah* is said

King. 22. v. 7.

said to have begun his reigne, in the seventeenth yeere of *Jehoshaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahaziah* succeeded him in the 2. yeere of *Jehoram* the sonne of *Jehoshaphat* King of *Juda*; that is, in the next yeere after that *Jehoram* of *Juda* was designed King by his father; it being (as we finde elsewhere) the eighteenth yeere of *Jehoshaphat* himselfe, who went with the Israelites against *Moab*. Hereby it appears that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Jehoshaphat*, who governed absolutely by himselfe, not communicating the rule with his son. But in the fifth yeere of *Jehoram* King of *Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoshaphat*, the old King tooke unto him, as partner in the Government, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now forasmuch as *Jehoshaphat* reigned 25. yeeres, it is evident that his sonne did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of *Israel*. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of *Juda* & *Israel*, who did not always reigne precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seem at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, & must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons moving *Jehoshaphat* either to assume unto him his son as partner in the Kingdome, whilst he was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like having never bene done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchsafed unto him that honour, to resume it unto himselfe, or at least wise to deferre the confirmation of it, untill foure or five yeeres were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discover the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such conjecture, as the circumstances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approve.

We are therefore to consider, that this King *Jehoshaphat* was the first of *Reboboam*'s line that ever entred into any streight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in *Juda* before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vain, making small profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Jehoshaphat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensive and defensive betwene *Israel* and *Juda*, whereby each might enjoy their owne in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did hate the Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true root and fountaine of all wisdom: yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good thereby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those Kingdoms, against the uncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being so inestimable a jewel, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Ahaziah* the daughter of *Omri*, & sister of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was son and heire apparent to the King of *Juda*. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers wife, that she durst undertake, & could thoroughly performe a great deale more in *Jerusalem*, than the other knew how to compass in *Samaria*. Shee was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in *Juda*, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisdom, regardless of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian war at *Ramoth Gilead*, wherein *Juda* & *Israel* did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldom thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather serve the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, *Ahab* designed, as King, his son *Ahaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the uncertaine events of war (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Micahiah* (for he despised them) as inverting *Jehoshaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he prevailed.

Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King *Jehoshaphat* to change his purpose often, in making his sonne *Jehoram* King.

Many arguments do very strongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly overruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Ahab*.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride; and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but mean and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children; which were begotten upon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not upon base women & meere subjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian *Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man thinke highly of himselfe, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crown; whereof already he had, in a manner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long hee dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his younger brethren. And surely the doings of *Jehoshaphat* about the same time; argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly son. For the good King was faine to make his progresse round about the Land; reclaiming the people unto the service of God, and appointing Judges throughout all the strong Cities of *Juda*. This had bene a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly maintained by *Asa*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, & the course of Justice bene perverted, by the power of such as had borne authority. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commission given to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, & to the Steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall over-seers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahaziah* the son of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahaziah* began his reigne (as hath bene already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Jehoram*. *Jehoshaphat*'s sonne, though afterward this *Jehoram* of *Juda* had another first and second yeere, even in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expofitors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private estate, untill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set downe, yet we may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. *Jehoram* of *Israel* held the same correspondency with *Jehoshaphat* that his father had done; & made use of it. He drew the *Judean* into the war of *Moab*, at which time it might well bee; that the young Prince of *Juda* was againe ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition he had bene. Or if wee ought rather to thinke, that the preparations for the enterprize against *Moab* did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoshaphat*, in which yeere that Nation rebelled against *Israel*, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations betwene the two Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, and the affinity betwene them contracted in the person of *Jehoram*, might offer some good occasions therunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to put him in possession for feare of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Jehoram* himselfe might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing usual in mischievous fell natures, to be as abject & servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himselfe in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not onely with store of silver and gold, and of precious things, (which kind of liberality other Kings doubtlesse had used unto their younger sons) but with the custody of strong Cities in *Juda*, to assure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, against unwonted perils:

§. III.

The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher Providence had otherwise determined of the sequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the younger sonnes of *Jehoshaphat* found strong Cities, a weak defence, against the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the summons of a King their brother, then had they without any more ado; if they stood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and so unable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Israelitish Kingdome against them; so that the apparent likelihood of their small overthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoever it was, they were all taken & slaine, and with them for company many great men of the Land, such belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was deposed from his Government; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe justice, could hardly avoide the doing of many things derogatory to their yong Master; which if hee would now call treason, saying that hee was then King, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in Religion, wherein hee was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and safe conduct unto Superstition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, having such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sinnes; but he used compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have set up Idols on by force.

Whilest he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listeth, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; & having hitherto, since *David's* time, bene governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themselves a King. Against these *Jehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Esau* in proccesse of time should breake the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the Edomites could never bee reclaimed by any of the Kings of *Juda*, but held their owne so well, that when, after many civill and forraigne wars, the Jewes by sundry Nations had bene brought low; *Antipater* the Edomite, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jewes, in the decrepit age of *Israel*, and reigned as Kings, even in *Jerusalem* it selfe.

The freedom of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged *Libna*, a great city within *Juda*, which in the time of *Josiah* had a peculiar King, to rebell against *Jehoram*; and set it selfe at liberty. *Libna* stood in the confines of *Benjamin* & of *Dan*, furre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to *Juda*, and therefore so unlikely it was to have maintained it selfe in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have bene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and thoroughly incensed Lord. The *Israelite* held such good intelligence at that time with *Juda*, that he would not have accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe unto him: neither doe we reade that it fought how to cast it selfe into a new subjection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Jehoram*, was, Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to have not only been the first & remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not only some allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulsive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at *Jerusalem* (which, being devout men, they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the

1 Chron. 21. 10.

ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Israelites* thither, and gave them kinde entertainment: under Idolaters they must have bin without it, whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seemes that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to doe than suffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembered, wherein *Jehoshaphat* reformed his Kingdome, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them especial charge to doe justice without respect of persons, used these words; *The Levites shalbe assaied before you; Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall be with the good.* By these phrases, it seemes, than he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than just proceedings of his son; whom if the Levites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may justly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mightie Armies which *Jehoshaphat* was able to raise, being sufficient to have overwhelmed any one Towne, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one moneth have cast into it with shovels, by ordinarie approaches.

But it seemes that of those great numbers which his Father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jeroboam* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier losse, to let one Town goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrantes, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loved, are faine themselves to stand in feare of those, by whom they might have bin dreadfull unto others.

§. IV.

Of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.

THese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was delivered to him, which threatened both his people, his children, his wives, & his own bodie. Hereby likewise it appears that he was a cruell persecutor of Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and evil kings; but were faine to denounce Gods judgments against him by letters, keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is said to have bin sent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elijah* prophesied in his stead before this time, even in the dayes of *Jehoshaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecie in writing behind him, or that (as some conjecture) the error of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we reade *Elias* for *Elijah*. Indeed any thing may rather be believed than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heaven did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heaven to *S. Giles*.

But whosoever was the Author of this threatening Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible as the sentence. For the *Philistims* and *Arabians* brake into *Juda*, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These *Philistims* had not presumed since the time of *David*, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselves in the rest of their small Territories, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Israelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have bin such, as they are now, anaked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Countrey affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoyle in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities, such as were thicke set in *Juda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the

2 Chro. 17. 12.
2 King. 1. 3. 11.

T t

Romanes,

Romanes the Art of Warre; and that the provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Province, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in *Arabia* it selfe are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous passengers, but unable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse of their horses, than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to have bin, that spoyled *Judas* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Countrey was alwaies barren and desart, wanting manuell Arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philistims*. Out of this we may infer, that one halfe, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoshaphat* (wherein were inrolled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men) had bin enough to have driven away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people bin unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philistims*.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these invaders tooke, was not his Place in *Jerusalem*, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrey, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we readenot that they did sacke the Citie, or spoyle the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jerusalem* it selfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guard too weak to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore having done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselves with such purchase as they were able safely to convey away.

The slaughter committed by *Jehoram* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahaziah*, (or as they are called elswhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seed perished (only *Joram* excepted) under the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeares after this invasion of the *Philistims* and *Arabians*, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Jehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murder beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heave blows, wherewith his house was incessantly stricken, untill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the bodie of this wicked King, smiting him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not untill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcase. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of *Juda*, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome; who was guided by the same spirits that had bene his Fathers evil Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous entering of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatness, to retaine her favourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such Counsellors of the house of *Ahab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore she thought it unreasonable to make much ado about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be layd upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to avoyd. Such is the qualitie of wicked Infigitors, having made greedie use of bad employments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose evil inclinations their sinister counsells have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a busie time; when his friend and cousin the *Israelite*, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the *Aramites*; and therefore could have had no better leisure to help *Athalia*, in setting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband; when he was distressed by the *Philistims*. Yea rather he needed and craved the assistance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had

not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither againe, unless they were very fairly intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God, accomplish neverthelesse his hidden purpose, and without miraculous means, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne to submit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdom dictateth unto them. For in such kind of unhappie subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

S. V.

Of the raigne of Ahazia, and his businesse with the King of Israel.

Ohazias, or *Ahaziah*, the sonne of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his rainge over *Juda* in the twelfth yeare of *Jehoram* the son of *Ahab* King of *Israel*, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficultie than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of *Tornilius*, alledging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, Anno *Dionisi* 1588. which saith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe give him two yeares more. Like enough he is to have bene young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsell, by which he perished. In matter of Religion hee altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise upheld the league made with the house of *Ahab*. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. He accompanied his Cousin the *Israelite* against *Ramoth Gilead*, which they wan, but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought so well, that the King of *Israel* was faine to adventure his own person, which scaped not unwounded.

The Towne being won, was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Israel* with-drew himselfe to the Citie of *Jerusalem*, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahaziah* returned to *Jerusalem*. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scantily one yeare, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part,) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of *Israel*, who lay fore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing somenew plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore sought every occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work to leave his kingdom, having no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certaine it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heave judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elijah* the Prophet upon the house of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to have bin accidental; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needfull, for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine:

S. VI.

How Ahazia perished with the house of Ahab: and how that Familie was destroyed by Jehu.

THe whole Armie of *Israel*, with all the principall Captaines, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principall man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Israel*, rehearing unto him the Prophecie of *Elizeus* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashon of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a desire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had over-heard all the talke or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the Prophecie of *Elizeus* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose him selfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Jehu, who had upon the sudden this great honour throwne upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections, who joyined with him, in setting on foot the businesse which neereely concerned him, and was not to be fore-slowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezebel*, whereby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Jehoram* was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and joy made, especially by Queene *Jezebel*, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of *Ahazias* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against *Israel*, the house of *Ahab* did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the blood Royall there were; that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the Sonne of Queene *Jezebel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great between *Israel* and *Juda*, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of successe to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the Prophecie of *Elizeus* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majestical face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his blood expected.

In the midst of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the *Aramites*, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already achieved, and the Queene-Mother dressing her selfe in the bravest manner to come down amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discovered a companie comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be readie against all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out as Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the King to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and hee was likewise detained by *Jehu*. These dumbe shewes bred some suspicion in *Jehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the companie drew so neere, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his Chariot to be made readie, and issued forth with *Ahazias* King of *Juda* in his

companie, whose presence added majestie to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had bin more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, & there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to salute *Jehu* with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out upon the traitor to his fellow king, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* soone overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he strook him dead, and threw his carcase into that field, which purchased with the blood of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did *Ahazias* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Jezebel* might soone be advertised of this calamitie, if she did not wish her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose judgement, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her, when she least expected it. But the full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her selfe readie in all halts, and painted her face, boasting with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at least to utter some Apophthegme, that should expresse her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she thinke upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *sibium*, with which she besmeared her eyes, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith she armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew neere, she opened her window, & looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and murder of the King his Master. This was in mere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly; as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne Eunuchs that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When *Jehu* saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, he made her presently to underfit and her own estate, by deeds & not by words. He only called to her servants to know which of them would be on his side, and soon found them readie to offer their service before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein she had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the judgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subject, but now her Lord: & she perished miserably, struggling in vaine with base groomes, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemy sat on Horse-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornfull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie under foot. Her dead carcase that was left without the walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure payment, and full interest.

Ahazias King of *Juda* fleeing a pace from *Jehu*, was over-taken by the way where hee lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdome of *Samaria*, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste) and seek his buriall in his own kingdome: and this favour he obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jerusalem*, where he was enterr'd with his Ancestors, having reigned about one yeare.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, and whose son he was that succeeded her.

§. I.

Of Athalia's usurping the Kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.

2 Chro. 22. 9.



After the death of *Ahab*, it is sayd that his house was not able to retain the Kingdom: which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her son, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Josias*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoyle of her son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold upon all the Princes of the blood, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her self, and reigne as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great places, and made Counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and readie at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely; and as so likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to stir, whatsoever they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldome or never so shamelesse as to refuse the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royal blood, all of them in a manner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the *Philistines*, began even then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faile likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might she give him to understand, how needfull it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *David*, which now remained only in his Familie, should by any accident faile (as wofull experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to choose a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his owne unworthinesse, would not care what aspersions he layd upon the Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his seed? Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie not only his successour, but also the reverfioner, and so to provide, that the Crowne might never be subiect to any rising, but remaine in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his owne posteritie could not retaine it.

Such persuasions being urged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant thinke, that the onely way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husbands time, yet might she do it in her sonnes. For *Ahab* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his owne-born-Mother, little better than Conubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgot herself so far in her wicked policie, that she lost all opportunitie which the weaknesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring unto her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faigne some such matter, as boldly she might: being sure that none would aske to see her evidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another World. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order

for her affaires before-hand. For though she had no reason to suspect or feare the sudden death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whilst her husbands issue by other women was young and unable to resist. We plainly finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahab*, to the number of two and forty, were sent to the Court of *Israel*, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long journey, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any strength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainment in *Jahels* house would onely have beene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courtes held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as have aspired unto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: Is there any thing wherof one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath bin already in the old time that was before us. That a King might shed his brothers blood, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonias*; that he might alien the Crown from his naturall Heires, *David* had given proofe; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willing by shewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion and was entering into another. *Jehoram* slew all his brethren, which were better than he: *David* punished the kingdom, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Jehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might alien the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Athalia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue; either of these was to be answered with the words which *Jehuda* the Priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of *Josias*: Behold, the Kings son must reigne; as the Lord hath said of the sons of *David*. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoever it might be, to the Crowne of *Juda*; yet it is most certain that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it six whole years, and a part of the seventh, in good seeming securitie.

§. II.

How *Jehu* spent his time in *Israel*, so that he could not molest *Athalia*.

In all this time *Jehu* did never goe about to disturbe her; which in reason he was likely to desire, being an enemio to her whole House. But he was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in waives against the *Aramites*, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retaine his own, much lesse attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were severitie living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly afraid of him, they offered him their service; wherein they so readily shewed themselves obedient, that in lesse than one dayes warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were enjoyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which means he drew them altogether into one Temple, where he slew them: and in the same zeale to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie devised by *Jeroboam*, no king of *Israel* had ever greater reason than *Jehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should be allured unto the house of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of *Juda* in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected

grace

grace of God; and further in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying *Baal* out of *Israel*, he was promised, notwithstanding his following the sin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdom should remaine in his Familie to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serve; he would needs helpe to pierce our Gods providence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatrie of *Jeroboam*. Yet all these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retaine them) he now forsooke, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the means of holding it.

2 Kin. 8. 12.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Israel*, whereof *Haazael* king of *Damascus* was the executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the Prophecie of *Elisha*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shall thus be set on fire, and their young men shall they slay with the sword, and shall dash their Infants against the flutes, and rend in pieces their women with child.* So did not onely the wickedness of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miserie upon all the Land. For the furie of *Haazael*s victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasion, but he smote them in all the coast of *Israel*, and wasted all the Countrey beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (For in those dayes the Lord began to loath *Israel*;) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conquest of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benadab* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were faine to make world shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune & courage in murdering his master than had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

§. III.

Of Athaliahs Government.

2 Chro. 24. 7.

These calamities falling upon *Israel*, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giving her leisure to looke to things at home: as having little to doe abroad, unless it were so that she held some correspondence with *Haazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grandfather King *Aha*, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we finde, that this wicked *Athalia* and her children brake up the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon Baalim. Such a sacriledge, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her owne Idolatrie, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successeur was faine to doe the like, being therunto forced by *Haazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Priests and Levites was very notable, and served (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howsoever the Queenes proceedings advanced the contrary. For the poverty of that sacred Tribe of *Levi* must needs have bene exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they lived, being now very few and small; and the

store laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robbery. Yet they up-held in all this miserie the service of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IV.

Of the preservation of Joas.

Elisha then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulnesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender fore up-held in those unhappy times. His wife was *Jehoshabab*, who was daughter of *Jehoram*, and sister to *Ahaziah*, a godly Ladie and vertuous, whose pietie makes it seeme that *Athalia* was not her mother, though her access to the Court argue the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted herto be such as she was. By her care *Joash* the young Prince that reigned soone after, was conveyed out of the nurserie, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly he was brought up. How it came to passe that this young child was not hunted out, when his bodie was missing, nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was no good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had avoyded that cruell blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the lesse conformable to the present government. So *Joash* was delivered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might bee thought peradventure to be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave him suck, who foolishly doubting that she her selfe should have bin slain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather sweare them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thanks due to their joyfull tidings.

§. V.

Whose sonne Joas was.

†. I.

what her Joas may be thought likely to have been the son of Ahaziah.

Now concerning this *Joash*, whose sonne he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath caused much controversie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the sonne of *Athalia*, seeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might give title of Sonne unto him, in regard that he was his Successeur, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them; that thinke him to have bene, or not, the naturall sonne of *Ahaziah*. For whereas it is said, that the house of *Athalia* was not able to retaine the Kingdom; some doe inferre that this *Joash* was not properly called his son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For shee perceiving that the Kingdom was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyrannie exercised by her husband at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now bee revenged upon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrefie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of *Jezebel* teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had bene heire to the Crowne; for she that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse envie, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others,

and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needfull, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the child of her own son, of whose life she might have made greater use than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessitie urgeth, nor any commoditie thereby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would have perswaded.

†. II.

That Joas did not descend from Nathan.

BUt (as it is more easie to find a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise bin) the pedigree of this Joash is, by them which thinke him not the son of *Athalia*, set down in such sort that it may very justly be suspected. They say, that he descended from *Nathan* the son of *David*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, saying, that the line of *Nathan* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the son of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also *S. Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *David*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Amnes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) & after him *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, have likewise held the fame of *Joash*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought upon good likelihoods, to have bin the children of *Huria* the *Hittite*: and so are they accounted by sundrie of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expofitors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himselfe the only begotten of his mother, doe approve this exposition: for we reade of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsheba* did beare unto *David*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an Infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did live. So the rest must needs have bin the children of *Huria*, and are thought to have bin *David* onely by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not bin the son of *Athalia*, then must that pedigree have bin false, wherein *S. Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, that had not our blessed Saviour issued from the loins of *David*, according to the flesh, but had only bin of his line by courtesie of the Nation, and form of law, as any other might have bin. As for the authoritie of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that *Joash* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Fructus Annii* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Ammian* can make Authors to speake what he list.

†. III.

That Joas may probably be thought to have bene the son of Jehoram.

IN so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedness of *Jehoram* the son of *Jehosaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *David*, that according to his promise hee would give him a light and to his children for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Jehoram*, there was not a sonne left him, save *Jehoahas* the youngest of his sonnes. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *David*, that after those massacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philistines* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the seed of *David* escaped; why may it not be thought that hee was said to have escaped, in whom the line of *David* was preserved: for had all the race of *Salomon*

more bene rooted up in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have bene extant, of an event so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by *S. Luke*: but the preservation of the house of *David*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Jehobab*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not only legall issue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joash*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdom, was the youngest son of *Jehoram*, whose life *Athalia*, as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily understood, why the preservation of *David*'s line, by Gods especiall mercie, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Athalia* himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all slain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one only did escape. Certainly that inhumane murder which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) revenged upon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Jehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation he had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavie judgement laid upon *Jehoram* and all his children, onely *Jehobab* his youngest sonne was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with *Joas*, which is called the son of *Athalia*, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have bene. For it wasthe youngest sonne of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preserved; which could not in any likelihood be *Athalia*, seeing that he was twentie yeares old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to raigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeare of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* should have begotten many children before he was eighteen yeares old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he should upon the sudden, in his eighteenth year, become unfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty yeares following: each of which must have bin true, if this were true that *Athalia* was the same *Jehobab*, which was his youngest sonne. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the causeless crueltie of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Joas* are easily cleared, if *Joas* and *Jehobab* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was seven yeares old when he began to raigne, which if we understand of years compleat, he might have bin a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sicknesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall son of *Jehoram*, though called the son of *Athalia*, than it were to say, as great Authors have done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that he was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might have served as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehobab*, that soundeth much more neere to *Joas*, than to *Athalia*, in an English yeare, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diversitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that *Athalia* himselfe be also called *Ataria*, & must have had three names, if he were the same with *Jehobab*, in which manner *Joas* might also have had severall names; yet, because I find no other warrant hereof than a bare possibility, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the consideration of such as have more ability to judge, and leisure to consider of this point.

†. IV.

Upon what reasons *Athalia* might seeke to destroy Joas, if he were her own grandchilde.

If therefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passion

2 Kin 9. 22.

ons of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some unnatural desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the blood Royall. For whether it were so that *Atalia* (as proud and cruel women are not alwayes chaste) had imitated the libertie of *Jezebel* her sister in law, whose whoredoms were upbraided by *Jehu* to her son; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certain it is that she had sons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondered at, that to settle the crown upon her own children, she did seek to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimers. As for *Joa*, if she were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have in him, lest when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better love their daughters husbands, than their sons wives) there is some appearance in the raige of her son; for she made him spend all his time in idle journeyes, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Jezebel* had cunning enough to be his *Tutore*. But when the sword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in sundry all these fine devices, then was *Atalia* faine to goe roundly to worke, and doe as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to *Joa*, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

§. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the libertie of using conjecture in Historie.

THUS much concerning the person of *Joa*, from whom, as from a new roote, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diversitie between it and others, the lesse me thinks I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving blame, for curiositie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in libertie of conjecture. For all Histories doe give us information of humane counsels and events, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speake only at random, and many times falsely. This we often find in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great undertakings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answer made by the Jewes in Egypt unto *Jeremie* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howsoever the written Law of God was known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt thereof, were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queen of Heaven*, as they and their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to doe: For then (say they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil*: adding that all manner of miseries were befallne them, since they left off that service of the *Queen of Heaven*. So blinde is the wisdome of man, in looking into the counsell of God, which to finde out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written will not perverted by vain traditions.

Jer 44. 17. 18.

But this Historic of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda* hath herein a singular prerogative above all that have beene written by the most sufficient of meerely humane Authors: it setteth downe expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-forwardnesse in battell; the ruine of his Familie, to the securitie of *Jehoram* in *Jezebel*; nor the victories of *Ha'zel*, to the great commotion raised in *Israel*, by the coming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the will of God, I mean to his revealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not varie, this Scorie of many great examples, gives most notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor

haps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidney*, that Historians doe borrow of Poets, not only much of their ornament, but some what of their substance. Informing us to discover the passions which doe set them first on foot. Wherefore they are faine (I speake of the best, & in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livie* every one circumstance of *Claudius* his journey against *Asdrubal* in Italy, fitting all to another businesse, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historical, nor Poetical) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or to the instruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the most likely motives or impediments of every businesse; and so figuring as nere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, howsoever it may give satisfaction. For the heart of man is unsearchable: and Princes, howsoever their intents be seldom hidden from some of those many eyes which pricke both into them, and into such as live about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtill mist, they conceale the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another use. The industrie of an Historian, having so many things to wearie it, may well bee excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbearth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weak minde is more effectuell, than many that seeme farre greater. So comes it many times to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houses or townes, begin with a few straws, that are wasted or not seene; when the flame is discovered, having fastened upon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the Greeces, proceeded from desire of the Persians to enlarge their Empire: howsoever the enterprize of the Athenians upon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton desire of *Queen Atossa*, to have the Grecian dames her bondwoman, did first move *Darius* to prepare for this warre before hee had received any injury, & when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Herodotus.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirme, (having, I thinke, in every estate some sufficient witness) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantiall reasons, have issued indeed from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke upon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Friar, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as having long before in his meaner estate, bene his familiar friend. This poore Friar, being emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondered how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning Politician, to attaine unto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty braines, finde worke enough: & therefore the more I thinke upon the Art of the Conclave, & your unaptnesse thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Friar, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what follie this world is governed, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this bee referred unto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moved, the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needes or can. But if wee list up our thoughts to that supreme Governour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Jupiter*.

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque tristia
Divosque mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regis unus aquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the winde-swolne streames,
The civill Cities and th' infernall realmes,
Who th' host of heaven, and the mortall band,
Alone doth governe by his just command.

Then shall wee finde the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change, hee foreseeeth all things, and all things disposeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiveth nor can bee deceived, but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly governe all creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea this broad and headlong passage to hell, is no less delightfull as it seemes at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poysons which infect the soule, many cruell thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they have onely this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift & expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect happiness, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding such abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever; though indeede those brambles that sometimes teare the skin of such as walke in this blessed way, doe commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, & make them with themselves at their journey end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serve, in whose presence is the fulnesse of joy, and as whose right hand are pleasures for evermore.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions, we should not marvaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct us chiefly, in that which is most requisite for us to know; as the meanes to attaine unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*. Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) beene written by some Prophet after the captivity: wee may well believe that the counsaile of God therein, & the executioners of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, & the businesse at Sardes, with other occurrents, beene the lesse true, though they might have been omitted, as the lesse materiaall: but these things it had been lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, whereunto he should not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborne to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the businesse that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot believe that any man of judgement will tax me, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faile, that rehearseth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every mans belief. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawfull, nor misbecoming an Historian.

§. VII.

The conspiracie against Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now sixty yeeres and longer worn the Crowne of Juda, and had found neither any forreine enemy, nor domestically adversarie to disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, & reward of her

wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the young Prince began to bee such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had become very unfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safety it was requisite,) when his capacity required to have bene indued with the stomacke and qualities meete for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impiety, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe over all the Country, if care were not used to weede it up very speedily. Wherefore he associated unto himselfe five of the Captaines, in whose fidelity hee had best assurance; and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely that they should repaire to Jerusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to win them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord unto the house of *David*, was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likely to succeede as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captaines, & other associats of *Jehojada* able by close working, to draw together so many truly and serviceable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gave order to such of the Levites, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Divine service at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart untill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made up such a number, as would be able to deal with the Queenes ordinary Guard: and that was enough; for if the Tyrannesse did not prevaile against them at the first brunt, the favour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, where bestowen in the utter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now employed in defence of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, where in this high designe was to be put in execution: *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crowne; using all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queene was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seeme: for insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddenesse, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief.

All Jerusalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to see, and the common joy was so great, that without apprehension of perill, under the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourse, & noise of folks in the streetes, making towards the Temple, with much unusual passion in their looks, did presently conceive, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoever it were, shee meant to use her owne wisdom in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that she thought it some especiall solemnity in the Divine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the towne, might give some presumption.

Many things argue that shee little thought upon her owne Tragedy; although *Josephus* would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, *She came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was neere to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the

Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, she rent her clothes, and cried Treason, Treason. Hereby it appears that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cried out in vaine upon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Josephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had she truly known how things went, she would surely have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if it were granted, that she, like to a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had been meere madnesse in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if shee, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their owne weapon, could prevaile to see in her guard, would nevertheless take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a childe of seven yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not thinke that she was mad in the most extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would have taken effect, in her destruction, had she used the most likely means to disappoint it: yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Jehojada* found more easie successe, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have beene expected; so that at his appointment, shee was without more ado, carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no blood, save her owne, was shed in that quarrell; her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.

Mostlike it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Jehoram* the Israelite, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throate of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet shee her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived such a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a sutable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse and a Murtheresse. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them surviving her husband about eight yeeres, did spend their time in satisfying her owne affections; the one using tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughty minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the suddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more lesse to vex her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignitie, and shame of bodie. Touching their buriall, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatened by the Prophet *Elihu*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for she was a Church-robber. The service of *Baal* erected by these two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the Syrian, in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who seemes to have bene her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* perished in few

few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is uncertaine; she had sons living after she was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, wee doe not finde.

This is a matter not unworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had bene in Jerusalem when their Mother fell, their death would surely have followed hers as neerely, and bene registered, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which God forbade that the children should die for the fathers, could not have saved these ungracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every man should die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had bene professors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoile of it; likely it is, that they should not have escaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For these had bene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, & being reckoned as her assistants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, and fellows with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his warres against *Jebu*) absent from Jerusalem; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Joas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

§. I.

Of Joas his doings, whilest Jehojada the Priest lived.

By the death of *Athalia*, the whole countrie of *Juda* was filled with great joy and quietnesse; wherein *Joas*, a childe of seven yeeres old or there-about, began his reigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Priest, who did as faithfully governe the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preserved the Kings life, & restored him unto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of *Jehojada* two wives, & began Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *David* which was almost worne out. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when hee began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of ungodly Tyrans; and requisite it was that hee should up-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had up-held. This businesse he followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the Levites were more slacke than he, but even *Jehojada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke; partly out of the taxe imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver, and with all other Utensiles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had bene, and the service of God was magnificently celebrated.

§. II.

The death of Jehoada, and Apostasie of Joas.

BUt this endured no longer than the life of *Jehoada* the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of Juda, as he well deserved, having preserved the race of them, & restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting up themselves, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funerall seems to have bin given to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the City of David.* As for the King himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, seeing that hee was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been discharged of some heavey debt.

For after the death of *Jehoada*, when the Princes of Juda began to flatter their King, hee soone forgot, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counsellour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea & God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, where, with *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Countrey, in fifteene or sixteene yeeres, that thirty yeeres, or thereabout, of the reigne of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The King himselfe, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now King in liberty, that he regarded no longer the lowre admonitions of devout Priests. Henceby it appears, that his former zeale was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to expresse much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeede religious.

§. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians invading Juda in the dayes of Joas.

BUt God, from whom hee was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not easily bee shaken off. *Haazel* King of Aram, having taken Gath, a Towne of the Philistims, addressed himselfe towards Jerusalem, without the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of Juda had assailed the Israelites, in their enterprises upon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I thinke hee did not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of Juda had molested the Aramites, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour Israel, & leaving the ten Tribes in their extreme misery, to the fury of *Haazel* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Haazel* should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre up against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before he had assured the conquest of Israel, that lay between Jerusalem and his owne Kingdome, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good successe, as might rather advance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countreies usually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *Joas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Israel, but to joyne all their forces with his, as they had cause, for they rooting out of *Jehu* his posterity, who, like a bloody Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, even the whole house of *Abah*, so which hee was a subject. If this were so, *Haazel* had the more apparent reason to invade the Kingdome of Juda. Howsoever it were, we finde it plainly, that *Joas* was afraid of him, and therefore *rooke all the hollowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace:* the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the assurance of this

2 Ring. 12. 18.

for the possibility of not much more. So *Haazel* departed with a rich bootie of unhappy treasure, which belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickly to the grave. For in the thirtie seventh yeere of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz*, hee made this purchase; but in the same or very next yeere he died, leaving all that hee had unto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprife of *Haazels*, is, by some, confounded with that warre of the Aramites upon Juda, mentioned in the second booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly prove, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without blood-shed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tried the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put to the worst, hee lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, *Haazel* himselfe was present; in the other, hee was not named: but contrariwise, the King of Aram then reigning (who may seem to have been the Sonne of *Haazel*) is said to have bene at Damascus. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrefied the King of Juda; The second was a *small company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vaine; for God was against him) to deale with them, as having a *very great Armie*.

Now, concerning the time of this former invasion, I cannot perceive that God forooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Haazel* was in the time of *Jehoada* the Priest, because that storie is joynd unto the restauration of the Temple. This had bene probable, if the death of *Jehoada* had bene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second booke of Kings; or if the Apostasie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will & pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Josias* that godly King, than in the plagues which hee laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgements upon the house of *Abah*. But it appears plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent service of God therewithall, which are joynd together, were used in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of *Jehoada*; soone after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very leamedly collect) in the fixe, or thirty seventh yeere of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater.

2 Chron. 24. 14.

And indeed we commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his servants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have alwayes tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great advantage. But with evill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and strict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, & either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amorites) till their wickednesse be full; or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath hee dealt with many; and so it appears that hee dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew to forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if hee had stroven to exceed the wickednesse of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous patterne unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

Plal. 115. 15.

§. IV.

How Zacharia was murdered by Joas.

Sundry Prophets having laboured in vaine to reclaim the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the sonne of *Jehoada* the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and sonne to a man so exceedingly beloved in his life time, and revered, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Abah* did *Elias*) his open enemy, yet ought hee in common honesty, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part of

of

Luke 20. 14.

of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits, which they had done unto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should have placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured love of *Joas*, yea though hee had bin otherwise a man of very small make, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appears that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard, who said, *This is the heire, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that mans deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandment required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised upon *Naboth*; or whether surprizing him by any close treachery; I doe neither reade, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracy, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandment, by which hee suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of Juda.

§. V.

How Joas was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.

2 Chron. 24. 24.

THis odious murder, committed by an unthankfull snake upon the man in whose bosome he had been fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well-describ'd curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence; which fell downe swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungrateful monster. It was the last yeere of his reigne; the end of his time coming then upon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to live how he list without controulement. When that yeer was expired, the Aramites came into the Country, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for they came with a small company of men: but God had intended to do more by them than they themselves did hope for.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloody malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement, proofe sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when hee might have leav'd (as his son after him did multer) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when hee might have his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rovers, hee tooke a very great Army, so that wife men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Country, and expose himselfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men thinke, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made above that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisdom of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites & King *Joas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders, or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleased God to worke, so it was, that that great Army of Juda received a notable overthrow, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of Juda, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebel to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himselfe (as *Abulensis* and others

expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ranisme.

And surely, all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised upon *Joas* ignominious judgements; & that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favour'dly. Now at that time *Joas* the sonne of *Jehoiada*, reigned over Israel, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* over the Syrians in Damascus; the one a valiant under-taking Prince, raised up by God to restore the State of his miserable Country; the other inferior every way to his father; of whose purchases hee lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition follow'd between these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward follow'd, might have given to the King of Juda good cause to be bold, and plucke up his spirits; which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not beene against him. But his fearfull heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the Syrian King in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of warre at his doores; it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good successe hereof, already related, & the (perhaps as unexpected) ill successe, which the Aramites found in their following warres against the King of Israel, sheweth plainly the weaknesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdome of Juda, after more than forty yeeres time of gathering strength, was unable to drive out a small companie of Enemies; and the Kingdome of Israel, having so been trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand Footmen were left; prevailed against his Sonne, & recovered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are every where found; & therefore I will not insist upon this; though indeed wee should nor, if we be Gods children; thinke it more tedious to heare long & frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the Aramites had what they list'd, & saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of Juda loaden with spoile, which they sent to Damascus, themselves belike filling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not halfe so well. The King of Juda being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an Ammonitess, & of a Moabitesse, whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) thinke to have beene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, left (as Tyrants use) hee should revenge his disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tells us plainly, that, *For the blood of the children of Jehojada*, this befell him. And the same appears to have beene used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the sonne and successor of *Joas*, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his body was judged unworthy of buriall in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appears, that the death of *Zacharia* caus'd the treason, wrought against the King, to finde more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recomenced by his sonne, upon the Traitors, with well-deserved death.

§. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.

THere lived with *Joas*, *Metades* & *Diognetus* in Athens: *Eudemus* and *Arifomedes* in Corinth: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Aladus*, were Kings of the Albans in Italy. *Ocraxepes*, commonly called *Anacyn-darces*, the thirty seventh King succeeding unto *Ophraianes*, began his reigne over the Assyrians, about the eighteenth yeere of *Joas*, which lasted forty two yeeres. In the sixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of Egypt, and held it fifty yeeres.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewise the reigne of *Pigmalion* in Tyre, and the foundation

of Carthage by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70. yeeres yonger than Rome, others above 400. yeeres elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their assertions, but leaving us uncertaine whom to follow: *Josephus*, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeer of *Hiram* King of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by *Dido*, in the seventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Josephus*) are very perplexed, and serve not very well to make cleer the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Josephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the yeeres, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of Tyre, from *Hiram* to *Pigmalion*, we may well enough believe, that the Tyrian writers, out of whose books hee gives us the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh yeere of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three yeeres before the birth of Rome; and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Aeneas*, that wee might truly conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

AUSON. EP. II.

Illa ego sum Dido vulu quam conspicis hospes,
 A simulata modis pulchraque mirifica.
 Talis eram, sed non Maro quam mihi finxis, erat mens,
 Vita nec incestu lata cupidinibus,
 (Namque nec Aeneas vidit me Troius unquam
 Nec Lybiam advenit, claudibus Iliacis.
 Sed furas fugiens, atque arma prociis Iarba,
 Servavi, faveo, moris pudicitiam;
 Pellere transfixo castos quod perculis enses)
 Non furor, aut Læd crudus amore dolor.
 Sic cecidisse juvat: vixi sine vulnere fame,
 Ultra virum, postis manibus appetii.
 Invida cur in me stimulaſti Musa Maronem,
 Fingeret ut nostra damna pudicitia?
 Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
 Quam qui furti a Deum concubitusque cavante
 Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
 Humanisque deos asimulant outis.

Which in effect is this.

IAm that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,
 Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie,
 Like this I was, but had not such a foule,
 As *Maro* fained, incestuous and foule.
Aeneas never with his *Trojan* hoast
 Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
 But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
 Not mov'd by furious love or jealousy;
 I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame,
 Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
 This was my end; but first I built a Towne,
 Reveng'd by husbands death, liv'd with renowne.
 Why did'st thou stirre up *Virgil*, envious Muse,
 Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
 Readers beleve Historians; not those
 Which to the world *Joves* thefts and vice expose.
 Poets are lyars, and for verses sake
 Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From

From the time of *Dido* unto the first Punick warre, that Carthage grew & flourished in wealth and conquests, we finde in many Histories: but in particular we finde little of the Carthaginian affaires before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of Sicil. We will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mighty Citie, untill such time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

S. VII.

The beginning of Amazia his reign: Of Joas King of Israel, and Elisha the Prophet.

Amazias, the son of *Joash*, being twenty five yeeres old when his Father died, tooke possession of the Kingdome of Juda, wherein he laboured so to demean himselfe, as his new beginning reigne might bee least offensive. The Law of *Moses* hee professed to observe; which howsoever it had beene secretly despised since the time of *Jehoram*, by many great persons of the land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himselfe unto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawn the late King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, even whilst that execrable murder, committed by the King upon *Zacharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serve as a notable example of Gods justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an evill end. Hee therefore, having learned of his father the art of dissimulation, did not onely forbear to punish the Traitors that had slain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda. Nevertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handie worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the hate of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods judgements, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life better secured, by such exemplary justice, against the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, & so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen yeeres.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in Juda by the commodity of a long peace, so *Joas* the Israelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the Aramites. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had beene, worshipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Jehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being utterly consumed, by *Hazeel* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his sonne *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, sufficed not to withdraw him from this politike Idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of Israel, did condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when hee and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporal matters the ten Tribes recovered space; but the favour of God, which had beene infinitely more worth, I doe not finde, nor beleve that they sought: that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, saying plainly to *Amazia*, The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of Ephraim.

Whether

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who lived in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the Israelites under the reigne of *Joas*; or whether *Jehobabaz*, who was married and broken with long adversity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heave cares attending those unhappy Syrian Warres, by laying the burden then upon his hopefull sonne; we finde that in the thirtieth seventh yeere of *Joas*, King of *Juda*, *Joas* the sonne of *Jehobabaz* began to reigne over *Israel* in *Samaria*; which was in the 15. yeere of his fathers reigne, and some two or three yeeres before his death.

It appears that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poore stock that he received from his Father, often Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that hee might seeme likely to prove a thriver. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he speake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse, For *Joas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake unto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*: by which manner of speech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdom in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who succeeded unto *Elias*, about the first yeere of *Joram* the sonne of *Abah* King of *Israel*, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was double, hee did rest upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that hee did not only raise a dead child unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, he pleased God that his dead bones should restore life unto a carcass, which touched them in the grave. In fine, hee bestowed as a legacie, three victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did set *Israel* in a faire way of recovering all that the *Aramites* had usurped, and weakening the Kings of *Damasco* in such sort, that they were never after terrible to *Samaria*.

§. VIII.

Of *Amazias* his warre against *Edom*; His Apostasie; and overthrow by *Joas*.

THE happy successe which *Joas* had found in his war against the *Aramites*, was such as might kindle in *Amazias* a desire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himselfe might purchase the like honour. His Kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand servicable men for the Wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of war hee had very just against the *Edomites*, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty yeeres beene unreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happening in *Juda*, partly through the sloth and timorousness of his father *Joas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of *Juda* had in many yeeres beene without all exercise of Warre (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the *Aramites*) hee held it a point of wisdom to increase his forces, with souldiers waged out of *Israel*, whence he hired for an hundred talents of silver, an hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Iosephus* diminish the number, saying that they were but twenty thousand.

This great Army, which with so much cost *Amazias* had hired out of *Israel*, hee was faine to dismisse before hee had employed it, being threatned by a Prophet with success, if he strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gave them victory against the cruell *Aramites*) did not love, because they were Idolaters. The *Israelites* therefore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of *Juda* in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men, and some spoile, which they carried away. But *Amazias* with his owne forces, knowing that God would bee assistant to their journey, entred courageously into the *Edomites* Countrey; over whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as just enemies. This victory did not seeme to reduce *Edom* under the subjection of the Crowne of *Juda*; which might bee the cause of that severity, which was used to the prisoners; the *Edomites* that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount

Seir, *Amazias* took, as appears by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have pursued the conquest of the whole countrey. Howsoever it were, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had hee not lost himselfe.

Among other spoiles of the *Edomites*, were carried away their gods; which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this unworthie King *Amazias*, that he set them up to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense unto them.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatening answer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counsellor, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worst. If either the costly stuffe, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious workmanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had ravished the kings fancy; me thinks, he should have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himselfe to be blinded, with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much upon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, that the same affections carried him from God, unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. Hee had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and sent away such auxiliarie forces as hee had gathered out of *Israel*; which done, it is sayd, that he was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esaie* having broken the yoke of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Isaac* had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore *Amazias* did hope to re-conquer the Countrey of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their owne industrie, courage, or force-fight. Therefore it is commonly seene, that they, who entering into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heaven, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giver of victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave checke to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Canon; every one striving to magnifie himselfe, whilst all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans virtue, is I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better success, than hee did, or in reason might expect, is deeply bound to acknowledge God the Author of this happinesse; so he whose mere wisdom and labour hath brought things, to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himselfe thankfull, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimities; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of man advanceth itselfe with confidence of acceptance, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that *Evander* in *Virgil* useth to *Aeneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

*Aude hostes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.*

With this Philosophie *Amazias* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had thrust himselfe a better man of war than any King of *Juda*, since the time of *Jehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *David*: of which honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he having prevailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was distempered with such vaine thoughts as these (besides the witness of his impiecie following) *Iosephus* doth

yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at *Jerusalem*. Therefore when the people saw him take his way directly to seize that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the consecrated vessels, calling the familie of *Obed* Edom (whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasure) to a strict account, as if they had bene officers of his owne Exchequer; they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Israelite* and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taking it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the response of a few dayes, might, by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mightie town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadvised feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first error; they will thinke upon every advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women: and rather chosse by desperate resolution, to correct the evils med with tile-stones; and suffer those mischiefs to poison the bodie, growne out of their former cowardise, than suffer those mischiefs to poison the bodie, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be desired, than the Citie of *Florence*, which through the weakenesse of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard teares, that it opened the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainly professing himselfe either friend or foe to the State, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant maner, himselfe and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred betweene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preserve their libertie, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of readie money, and the absolute Seigniorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bells: which peremptorie words made the French betwix themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not halfe of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* should not thou depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that brave Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Joas*, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of hosties, usually drawes every Citizento save his owne, leaving victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolved, women can quench, as fast as the enemies, having other things to looke unto, can set on fire. And indeede that Commander is more given to anger than regardfull of profit, who upon the uncertaine hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diversitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in *Jerusalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How strongly soever *Joas* might hold himselfe within *Jerusalem*, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the armie of *Juda*, which had bin more terrified than weakned in the late encounter, should re-enforce it selfe, and give him a checke upon the way. Wherefore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better securitie, his Armie being upon returne, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, serving to coole the ambition of *Joas*, and keepe it down from aspiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appears that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisba* the Prophet, who, when this *Joas* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that he should no oftner smite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Israel* had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred unto the fifth, sixth, and seventh years

years of *Joas*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good success, it might the King of *Israel* have likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worke could he have either lent the *Judean* one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the words of *Elisba*, that after three victories *Joas* should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse; we must needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this year, it being the last of his Raigne. That this was so, and that the *Syrian*, taking advantage of *Joas* his absence, gave such a blow to *Israel*, as the King at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselfe into new misfortunes, which increased the calamitie; we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of *Jeroboams* his son. For it is said, That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of *Israel*, and that having not decreed to put out the name of *Israel* from under the Heavens, he preserved them by the hand of *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Joas*. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Raigne of *Joas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazeael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craesus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of *Jerusalem*, and courage which they tooke to set upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battell in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought upon his owne Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his absence (if not by all of these) *Joas* was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdome of *Juda*, and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste home wards, where he found a sad wel-come, and being utterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsook also his life in few moneths after, leaving his kingdome to *Jeroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant son.

§. X.

The end of Amazias his Raigne and Life.

Any man is able to ghesse how *Amazias* looked, when the enemy had left him. He that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowess and skill in Armes, threatening to worke wonders, and set up a new glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncared of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had bene painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred unto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an insolent man, seldome failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazias* (besides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of those calamities which happen by their owne default) there was no child in all *Jerusalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this mischiefe. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being himselfe a Dastard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to have him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargain by heare-say. The father of this *Amazias* was a beastly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Jerusalem*. Had he offered, should they have made his promise good? surely the haste which they had made in condescending to this hard march, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Israelite* (which was easie enough) any little while they should soon have bin rid of him, seeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trusted up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would have served to perswade him to leave his load behind; had not their good king delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vex the heart of this unhappy King: it had bene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appears, that he continued an Idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in *Jerusalem*: a manifest

necessity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happen-
ing within few years, in the kingdom of Israel: The space of time between *Jeroboam*
ams death, and the beginning of *Zachariah*s reigne, and such another gap found between
the death of *Pekah*, and the beginning of *Hosea*, have made it easie to be admitted into
Samaria; which the consideration of things as they stood in Juda, when *Amaziah* was
slaine, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the necessity of
computation were not so apparent.

For the publike furie having to farre extended it selfe, as unto the destruction of the kings own person, was not likely to be appeased without order taken for obtaining some redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extremity. We neede not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornaments of Royalty, is neverthelesse exposed to many injuries, proceeding from head-strong, and forgetfull subjects.

[illegible]

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with Amazia, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with *Amaſſa*, and in the seven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in Iſrael; *Cephenes* and *Mycerinus* in Egypt; *Syphax*, *Indianus*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in Alba; *Agamemnon* in Corinth; *Diogenes*, *Phereas*, and *Arifilron* in Athens; in Lacedæmon *Theſteſtus*, in whose time the *Spartans* wan from the Achæians, *Geracutus*, *Amyletus*, and ſome other Townes.

But more notable than all theſe, was Affyrian *Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazäa*, ſucceeding his father *Orozäpes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned thirty years, and was ſlain the laſt of the eleven voyd years which fore-went the reign of *Agäria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Prince, who he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel and behaviour.

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unhappy life, knowing himselfe to be loathed, that he durst not let any man have a sight of him; yet feene he was at length, and the sight of him was so odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed with that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and striving to counteract a harlot, that he thought it a great shame to live under the command of so unworthy a creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleus* or *Belus* a Chaldean, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* should fall into his hands. *Arbaces* was pleased with the prophetic, did promise unto *Beleus* himselfe the government of *Babylonia*; and so concluding how to handle the businesse, one of them stirred up the Medes and allured the Persians into the quarrel, the other perswaded the Babylonians and Assyrians to venture themselves in the same cause. These four Nations armed forty thousand men against *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but gathering such forces as he could out of other Nations, encountered the rebels, as one that would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, answer to the manner of his retirednesse. For in the

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his wives brother *Salamennus* to keep the field, he withdrew himselfe into the Citie of Ninive; which, till new aydes that he sent for should come, he thought easly to defend; it having bene prophesied, that Ninive should never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of Ninive, enough hath bene spoken in our discourse of *Ninus*. It was so well victualled, that *Arbaces* having in two battels overthrowne the Kings Armie, and faire *Salamennus* was faine to lye two whole yeares before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet he saw no appearance. It seemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force those walles, which were an hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to passe upon the rampire. But that which he could not doe in two Yeares, the River of Tigris did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not onely drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing no means of resistance left, shutting up himself into his Palace, with his wives, eunuchs, and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together consumed. *Strabo* speaks of a monument of his, that was in Anchiale a Citie of Cilicia, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and Tharsus upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eat and drinke and make merrie, encouraged others with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example refused that his nature was more prone to sensualitie, than to any vertue becoming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwife of his end; saying that *Arbaces*, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with a dagger. But the more generall consent of writers agrees with this relation of *Diadorus Siculus*, who citeth *Ctesias* as a Greeke Writer, that lived in the Court of *Persia*, where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Affryia*; from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I believe that they were sometimes (yet not, as *Orosius* hath it, incessantly) buſied in offensive or elfe defensive arms; yet for the moſt part of them I do better truſt *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſaith that their names were overpaſſed by *Cteſus*, becauſe they did nothing worthy of memorie. Whatſoever they did, that which *Theopompus Antiochenus* hath ſaid of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion* hath oppreſſed them.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Uzziā.

S. I.

The prosperitie of Uzziā, and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zacharia, Salum, Menahem and Pekahia.



UZZIA, who is also called *Aha'ia*, the son of *Jorham*, was made king of *Juda*, when he was sixteen years old, in the seven and twentieth year of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joa* king of *Israel*. Hee served the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. He built *Eloth*, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philistims*, of whose Townes he dismantled some, and built others in sundrie parts of their Territories. Also he got the masterie over some parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous wars, wherein (as *Josephus* rehearseth his acts) he began with the *Philistims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seven thousand men of war, over which were appointed two thousand and sixe hundred Captains. For all this multitude the king prepared *shields, and speares, and helmets*, and other Arms requisite; following therein happily a course quite opposite unto that which some of his late predecessours had held, who thought it better policie to use the service of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the *Princes and all the Chariots*.

As the victories of *UZZIA* were farre more important, than the atchievements of all that he had reigned in *Juda*, since the time of *David*, so were his riches and magnificent works equal, if not superiour to any of theirs that had bin kings between him and *Salomon*. For, besides that great conquests are won to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill to use, as well as the happinesse to get. He turned his lands to the best use, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds convenient for such husbandrie. In other places he had Cartell feeding; whereof he might well keepe great store, having won so much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had abundance of waste ground serving for pasturage. For defence of his Cartell and Heardsmen, he built Towers in the wilderness. He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. *Josephus* calls them water-courses; but in such drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towers he so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, relieve themselves therewith; questionlesse he tooke the onely course, by which he might securely hold the Lordship over all the wilderness; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of sundrie Townes among the *Philistims*; he repaired the wall of *Jerusalem*, which *Joa* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fiftie Cubits high.

The state of *Israel* did never so flourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two kingdomes. For as *UZZIA* prevailed in the South, so (if not more) *Jeroboam* the son of *Joa*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the *Syrians*, he wan the Royall Citie of *Damascus*, and he wan *Hamath*, with all the countrie thereabout from the entring of *Hamath*, unto the Sea of the Wilderness, that is, (as the most expound it) unto the vast desarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of *Israel* in those parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had bin in the reigne of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived so well, for he was an Idolater: it was only the compassion which the Lord had on *Israel*, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the *Aramites* had brought his people, which caused him to alter the succession of warre, and to throw the victorious *Aramites* under the feet of those whom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promised the Kingdom of *Israel* unto the fourth generation, was now not far from the end; and now againe it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the sin of *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat* was held so precious, that neither the kingdom it selfe given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politike Idolatry; nor the misery falling upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperie of *Jeroboam* the son of *Joa*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promise of God made unto *Jehu*, that his sons, unto the fourth generation, should sit on the throne of *Israel*, was not enlarged; but being almost expired gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident so strange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occasions foregoing the last accomplishment.

When *Jeroboam* the sonne of *Joa*, after a victorious reigne of one and forty years, had ended his life; it seemes in all reason that *Zacharia* his sonne should forthwith have been admitted to reigne in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lustre by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crowne passed by election, must needs have appeared base; and the vertue of the last King having bene so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty years did passe before *Zacharia* the sonne of *Jeroboam* was, by uniforme consent, received as King. The true original causes hereof were to be found at *Dan* and *Bethel*, where the golden Calves did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance are likely not to have bene wanting, upon which the wisdom of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the army (who afterwards slew one another so fast, that in fourteen years there reigned five kings) did now by head-strong violence, rend the kingdom asunder, holding each what hee could; and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; untill, after many years, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quietly to the son of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy lasted almost three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth year of *UZZIA*, which was the last of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his seven and twentieth concurring with the first of *UZZIA*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *UZZIA*, in the last sixe moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in *Samaria*. There are some indeed that by supposing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the interregnum in *Juda* (before mentioned) & by the same reason abridge this Anarchie that was before the reigne of *Zacharia* in *Israel*. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time sufficient to prove that the kingdom of the ten Tribes was no lesse dis tempered than as is already noted. But I choose rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reigne unto his owne; which was it selfe indeed so long, that he may well seeme to have begun it very young: for I do not think that God blessed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his servant *David*.

Thus much being spoken of the time wherein the Throne of *Israel* was voyde, before the reigne of *Zacharia*, little may suffice to be said of his reigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths only was he King; in which time he declared himselfe a worshipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to justifie the judgment of God, whereby he was slain. He was the last of *Jehu's* house, being (inclusively) the first of that line; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophetic having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to *Salum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the slaughter of *Jeroboam*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* house.

Zacharia

Zacharia having bin fixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who raigned after him, the space of a moneth in *Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; save only that he was a Traytour, and the sonne of one *Jabel*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now when all other Competitors were siten downe, thought easily to prevail against that King, in whose person the race of *Jehu* was to faile. Manifesting that *Sallum* had a strong partie: for *Tiphah* or *Taphsa*, and the coast thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem* his enemy and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* received the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the son of *Gadi*, raigned after *Sallum* ten yeares. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely destroyed *Tiphah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been used in revenge of *Zacharia*'s death, it is like that he would have been as earnest, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such long deliberation, that we may plainly discover Ambition, Disdaine, and other private passions, to have bin the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, *Pul*, King of *Assyria*, came against the Land of *Israel*; whom this new King appeased, with a thousand talents of silver, levied upon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the *Israelite* purchased, not onely the peace of his Kingdome, but his own establishment therein: some factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he came uncalled) sought to use his helpe, in deposing this ill beloved King. *Joseph* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeares, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Sonne occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahia* the story is short: for he reigned onely two yeares; at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Peka* the sonne of *Remaliah*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of *Israel*, as, in time comming, another mans Treason against himselfe shall be. There needs no more to be said of *Menahem* and his sonne, save that they were both of their Idolaters; and the sonne (as we finde in *Josephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the *Assyrian* King, who first opened unto those Northern Nations the way into *Palæstina*; it will shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion whether he were that *Belshazzar* (called also *Belshazzar*, and by some *Phul* *Belochus*) who joyned with *Abaces* the Median, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that wee relate the end of *Uzzia*'s life, who out-lived the happinesse wherein we left him.

§. II.

The end of *Uzzia* his Reigne and Life.

As the zeale of *Jehoiada* that godly Priest was the meane to preserve the lineage of *David* in the person of *Jonah*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crowne of *Juda*, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazia* had endangered his succession. For he said of *Uzzia*, That he sought God in the dayes of *Zecharia* (which understood the visions of God) and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authority, by meddling in the Priests office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpful to the Kings of *Juda*, that meere gratitude and civill policy should have held backe *Uzzia* from inchoaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had bene silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoever, the King forgor his duty, the Priests remembered theirs, and God forgot not to assist them. *Azaria* the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gave him understanding how little to his honour it would prove, that hee tooke upon him the office of the sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourscore other Priests, valiant men, but their

their valour was shewed onely in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his dutie) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We finde in *Josephus*, that the King had apparelled himselfe in Priestly habit, and that he threatened *Azaria* and his Companions, to punish them with death, unless they would be quiet. *Josephus* indeed enlargeth the storie, by inserting a great Earth-quake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, stopping up the high-ways, and spoyling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he saith, that the rooffe of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may have been true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they do much mis-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seven and thirtie yeares before *Uzzia*; so that *Jotham* the son of *Uzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this account, have bin then unborn: for he was but five and twentie yeares old, when he began to reign as King. Therefore, thus far only we have assurance; that while *Uzzia* was worth with the Priests, the leprosie rose up in his forehead, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himselfe until he dyed; the rule over the Kings house, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jotham*, his Son and Successor. *Jotham* tooke not upon himselfe the stile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because he was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of *Uzzia*; and of Princes then ruling in *Egypt*, and in some other Countries.

In the time of *Uzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah* and *Jonah*. It is not indeed set downe, when *Joel* or *Obadiah* did prophesie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expresse, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be judged contemporarie with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of these was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath so painfully bene sought, without reprehension, how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquitie of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonah*; who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like to have prophesied in the dayes of *Jonah*, whilest the affliction of *Israel* was exceeding bitter; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Israel* are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose dayes *Nineve* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

In the reigne of *Uzzia* likewise it was, that *Esaie*, the first of the four great Prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of great and lesser Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as *S. Augustine* gives reason of the distinction) because the greater have written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esaie* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who thinke him to have bin the son of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie both of his stile and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, & whole Historie of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Historie of matters already past.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeare of his reigne, by our computation

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whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when *Nuzia* took possession of the Kingdome of *Juda*.

After the death of *Bacchoris*, *Afsehu* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt*: unto him succeeded *Amfis*; and these two occupied that Crowne fixe yeares. Then *Sabacus*, an *Ethiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie yeares, whereof the ten first ran along with the last of *Nuzia* his Raigne and Life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermedled with the business of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two last yeares of *Ariphron* his twentie, the seven and twentieth of *Ischys*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and three the first of *Eschylus* his three and twentie, made even with the two and fiftie of *Nuzia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seven of *Silvius Aventinus* his seven and thirtie, together with the three & twentie of *Silvius Priscus*, and two and twentie the first of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media* *Arbaces* began his new Kingdome in the first of *Nuzia*, wherein, after eight and twentie yeares, his son *Sosarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirtie yeares. Of this *Arbaces*, and the division of the *Assyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertainty in the storie of the *Assyrian* kings, who have already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. I V.

Of the *Assyrian* Kings, descending from *Phul*: and whether *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person, or heads of sundrie Families, that reigned apart in *Nineve* and *Babylon*.

BY that which hath formerly bene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not only submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him; receiving by his authoritie sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power, was shewne upon *Nabufus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall advice and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great: Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannicall a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generalltie of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belofus*, he used the counsel of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace; allowing him to hold not only the City and Province of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embellishing whereof of his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appears) onely the Sovereignty to himselfe, which to use immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the Citie of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens neverthelesse to take and carry away every one his owne goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurements of liberty; which he himselfe so greatly loved, that by flacking too much the reins of his owne Sovereignty, hee did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanassar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde in the Scriptures to have held some Townes of the *Medes*; and the civill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which *Deiotes* the first of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to bee such as might in fourescore yeares, if not sooner, both extend it selfe unto the conquest of *Israel*, and reare away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nineve*, & subversion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may seeme at that time to have kept the *Assyrians* under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who

who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their Historie is made uncertaine.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together the determination of that worthie man *Jeseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a part the severall authorities and arguments of sundrie men, adding fowm that of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but merely led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, untill of late, hath passed as current, is this; That *Belofus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palestina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skillfull Astrologer, subtle, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie yeares, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalassar* his sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his Metaphrases were sufficient prooffe, could not be gainesaid: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howsoever *Annius* his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, justifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no Historie at all. For its manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Belofus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other Captaines were with governments: but that any third person was so eminent, as to have *Assyria* it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainly it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed unto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne walles and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of *Nineve* by *Arbaces*, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might bee kept downe from aspiring to recover the Sovereignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon such considerations did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or four yeares had erected their Kingdome a-new, under one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* have bene (of whose deservings or enterming, or indeed of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in division of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belofus*, whose neare neighbour-hood gave him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to encompass any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Belofus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a business: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and silver that had bin in the Palace of *Nineve*. And questionlesse, to restore such a Citie as *Nineve*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as *Belofus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belofus*, is likely to have wanted.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belofus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which

lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not have beene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through an other mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootie a farre off in *Israel*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers have called *Belofus*, *Belcis*, and *Belstis*, (in like manner as *Josephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwise than *Darius the Mede*, was the sonne of *Astages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*;) then is this scruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palestina*: so that *Belofus* having settled his affaires in *Affrya* towards the East and North, might with good leasure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may finde every one circumstance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belofus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrowne, did enter into this action, merely for the love of *Belofus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe over *Euphrates* with an Arme into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belofus*, that held good correspondence with them, and whose most fruitfull Province, adjoining to their barraine quarters, might yearly doe them inestimable pleasures; was not onely likely to have quiet passage through their borders, but their utmost assistance: yea, it stands with good reason, that they who loved not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe have given him intelligence of the destruction and civil broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seems that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavey neighbour of *Tersboam*, recovered their owne, setting up a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderness to *Hamath*) of the Hebrew Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Euphrates*, hold together in so good termes off friendship: it was ancient consanguinitie; the memorie whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belofus* had good reason to looke into those parts: what a King reigning so farre off as *Ninive*, should have to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palestina*, it may be doubted, left it should seeme to have ill coherence with that which hath beene said of the long Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes. For if the Crowne of *Israel* were worne by no man in three and twentie years, then is it likely that *Belofus* was either unwilling to stirre, or unable to take the advantage when it was offered, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough to seek after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belofus*, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belofus* did passe the river of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seeme that the inter-regnum in *Israel* was not so long as we have made it: for three and twentie years leasure would have afforded better opportunitie, which ought not to have bin lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they layd hold on a part of the empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mightie, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an error of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans* was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concur, that the authoritie of *Arbaces* did restraints the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it selfe. Now, though some have conjectured that all *Affrya* was given to *Belofus* (as an overplus, besides the Province of *Babylon* which was his by plaine bargain made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that hee did onely inroach upon that Province by little and little, whilst *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve years betweene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menabem* his Raigne; manifest it is, that the conquest

of *Affrya*, and settling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Belofus* occupied, besides the restitution of *Ninive*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of this reigne, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather serve to prove that *Phul* and *Belofus* were one person; forasmuch as the journey of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made until *Belofus* could finde leasure; and the time of advantage which *Belofus* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely, in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefely, it may be said, that hee who conquered *Affrya*, and performed somewhat upon a Countrey so far distant as *Palestina*, was likely to have beene, at least, named in some History, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrey to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoever of the *Affryans*, done in those times; whereas of *Belofus*, and the power of the *Chaldeans*, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Affryans*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate warre, which overwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine & utter desolation of *Ninive*, must needs have so weakened the state of *Affrya*, that it could not in thirty yeares space be able to invade *Palestina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Ninive*, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did yet helpe to enable *Belofus* to subdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if hee had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Countrey, secure of the *Scythians*, & other warlike Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdomes, wheremost civil dissention of the inhabitants, & the bordering envie of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, Friends and Cousins to the *Chaldeans* and *Mesopotamians*, did invinc him. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That what is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be understood of *Belofus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius the Mede*, *Ariahabst*, and *Ahabuerorh*, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the same, whom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countreyes, have called *Nabopolassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble our selves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Belofus*, or some other man: the whole race of these *Affryan* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopolassar* (famous for the Astronomical observations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Belofus* or *Belstis* were that *Phul* which invaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Ninive* & in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aler*, from whom *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Asaraddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seeke *Nabonassar* the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to bee none other than *Salmanassar*, who is knowne to have reigned in those yeares which *Ptolemy* the Mathematician hath assigned unto *Nabonassar*. As for *Mardoch*, who supplanted *Asaraddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such conjectures: They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premises upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Affryan* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races were distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belofus* were severall Kings. This consequence is so plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworn to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Affrya*. This is proved by his name, which is merely *Chaldean*, whereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassar*'s name, is proper to the *Affryans*.

Esfay 39. 1.

It is likewise proved by the Astronomical observations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Affyrians*, do shew that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Prolemy* draws that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Affyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the succellor of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardochepadus*, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Esfay* his prophesie, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the son of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach* the sonne of *Baladan* King of *Babel* were the sonne of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Affyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*; which in *Greece* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captive some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it selfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reigne over *Babylon* in the sixt year of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanassar* took *Sennacherib*, therefore if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach*, yea, and *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joseph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessary inference.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belosus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Belsus* were not sundry Kings; *Joseph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painfull men he confesse that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, given such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, howsoever I beleeve nothing that *Annius* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stamp affirme, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it: I have (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Neverthelselfe, I may say yet againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde, and serveth to explaine or enlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painfull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meanings, if I mistake him not, good silly fellows) who set down the *Affyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should be ashamed or unwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though disliking him in generally) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doores with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force as cannot either be refuted or avoyded. It will easily bee granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Affyria*, (some men doubt whether *Scaliger* reasons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonassar* be a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Affyrian*; yet what hinders us from beleeving that one man in two languages might be called by two severall names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himselfe calls them, *Prophetæ nescio quos, qui Nabonassarum Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt; Prophetæ I know not who, that in their sleep have dreamt of Nabonassar, but he was an Astrologer*.

Scal Comm. 13.

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negative. But as his being Lord over the *Chaldees*, doth not prove him to have beene learned in their sciences; so doth it not prove him not to have beene also King of *Affyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the first, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spain*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all Sciences,

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries than were any that I read of then living in *Spain*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posteritie will not use this as an argument, to prove that *Spain* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar* did use the *Affyrian* Souldiers, & *Babylonian* Schollers; but it seemes, that he and his posteritie, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued, as likewise king *Philip* lost partly, & partly did put to a dangerous hazard all the *Netherlands*, by such a course. As for the two un-anfwerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrarie side) one of them which is drawne from the unlike found and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likenesse of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it selfe: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing save conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Esfay* concerning *Merodach* the sonne of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardochepadus*, his being the Succellor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to raigne in the sixt yeare of *Hezekia*, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be answered in haste. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections untill I meet with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a scumple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here satisfie him; that how strong soever this argument may seeme, *Scaliger* himselfe did live to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us consider, in what sort they have fashioned their Storie, who taking *Pul* to be a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belsus*, have in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Assurhaddon*, which left alto *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I must first confesse my want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present unto us the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seene, that since *Joseph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sebas Calvisius* himselfe, who hath abridged *Scaliger* learned Worke, *Decemendatione Temporum*, hath not beene careful to give us notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Palsar* did raigne, (perhaps because he found it not expresse in *Scaliger*) but is content to set downe *Baladan*, for the same person with *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himselfe revoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these divided Kingdomes, in such sort as I find it contrived by *Augustinus Tornilius*; who onely of all that I have seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Affyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Tornilius* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whose Annales were printed the last yeare; he appeares to me a man of a curious industrie, sound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Bookes he hath received good information, and enriched his workes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both used and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to do right unto *Tornilius*; but confesse my selfe to have received benefit by his writing; and with that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would he have instructed and emboldened me to write more fully and lesse timorously in other things, which now I have not leisure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily passed out of my hand, and beene expofed to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were slaine by *Abraham*, I finde him adventuring as I have done, to say, that they may probably be thought to have beene some petty Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let us consider how

C. 1. 6. 13.

how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the most mighty, fought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belus*, and they two prevailed so far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Othavian*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Tornielius* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himselfe Sovereigne Lord of all, and placed the seate of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Assyria*. But in short space, that is, in four yeares, it came to passe by the just judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and in stead of being his Vice-Royes, made themselves absolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Tornielius* himselfe leans, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why hee did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to ghesse. Having thus devised how *Phul* and *Belus* might, at the first, attaine to bee Kings, he orders their time and their successors in this manner.

Four years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty yeares. *Theglathalasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diversly, according as the Authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversifie them) succeeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* reigned seven: and when he was slaine, *Asarhaddon* his sonne ten yeares; in whom that line failed.

The same time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Assyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for so it had been more likely) *Belus* usurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threecore and eight yeares; at the least threecore and eight yeares did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinks to be *Baladan*, are assigned fixe and twenty yeares: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly one and twenty to *Nabolasar* the father of *Nabuchodonosor*; who is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the originall of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truly say, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Belus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more nearly resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Tornielius* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Assyria* (for how *Belus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. Headheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the sudden King of *Assyria*; or to give him so noble a Province, as would, of it selfe, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unless his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that divided all betwene them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Division it selfe, and the civill Warres that caused it, were never heard of? Questionlesse, the interverting of some Treasures by *Belus*, with his Judgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoided; but that either we must confesse the Dominion given to *Phul* to have beene exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to have beene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us thinke, that rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequell, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Belus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recover such strength in foure yeares, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for *Belus* it was needlesse to rebel, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his owne Government, to doe what they listed.

But

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be so unawfull to thinke, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict so acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reigne in *Assyria* eight and forty yeares? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true that painefull and judicious Writers have found this number of yeares to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not beleaved for his own sake; though for our owne sakes wee make use of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, against whom we shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathalasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of five and twenty yeares the one, and seventene the other; *Tornielius* hath cut off two from the former, and seven from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his owne computation; using the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, save our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reigne, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Tornielius* gives the same length of reigne, which is found in *Metasthenes*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is *Tornielius*: and yet I could wish that he had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius* in this business, wherein he himselfe hath chosen in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we finde that he hath used in measuring the reignes of the *Chaldeans*; filling up all the space betwene the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threecore and eight yeeres of *Belus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belus* might have begun his reigne somewhat later than *Phul* for threecore and eight yeares would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no young man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his reigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty yeares had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seemes by the story to have beene little lesse at such time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty yeares, did well deserve that note (which *Tornielius* advicably gives) that if his reigne extended not so far, then the reigne of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonassar*.

Neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Tornielius*, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calvisius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countreys, whereof as yet there is made no true discovery, that is, either by leaving some part blank, or by inserting the Land of *Pigmies*, Rocks of *Loade-stone*, with *Head-lands*, *Bayes*, great *Rivers*, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allows not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remedlesse oblivion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

— Neque servidus
Pars inclusa caloris
Mundi, nec Borea finitimum latus,
Durat aequo sole Nives,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidis
Vincunt aquora Navis.

Nor

Nor Southerne heat, nor Northerne snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subject Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The subtle Shipmen way will finde,
Storme never to the Seas with Winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe serve only to mis-lead such discoverers as rashly beleeve them; drawing upon the publishers, either some angry curses or well deserved scorne; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot serve alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* Gentleman, who had bene employed by his King in planning a Colony upon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some questions about an Island in those Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wives Island*; saying, That whilst the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Countrey for her; that shee, in imagination, might have an Island of her owne. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time shall runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if some good Copy of an ancient Author, could be found, shewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it bee more shame to have beleaved in the meane while, *Annius* or *Tornellus*, than to have beleaved nothing? Here I will not say, that the credit which we give to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to bee given to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Tornellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Historiographers than their conjecture, as in this point it seems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanely learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacuvius* in *Caput* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senators of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senators up within the State-house, and offered their lives to the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to bee rejected: so that finding the worse and lesse choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept for lacke of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

After this division of the *Assyrian* Empire, followes the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reigne of the same King *Xerxes*, and in his one and fiftieth year. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus*, in the first of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of *Israel* and *Juda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his owne foote; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neare unto *Elis*; where also

Jupiter

Jupiter's Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from every fourth year compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, neer the river *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reigne of *Therapsius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were dissolved under *Constantine* the Great.

From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times and their stories to be certain: but reckoned all before either doubtfull or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Ensebius* out of *Diodore*, *Cassio*, *Polypius*, and others, hath gathered, in whose time the seven wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Craesus*, and *Craesus* was overthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

Many patient and piercing braines have laboured to find out the certaine beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

Cyril against *Julian* and *Didymus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osias*, or *Azarias*.

Ensebius, who is contrary to himselfe in this reckoning, accounts with those that finde the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundredth and sixth year after *Troy*, yet telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Xerxes*, which is (as I find it) two yeares later.

Eratosthenes placeth the first *Olympiad* foure hundred and seven yeares after *Troy*, reckoning the yeares that passed betwene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus* and many others adhere.

The distance betwene the destruction of *Troy* and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the descent of *Hercules* his Posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourescore yeares; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, three score yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the first yeare of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vaine labour it were to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbring the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more uncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games to have been in the foure hundredth and eight yeare current after *Troy*, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that Citie, setting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* must needs teach us how to finde when they began.

To this good use wee have the ensuing yeares unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundredth fourescore and seventene yeares; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and forty yeares; forwards to the victory of *Lysander*, seven and twenty; to the battell of *Leuttra*, thirty foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to 453 yeares; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Xerxes*, wee have arguments grounded upon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also upon the Astronomically calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sunne; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*, and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first yeare of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that hee reigned thirty yeares: they who give him but twenty nine yeares of reigne (following *Hierodorus* rather than *Tally*, *Iustine*, *Ensebius*, and others) begin a yeare later, which comes

all

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers in the first year of the hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexanders* death serveth well to lead us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like observations doe. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, we shall finde all to agree with the yeares of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Persian Empire*, which was in the third of the hundredth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we finde two hundred and thirty yeares compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find compleat two hundred and seven years, which was the continuance of the *Persian Empire*.

Now therefore seeing that the first year of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundredth and fortieth year from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seventy yeares of the captivity of *Juda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*: manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seven years, and one hundred threescore and ten years more, the last which passed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the first of these *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Naxos*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. For examples sake; that which was scene when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundredth threescore and seventh year of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a faire way through the threescore and ten years, unto the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and so upwards through the reigns of the last Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Naxos*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, weretherein practised; as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whole-bows, and other the like ancient kindes of exercises that served onely for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having play'd the best part.

The *Eleans* were presidents of those Games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seen his three sons crowned for their severall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere, Diagoras, non enim inolum ascensus es; that is, Die, Diagoras, for thou shalt not clime up to heaven: as if there could be no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense Horace speaks of these Victors, calling them,*

*Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma Cælestes.*

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an Eleian Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counsits it) the vanity of the *Greeks*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour to have wonne the Victory at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victory, or conquest of a Province.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and upon the

fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, which doth answer to our *June*; and what means they used to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne unto the Kings of *Juda*, & leave the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrells draw the body of this History into the coasts of *Ionis* and *Helleſpont*.

§. VI.

Of Jotham and his Contemporaries.

Jotham the sonne of *Achaz*, when he was five and twenty yeers old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Jerusalem*, his Father yet living. Hee built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits upright, and there-fore called *Ophel*: besides divers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forrests, Towers & Palaces: he enforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: hee reigned fixe and twenty yeares of whom *Josephus* gives this testimonie: *Ejusmodi vero Princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in virtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo pie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo iuste prae- fuerit, urbem ipsam tanta sibi curae esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hisibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus felix, justum & fortunatum suam virtute effecerit; This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worshipped God so religiously, he governed his men so righteously, he was so provident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplifie it, that by his verime and provelse he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Ser- vants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happie.*

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himselfe was devout and vertuous.

Ammonites about this time succeeded *Phelisteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corin- thians* erected Magistrates, which governed from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places, are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidae*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who drove them out.

Tiglathphalassar, or *Tiglathpeleser*, the son of *Phul* the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who a King 15: murdered his Master *Pekeiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he rooke most of the Cities of *Nephthali* and *Galilee*, with those of *Gilead*, over *Jordan*, and carried the in- habitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty yeares, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentz* hemius findes, that with his sonne *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two yeares lon- ger: which yeares I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reigne, but reckon them to *Tiglathphalassar* himselfe, who there- with reigned 27. yeeres.

Aschylus, the son of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. yeares. *Alcarnenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*. But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken: for *Diadore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others, witnesse the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. yeares, and out-lived the *Messenian* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion.

At this time lived *Nabum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian Empire*, and of the citie of *Nineve*; which succeeded (saith *Josephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradas* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmes* and *Medius* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of Achaz and his Contemporaries.

Achaz, or *Achaz*, succeeded unto *Jotham* in the seventeenth yeer of *Pekah*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers reigne, who began in the second of the same *Pekah*, and reigned 16. but not compleat yeeres. This

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

§. I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.



N D here to speake of the more ancient times of Italy, and what Nations posselt it before the arrivall of *Aeneas*, the place may seeme to invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. Italy before the fall of Troy, was knowne to the *Greekes* by divers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Oenotria*, the one name arising of the seate, the other of the *Aionis*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnassus* thinkes to have beene the first, that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called Italy of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere gleba:
Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greekes* *Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertility:
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by late ages of Posterity,
Tis from a Captaine name called Italy.

Who this Captaine or King may have bin, it is very uncertaine. For *Virgil* speaks no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long upon the whole Countrey, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the originall of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrey, *Reineccius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnassus*, who speaks of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into Italy, before the name of Italy was given to it: Secondly, upon that of *Justin*, who saith, that *Brundisium* was a Colonie of the *Aetolians*: Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirms the same of *Temeja* or *Templa*, a Citie of the *Brutii* in Italy: Lastly, upon the authority of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabite only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians*, who (as he shewes) had one originall from them he brings the name of Italy. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Atolia*, save that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke* words is common; & the letter (o) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of *Aethalia* an Island neere Italy, peopled by the *Aetholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Aeolie* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Aetolians*) the accent & pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius*, *Halicarnassus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Hereunto appertaines that of *Julian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Janus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as *Greece* and Italy lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who flying over the *Ionian* Sea, that lies betwene *Aetolia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and Italy, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinkes, that the names

of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applies that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilst he abode in Italy with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Javan*, and nephew of *Japheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceeds the name of Italy, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of Troy.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speaks of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in Italy, but calleth *Electra* & her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in Africa, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigines*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* beene one person.

As for the authority of *Berosus* in this case, we need the lesse to regard it, for that *Reineccius* himself, whose conjectures are more to be valued than the dreames wherewith *Apollonius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of Italy began long after *Atlas*, it appears by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein hee would not have said, — *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name beene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeeres before the Warre of Troy, had left in Italy a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Aetolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of Italy began: & seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any such *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Aetolus* written in *Greeke* *Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Aetolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, & founder of the *Aetolian* Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Aetolus*, than *Italia* from *Aetolia*. So may *Virgil's* authority stand well with the collections of *Reineccius*; the name of Italy being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

§. II.

Of the *Aborigines*, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

I N Italy the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; & the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all Italy, and in few ages whatsoever Nation was knowne in Europe: together with all the Westerne parts of Asia, and North of Africa.

The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnassus*, *Varr*, & *Reineccius* (following them) thinke to have bin *Arcadians*: & this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are knowne in vaunting manner to have alwayes usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moone; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* enforced to forsake their seates so oft as other *Greekes* were, who did dwell without that halfe Island, neither had the *Arcadians* so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Countrey was lesse fruitfull in land, mountainous, & hard of access, & they themselves (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore having occupied a great part of Latium, & held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselves *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours there by had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somewhat far from Sea, & are alwayes noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, should have bin Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulness of children, in which those ages abounded, enforced the superfluous company to seeke another sear, & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, especially that of *Evander*, into the same parts of Italy, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelagi*, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory such in *Italy*, as could long sustaine the name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Aufones*, *Arunci*, *Rutuli*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to some civility; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne S. Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercorius*, say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* took his name of *Saturne*, because he did *Latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*; it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could bee hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one should flee from another; so in the truth of History, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should bee hard to finde one Country or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poetical fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkly expresse (for so they fained a passage over a River in Hell, because death is a passage to another life; & because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of Hate; *Cocytus*, of Lamentation, and *Acheron*, of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted; and because the *Greekes* had people, and *isles* stones, are neere in sound, therefore they fained in the time of *Dencalion* stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones: in like manner it may be, that the original of *Saturne* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Alfis*; whence also *EJay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus addens te*. For it cannot be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also have this very signification, if it be derived (as some thinke) from the Hebrew *Satur*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not but that the original of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who descended of *Cetlim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembered by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subjects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. in *agro Elaitico*, in the *Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Aeolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elea*, or *Elai*, *Paulsanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamis*, or (according to the *Greek* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neere found to *Cetlim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greek* *Λεως* (D) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (TH) differing only in the strength or weaknesse of utterance, which is found betwene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans*, being descended of *Cetlim*, *Citim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaitis*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Aeolians*, and *Elans*, who all were of the *Aeolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elew*, the Haven *Elaus*, the people *Elaita*, the City *Elaus*, *Elais*, & *Elaitia*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elaitis*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetei* and *Arcadians*, had their originall from *Cetlim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neverthelesse differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner, might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the City *Elaitia*) bee named of the *Ceteans* *Latinus*. *Reyneccius*, pursuing this likelihood, thinks, that when *Euryphilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Euryphilus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what evil might befall themselves by the *Greeks*, if the affairs of *Troy* should goe ill) passed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* further thinkes, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among

Seneca l. 1. cap. 66.
S. 1. & 10.

Acts 7. 2. 3.
EJay 45. 15.

among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may have bin taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*; it is the more easie to be thought, for that there werethen two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the Country: & betweene these two Families the succession in that Kingdome did passe, almost interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippothous* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posterity it continued untill the last. Againe, the name of *Latinus*, having a derivative sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofe, considering that it is not easie to find either an apparent truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

§. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill *Aeneas* his coming.

THE Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrivall of *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembered, save what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be applicable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall bee able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them *Κρόνος*, or some other, fabled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bin the time: but the names of *Sterces*, and *Sterculius* (for it may bee, this name was not borrowed from the skill which hee taught the people, but rather the soile which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good Horfe-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to have growne from the skill which hee had in sooth-saying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having slaine by milchance his Father *Echonus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into Italy) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, who was also his wife, as all Historians agree; she was held a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastity, which praise in her must needs have bin much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being meerly incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any childe, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, save onely that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, save onely that her abode was about the River *Liris* neere *Miturnae*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Ulysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* in the word *Latini* takes notice onely of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinus* having obtained the succession in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promise his only Daughter and Heire *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the son of *Pemilus*, who was sister to *Amata* *Latinus* his Wife.

But when *Aeneas* arrived in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allows to the Vessels then used, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Aeneas*, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incensed here.

* *Erethidion* calls the Jacke of the heathen *deus Stercoris*: and hence it may be that in the Evangelist we reade of *Belzebub*, *Bilzebul*, which is interpreted *Domus stercoreis*: and it may bee that after that *Saturne* became the name of an Idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercoris* should stick unto him. *Aeneid*. 7.

herewith, fought to avenge himselfe by warre: which was soone ended with his owne death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were she an *Italian*, she could not have borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of *Aeneas*; unless he should wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last yeere of the *Trojan* Warre. But *Reynolds* holds her an *Asiaticque*, and thinkes withall, that *Lavinia* was borne before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassensis* call her, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatina*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifies beloved, or deare, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he tooke to serve as a Nunne of *Vesta*; wherefore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrey, was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was over-grown by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

§. IV.

Of *Aeneas*, and of the Kings and Governors of *Alba*.

A*ENEAS* himselfe being of the Royall blood of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his wife *Crensa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, hee had a sonne called *Ascanius*; whose surname was *Julius*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bin surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with childe by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a son, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lavinia* was evil taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and using her as a Queene, did foster her young son, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leaving to his mother in law the Citie *Lavinium*, which *Aeneas* had built and called after his new wives name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reign was, according to some, eight and twenty yeeres: *Virgil* gives him thirty: others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, there arose contention betweene *Sylvius*, the son of *Aeneas*, and *Julius* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lavinia*, *Julius* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdome to *Sylvius Posthumus*, whose posterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reigne of the *Alba* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I find thus set downe:

1	<i>Sylvius Posthumus</i> .	29
2	<i>Sylvius Aeneas</i> .	31
3	<i>Sylvius Latinus</i> .	50
4	<i>Sylvius Alba</i> .	39
5	<i>Sylvius Asie</i> .	26
6	<i>Sylvius Capys</i> .	28
7	<i>Sylvius Capetus</i> .	13
8	<i>Sylvius Tiberinus</i> .	8
9	<i>Sylvius Agrippa</i> .	41
10	<i>Sylvius Abadius</i> .	19
11	<i>Sylvius Aventinus</i> .	37
12	<i>Sylvius Procas</i> .	23
13	<i>Sylvius Amulius</i> .	44
	<i>Sylvius Numitor</i> .	
	<i>Ilia</i> , called also <i>Rhea</i> and <i>Sylvia</i> .	
	<i>Romulus</i> , <i>Remus</i> .	

The

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the Borders of *Latium*: who standing much upon the honour of their original, grew thereby to be called *Prisci Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some thinke that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albulas*: but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the coming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*. The Mountaine *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes*: who was buried therein: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Julius*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Julius*, & grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*: *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdome by his brother *Amulius*: by whom also his son *Aegesthus* was slaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceived two sonnes, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as some thinke; or by *Mars*, as the Poets saine; or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the law; which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Asius*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long hee reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as far as concerns the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magistrates; of whom only two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Claudius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hostilius*, King of the *Romanes*, making warre upon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Sufferius*, the successor of *Claudius*, who succeeded the Estate of *Alba* unto the *Romanes*, having committed the hazzard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romanes*, prevailed against the *Curatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Volscians* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leave the *Romanes* to such an overthrow, as might make them weake enough for the *Albanes* to deale with; *Tullus*, who notwithstanding this falsehood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a small death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii*: of whom *C. Julius Caesar* being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of the *Romanes*, then governed by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and judgement, obtained the Sovereignty of the *Romane* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posterity; whereby the name of *Aeneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was so revived, that seldom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§. V.

Of the beginning of *Rome*, and of *Romulus* birth and death.

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertaine) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-child of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not only the bordering people, but all Nations betweene *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, having bene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Por-*

sius

ius Cato, Calpurnius Piso, Sempronius, & others, seeke to derive the Romans from Janus; but Herodotus, Marcellus, and many others of equal credit, give the Gracians for their ancestors: & as Strabo reporteth in his fifth Booke, Cæcilius rerum Romanarum Scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romanâ Græciis esse conditam, quod Romani Græci ritu, antiquo instructo, Hercule rem sacram faciunt: matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani; Cæcilius (saith he) a Romane Historiographæ, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, because the Romanes, after Greekeish fashion, by ancient ordinance doe sacrifice to Hercules: the Romanes also worship the mother of Evander.

Plutarch in the life of Romulus remembreth many founders of that Citie: as Romulus the son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*; Romus the son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who drave the *Tuscan* out of that Country, built it. *Solinus* bestowes the honour of building Rome upon *Evander*, saying, That it was before times called *Valentia*. *Heraclides* gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the *Gracians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Februa*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse *S. Augustine* in his third Booke de Civitate Dei. But *Livie* will have it to be the worke of *Romulus*, even from the foundation: of whom and his consort, *Juvenal* to a Roman Citizen, vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verses:

*Attamen ut longe repetas, longæque revolvās
Majorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedigree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepherd was, or else, that Ille forbear.

meaning, either a Shepherd or a Theist.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preservation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father, that he was nursed by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Fausfula* a Shepherdes wife. The same unnatural nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came covered with armour to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with childe: & therein it seemeth to me that he might have two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other, to satisfie his appetite, because she was faire and goodly. For she being made a Nunne of the goddesse *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find

Fauschet f. 114.

in *Fauschet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Meroëe*, King of the *Frances*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauschet* sayes, Let them beleieve it that list; Il le cruira qui voudra: Also of *Alexander* and of *Scipio African*, there are poetical inventions: But to answer these imaginations in generall, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, cover such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* confesse to *Paris*, that she had beene ravished by *Apollo*. And *Anchises* boasted that hee had knowne *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with childe by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battell, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was overcome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Meroëe* might fancie a Sea Captaine, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Aeneas* was a bastard, and begotten upon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie *Venus*, and was therefore the childe of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nursed by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curtians in those dayes were called Wolfes, *Que nunc* (saith *Halicarnassensis*) *honestiori vocabulo amica appellantur; Which are now by an honest name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world by his father *Mars*, in a great storme of thunder and lightning: so was it said that *Aeneas* vanished away by the River *Namici*:

but thereof *Livie* also speaketh modestly; for hee rehearseth the other opinion that the storme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnaturall darknesse, both at his birth and at his death; and that he might be slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperour *Anastafius* was slaine with lightning; so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Carnus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilest hee lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there slaine with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same Kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, & by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the Roman Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seventh King after him: who when hee had murdered his Father-in-law, commanded that hee should not be buried, for (saith hee) *Romulus* himselfe died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnassensis* end this dispute: whose words are these: They (saith hee) who drew neere to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offenders, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that between his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sonne was eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darknesse like unto night, & that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth containe (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles which had soone bin forgotten, if the Roman greatnesse built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of body, patient of travell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the use of wine & delicacies; but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, & neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. yeers first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time, the Sovereignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein Rome it selfe in her latter times hath somewhat resembled this King. For having long bin sole Governesse till *Constantin* shared with her: afterwards, when as the Greeke Emperour was crushed by forraigne enemies, and the *Latines* disployed of Imperiall power, she fell into the subjection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes; and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Crozier staffe.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the storie of the times of King *Abaç*, during whose reigne in *Jurie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, and his Contemporaries.

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolomie, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar and Mardocempadus, with the historie of the Bible.



THE first yeere of *Abaç* his reigne was confounded with the last of his father *Jotham*, so was the latter end of his sixteen yeeres taken up in the three first of *Ezechias* his son. This appears by the Reigne of *Hofsa*, over *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Abaç*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Abaç* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hofsa* was the first of *Ezechia*; so it followes, that *Ezechia* began to reigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeer of *Hofsa*, the same being the fourteenth of *Abaç*, was almost spent when *Ezechia* began, and so

for the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may have beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezechia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* began his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeer of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the meanes how to dis-joyne the first of *Ezechia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which yeere, *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many dayes. But seeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

In the fourteenth yeere of *Ezechia*, *Senacherib*, invading *Juda* and the Countreies adjoining, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroake from Heaven, fled home, and was slaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeeres to the life of *Ezechia*, when hee had already reigned fourteen of his nine and twenty: and the same yeeres was that miracle sene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day, which answered unto the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Jubius* year, being then *Thursday*. I have not seene any workes of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of observation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fifteenth yeere of *Ezechia* agreed upon, and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is usuall in like cases,

1 Chron. 28. 27. that *Ahaz* slept with his Fathers, & *Ezechia* his Sonne reigned in his stead, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Jehosaphat*, and succession of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reigne whilst his Father lived, wee have already said enough.

Of this godly King *Ezechias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his unfortunate and ungracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeere and first moneth of his

1 Chro. 29. v. 3. reigne, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to bee understood as the beginning of his sole government; wee plainly find it to have beene his first worke, that hee opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Ahaz* had shut up, cleaned the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices & estates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had bin for many yeeres neglected, & brake down the brazen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, & hee called it *Nebushtan*, which signifieth alump of brasse. He did also celebrate the Pass-over with great magnificence, inviting therunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came up to *Jerusalem*, to this feast. But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezechia* to scorne.

2 King 18.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* servitude, fell into a new servitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reigne, *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Soe* King of *Egypt*, against him, invaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third yeare (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, and his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineve*; in whose Seates and Places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Assur*, *Hammah*, and *Spheraim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first of whom wee find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serve most aptly to joyn the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* & *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, & of *Hosea* King of *Israel*, whom hee carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* maketh

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mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to shew; that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nabuchadnezzar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient prooffe from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appears, that betwene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seven hundred forty and six yeeres: at which distance of time the reigne of *Salmanassar* was. One great prooffe hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Pruenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomy*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadors to *Ezechia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time, betwene *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall finde it the same which is betwene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Funtinus* doth the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three yeeres: the selfe-same distance of time is found in *Ptolomy*, betwene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For whereas *Ptolomy* seemes to differ from this account, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty yeeres, than the destruction of *Jerusalem*, wee are to understand that he rooke *Samaria* in the eighth yeere of his reigne; so that the seven foregoing yeeres added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolomy*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and seven yeeres. Now if wee adde to these one hundred twenty seven, the thirteene ensuing of *Nabuchadnezzars* yeeres, before the City and Temple were destroyed, wee have the summe of one hundred and forty yeeres. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that *Ptolomy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty and two yeeres, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I thinke it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall observations doe so thoroughly concur.

Yet so far as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved *Saladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have beene this *Nabonassar*; I will not spare to lose a word or two in giving the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reigne of *Mardocempadus*; the second yeere of whose reigne, is according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty seven of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which hee calculates, being in the second yeere of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seven yeeres, seventeen dayes, and eleven houres: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Tbot*, then answering to the twenty six of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time betwene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* yeers. But how doth this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleve *Mardocempadus* to have beene rather the Nephew than the Sonne of *Saladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if hee might bee either the Nephew, or the Sonne; hee might perhaps bee neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countreie-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Tornielus*, who follows *Scaliger* herein; and *Sethus Calvisius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronology, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold up the same assertion, confounding *Saladan* with *Nabonassar*: I have taken the paines to search, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two. Yet

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Ctesias and *Metasthenes*. I will lay the burden upon *Eusebius*, who lived in a more better furnished than ours, with books of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekiah*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceus*, are found in *Eusebius*: for whether *Cardiceus* were *Diadorus* his *Arbaces*, I will not stay to search. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in this order.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28	} years.
<i>Sosarmus.</i>	30	
<i>Medidus.</i>	40	
<i>Cardiceus.</i>	35	
<i>Diocetes.</i>	54	
<i>Phraortes.</i>	24	
<i>Cyaxares.</i>	32	
<i>Astyages.</i>	38	

These names, and this course of succession I retain; but adde unto these, *Cyaxares* the son of *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and sometimes follow *Herodotus*, in setting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwise than *Eusebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine years of *Ezekiah* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four first that were chosen Governours of Athens for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Erismachus*, *Eldideus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the first of these I heare nothing, save that Rome was built in his first year; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second and third, I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewd upon his own Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be lockt up with an Horse, giving to neither of them any foode: so the Horse, constrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reigne both before, and somewhat after *Ezekiah*.

In Lydia, *Candaules* the last King ruled in the same age. This Region was first called *Mæonia*. *Lydius* the son of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of Lydia, if we beleve such authority as we find. This Kingdom was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Aleus* the son of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of these *Heraclides* continued reigning fifty five years (in which two and twenty Generations passed) the son continually succeeding the father. *Candaules* the son of *Myrsus* was the last of his race, who doted so much upon the beauty of his owne wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the son of *Dasyllus* to behold her naked body; and placed the unwilling man secretly in her chamber, where he might see her preparing to bedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdain, that she forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treason. So *Gyges* being brought again into the same chamber by the Queen, slew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdom of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight years, beginning in the last of *Ezekiah*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his son *Ardys* reigned nine and forty yeares; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty seven; and finally *Cresus* the son of *Halyattes*, fourteen yeares: who lost the Kingdom, and was taken by *Cyrus* of Persia.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lydian Kings, whom *Cresus* his Progenitor dispossessed, are deduced from *Hercules*, so of the same *Hercules* there sprang many other Kings, which governed severall Countreys very long; as in Asia, the Mysians in Greece, the Lacedæmonians, Messenians, Rhodians, Corinthians and Argives; and from the Argives, the Macedonians, as likewise from the Corinthians, the Syracusians: besides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the *Heraclides* that reigned in Lydia, I have not troubled my self to take notice in the time of their severall reignes: for little is found of them beside the bare names, and the folly of this last King *Candaules*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, betweene the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reigne of *Ezekiah* in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

§. I.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in Historie, are like to have belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example proving this out of William of Tyre his Historie of the Holy Warre.

THe emulation and quarrels arising in these times, betweene the mightie Kingdomes of Egypt and Assyria, doe require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in Egypt, and setting down briefly the state of that Countrey, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Assyria for the Mæstrie. Of *Cham* the son of *Noah*, who first planted that Countrey, and of *Osiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, untill the *Israelites* were thence delivered, more hath bin said already than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to faile in such conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynasties, must here againe helpe me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are said to have reigned in Egypt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, such as *Jeseph* was, and such as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore I will not onely forbear to seeke after those, whom *Herodotus* and *Diadorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of Egyptian Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearsing their names; but will save the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names onely are found; the yeares of their reigns, and other circumstances proving them to have bin Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not seeme before hand to lay an imaginative ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to beleve those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our Saviour Christ was removed onely fortie two descents; which makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the Persian Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many successions in Egypt: especially considering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, having reigned longer than fortie yeares. It followes that we should square the number of the Egyptian Kings in some even proportion, to those which did beare rule in other Countreys. As for the rest, whose names we finde scattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy War, written by *William* Archbishop of Tyre, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enow, of such as might be thought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that purpose for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in Egypt, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a subtle man, made himselfe Soldan, by force and cunning, chasing away *Sanar* an Arabian, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* ministred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* King of Jerusalem; and sustained, with little losse, an invasion, which *Amalrick* made upon Egypt. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good against him, if he could get any forces wherewith to enter Egypt.

Briefly,

Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Armie of his *Turks*, under the command of *Syraccon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: for in few dayes after, he was slaine by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to chabliſh, he slew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadach*, gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilst he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syraccon* with his *Turkes*, to whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from *Damasco*, for the conquest of all *Egypt*. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them, much lesse to repell the Turkish Armie, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aide, and so drives out the *Turkes*. Of all this trouble the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much as should make him looke to the playing of his owngame.

A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadach* particularly in his owne Title. *Syraccon*, Captaine of the *Turkes* that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph of Baldach* (who was opposit to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heire to *Malom* that false Prophet, the Sovereignie over all that were of the *Saracen Law*) and tels him the weakenesse of the *Egyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing service in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Armes, and *Syraccon*, with a mightie power, descendeth into *Egypt*. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that with all his forces he hasteth into *Egypt*: well knowing how nearely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Jerusalem*, to keepe the *Saracens* from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the *Soldan* perceiving the faithful care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drawes the enemies out of the Countrey. But this victorie was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to have been King in title, onely, who meddled so little in the Government? The *Soldan*, finding that the Christians (without whose helpe all was lost) could not well stay so long as his necessities required: makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, upon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William of Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the *Saracens*, per-haps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of *Jerusalem* should receive out of *Egypt*, for this behovefull assistance. But the Christians understanding that the *Soldan* (how much soever heooke upon him) was subject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the *Caliph* himselfe. Hereupon *Hugh Earle of Caesarea*, and a Knight of the *Templers*, are sent unto *Elhadach* to ratifie the covenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadours were conveyed by the *Soldan* to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopiens*, which with all diligence, did reverence to the *Soldan* as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beaurie and riches, that they could not retaine the gravitie of Embassadours, but were enforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought over with embossed workes, curious pavements, fith-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many sorts of strange birds, unknown in those parts of the World, as comming perhaps from the East Indies, which then was undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conveyed them into

other Courts within these, as far excelling the former, as the former did surpasspe ordinarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse how the further they entered, the more high state they found, and cause of marvaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the *Caliph* owne lodgings, which were yet more stately and better guarded; where entering the Prefence, the *Soldan* having twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time cast off his Sword that he wore about his necke, and throw himselfe on the ground before the curtaine, behinde which the *Caliph* sat. Presently the traverse wrought with Gold and Pearles was opened, and the *Caliph* himselfe discovered, sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward servants and Eunuches about him. When the *Soldan* had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made unto King *Almaricke*, desiring the *Caliph* himselfe to ratifie them in presence of the Embassadors. The *Caliph* answered, That he would throughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargain; which the *Egyptians* that stood by thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse condescended at length, after much deliberation at the earnest request of the *Soldan*, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of *Caesaria* saw that the *Caliph* gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seekes no holes to hide it selfe; Princes that will hold covenant, must deale openly, nakedly and sincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for we will make no bargain with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yeeld so far. But when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling chaire (though to the great griefe of his Servants) hee vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so rehearsing the covenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors with such rewards as testified his greatnesse.

In this *Caliph* and his *Sultan*, we may discern the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himselfe with the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, using all Royall power; making war and peace; entreinaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea, making the Land of *Egypt* tributary to a forraign Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joseph*, when *Pharaoh* said unto him, *Thou shalt be over mine house, and as thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the Kingdome will I be above thee. Behold I have set thee over all the Land of Egypt?*

I doe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinks, that the *Egyptians*, ever since *Josephs* time, have felt the burden of that servitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirms this manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomaeus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and etablissher of that race) were given, all of them wholly to please their owne appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Countrey afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the *Egyptians* held their Princes, gave them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes governing *Egypt*, is set down by *Moses*, and that a lively example of the same is found in *William of Tyre*, who lived in the same age; was in few yeares after Chancellour of the Kingdome of *Jerusalem*; and had full discourse with *Hugh Earle of Caesaria* touching all these matters. Wherefore it remains, that we be not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleieve that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous *Egyptians* have honoured with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Countrey; after whom it follows that we should make inquiry.

§. II.

of Acherres; whether he were Uchoreus that was the eighth from Osymandyas. of Osymandyas and his Tombe.

IN this businesse I hold it vaine to be to curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have fought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Ammius* would doe good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold my selfe contented with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities removed so farre out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of Israel out of Egypt, it shall suffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius* have not bene silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, unto the reigne of *Thuaris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call *Protemus*) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set downe the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and give to every one the same length of reigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded unto *Chenres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seemes to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaeus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Osymandyas* to have bin the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the seconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert its wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdos*, or to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word else doth) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name, belonging also to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vex my braines in the unprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I think the Egyptians did fabulously expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army with the siege of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of Bactria made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes to have bene erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whilst yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his owne particular monument, striving therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statues therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement seats, the receiving of Tribute, the offering sacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all carrell and food; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the severall Offices of a Governour. On the Tombe of *Osymandyas* was this inscription. *I am Osymandyas King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed some of my workes.* Let them that hope to exceed his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lye*, it should seem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose body was preserved among the Hebrewes, to be buried in the land of Canaan, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who outlived him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose the plenty of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another, to his increase of honour. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the Turkish *Bassas* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now

Now although it be so, that the reckoning falls out right, between the times of *Ioseph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eight in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as well be, that *Memphis* was built by some such King as was *Gebur*, Lieutenant unto the Caliph *Elcain*; who having to his Masters use conquered Egypt, and many other Countreies, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly so pronounced) naming it *Elcabin*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistress, though he himselfe were a *Dalmatian* slave.

Join Ito Hill.
Asic. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

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§. III.

of Cherres, Armeus, Ramesses, and Amenophis. Of Myris, and the Lake that beares his name.

WHEN *Acherres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* succeeded and held the kingdom fifteen years: then reigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Ramesses*, threecore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Ramesses* is that Historie understood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the Greeks, under the names of *Danaus* and *Aegyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of Egypt by his brother, fled into Greece: where he obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom upon seeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fiftie sons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the first night; that onely *Hypermetra*, one of his Daughters, did save her husband *Lyncus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie sisters, when they dyed, were enjoined this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking vessell with water.

The reigne of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Ramesses*, *Egyptus*; is more than *Reineccius* beleeves: he rather takes *Armeus* to have bin *Myris*, or *Meris*, who causeth the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my own part, as I can easily beleeve, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of such quality as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we spake before; so doe I not find how in so short a reigne, as five years, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wives being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whose age is uncertaine, and of whose reignes we have no assurance, I may truly say, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds or more absolute, than were those of *Ioseph*, who bought all the people of Egypt as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gebur*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countrey Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set downe the length of their reignes whom we finde to have followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand six hundred furlongs in compass, and fiftie fadomes deep. It served to receive the waters of *Nile*, when the over-flow, being too great, was harmful to the Countrey: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not rise high enough. In opening the flues of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fiftie talents; but the Lake it selfe fraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy sweet oynments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the midst of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; having on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I find not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of *Herodotus*; yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inserting one *Armfis* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should have reigned one year and odde moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthe of examination.

After

After *Rameses*, his son *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortie years. Some give him onely nineteene yeares; and *Mercaur* thinks him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have already spoken in the first Booke.

§. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynastie of the Larties.

Sethosis, or Zethus, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie five yeares. To him are ascribed the famous acts of that ancient *Sesoftris*. But the state of the world was not such at these times, that so great an expedition as the old *Sesoftris* made, could have been either easily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he passed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he looke upon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynastie of the Larties; which *Reimocius* conjectures to have had the same signification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria*, were called Lartes, (the *Hetrurians* being issued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have signified as much as *Imperator*, or *General*. The wars in which these Kings were Generals, I take to have been against the *Aethiopians*: for sure I am, that they troubled not the Countrey of *Palastina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the desert lands, on the other hand; to seek matter of conquest, in the poore Countreys of *Africa*. But these Generals (if the Larties were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the first; in such sort as the *Romane* Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the most unfavourable conditions of *Helioabalus*, made his successors forbear the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynasties (as appears by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings also did administer the government themselves, and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the Viceroyes. But it is to be considered, that what is said of these Larties, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authority of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though some few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For so we finde in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after such time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Sovereignty to himselfe) had under him a Viceroy, styled *Eddagadare*, who had authority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the Soldans owne. Yet was there also the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the Soldans treasure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Countrey, as those of the *Thebans* and *Diopolitans*; or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seventeenth Dynastie was called of the Shepherds, because *Joseph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was said to be of the Larties or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any Larties or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, forasmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Sesac*, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we left.

Rameses was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethosis*, threescore and sixe yeares. He is mistaken for that second *Sesoftris*, of whom I have spoken in the first Booke. I find nothing worth rehearfall of this *Rameses*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the latter sixe and twentie yeares. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by these as hereditarie.

Thuris, the last of the Larties, reigned only seven yeares; yet is he thought to have bin that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, saying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the sack of *Troy*, restored her to *Menelaus*. I need say no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuris* his reign lasted not so long as from the Rape of *Helena* to her restitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by some) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greek* Writers in this business, or in other such matters, may seeme to be under-Officers: for such only are like to have had their residence about *Pharos*, and the sea-coast where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helena*, it is said that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himselfe into all shapes: whereby is signified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Nephtes* Scale-fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the Fishing about the Isle of *Pharos*, as was said before.

Amphus the Son of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diadore*, as also by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramsinitus*, and tells a long tale fit to please children, of his covetousnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning thief, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may believe what he list. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reigne at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings, whose names are found scattering in sundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of *Egypt*, according to *Cedrenus*, of *Vaphres* and *Sesac*.

MAny other names of *Egyptian* Kings, are found scattered here and there; as *Tonapher Jobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers onely the bare name and title; *Senemures*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the same that by *Suidas* is called *Symes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occasion of a great Physician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the same *Suidas* for his great justice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tells great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Isle of *Thule*, which some take to be *Iseland*; and that he consulted with the Divell, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, desiring to know, who before him had bene, or after him should be so mighty as himselfe. The answer or confession of the Divell was remarkable; which I find Englished in the translation of *Plinius* his work, *Of the trueesse of Christian Religion*. The *Greek* Verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfect in those Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the sense is all one; which is this:

First *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Spirit*,
Which three be *One*, and joyne in *One* all three:
Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile wight,
The man of Life unknowne excelleth thee.

I should have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found somewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of invocation which *Thulis* used, and that clause of his giving name to the *Iland*: though in this last point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as also *Cedrenus* is, or (at least) seems to me, in giving to this King such profound antiquity of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Genesis*, is alone enough to breed suspicion of some imposture: but the Frierly stuffe that he alledgeeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout and of good judgement in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here let downe the List of old *Egyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of *Egypt* that he sets downe, is *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedigree thus: *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus* was also called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three sons; *Picus*, surnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chafing his father out of *Affrica* into *Italie*, reigned in his stead thirtie yeares, and then gave up that Kingdome to *Juno* his sister and wife, and to *Belus* his son: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two yeares, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie* to visit his old Father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forth-with resigned the Kingdome unto him. *Picus* *Jupiter* reigned in *Italie* threescore and two yeares, had threescore and twene Wives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Isle of *Crete*.

Ecc

The

The Principall of *Jupiters* sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: he reigned in *Italie*, after his Father, five and thirty years: and then (finding that all his brethren confired against him) he went to *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Misraim*, he got the Kingdom, and held it nine and thirty years. After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, a foure yeares and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty yeares and a halfe. There followed in order *Solis*, *Ofiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their severall reignes is not set downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesir*, King twenty yeares. His successor was *Pharaob*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fifty yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharaob*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I find them : let their credit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiosities, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might have been added.

in omitting such as might have been added. *Vaphres*, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sejac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into fairy way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These give us not the length of his reign; but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomon's* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sejac* his son did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wives and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princeffe. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bin written that I find of *Sejac*, excepting the length of his reign, which must have bin fixe and twenty years, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynastie*.

twentieth Dynasty.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that wee knew the length of *Sefac* his reigne, and of theirs that followed him, unlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sefac*, unto which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth year of *Jeboakim* king of *Juda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slain, I reckon upwards the yeares of the fame *Neco*, and of his Predecessors, unto the beginning of *Sefac*: by which account, the first year of *Sefac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reigne, and the twenty six of *Sefac* with the fifth of *Roboam*: wherein *Sefac* spoyled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacrilege no longer than *Joss* the *Israhelite*, and *Craffus* the *Romane* did; who after him spoyled the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

And thus much of *Sefac* and of those that followed him. I have rather taken their kings that I find

To fill up the time between *Sefse* and *Neco*, I have rather than those things that I find in the *Greeke* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only that of *Baalhoris*, who is remembered by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appear to have been a King. Hereunto I may add, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Ethiopi*ans, which got the kingdom often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet *Esaie*, that the Counsellors of *Pharash* did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, inasmuch as they said of *Pharash*, *I am the sonne of the wife, I am the sonne of the ancient King*. But that which overthrowes the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of *Josias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all; the reign of *Josias* being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting to compare the reignes of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion *Joram* King of *Israel*, is made to reign three yeares after *Ahab* of *Juda*; *Samaris* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezekias* was King: and in a word, all most of the Kings have their beginnings placed in some other yeare, of their collateralas than the Scriptures have determined.

§. VI.

of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other Kings recited by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, which reigned betwene the times of Rehoboam and Ezechia.

Following therefore the Greeke Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chemis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. Hee reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of seven acres every way, and was about sixe acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any injurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reigne of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Augustus Cæsar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thousand yeares, which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers doe testifie, that they have seene them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother ; but doubtfully, and inclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabrens* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabrens*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to have been brethren ; but the length of their reignes may argue the latter to have been sonne to the former : for *Cheops* reigned fifty yeares ; *Cephrenes* fifty fixe. These were, as *Chemmis* had bene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchas'd great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themselves in erecting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombs for those that raised them ; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to have cast out their bodies, & to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heards-man, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entitling a poore fellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies ; otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoid the like slavery laid upon them by the younger brother or sonne, should have power or leisure to take such revenge upon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against *Cheops* his Daughter ; That her Father wanting money, did prostitute her, & that the getting of every man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramid, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her sake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument with the superfluity of her Fathers provisions.

Myserinus the son of *Cephrens* reigned after his Father sixe yeares. He would have built his fore-goers did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples which *Cheops* and *Cephrens* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of sixe yeares only, because of this his devotion; For (said the Oracle) *Egypt* should have bene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeares, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou live but sixe yeares. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his piety; or that they should decree to make a Countrey impious, when the people were desirous to serve them; or that they having so decreed, it should lye in the power of a King to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was doubtlesse more offended with the institution of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knows whether *Chemmis* did not learne somewhat at *Jerusalem* in the last yeare of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most true it is, that his reigne, and the reignes of *Cheops* and *Cephrens* were more long and more happy than that of *Myserinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a service more pleasing to the Divell, than the restitution of Idolatry durst then seeme, when it could speed no better. I finde in *Rarnecius* fiftie

Ecc 2

yeares

6. VI. of

years assigned to this King; which I verily believe to have bin some error of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such oversights: For I know no Author that gives him so many years, and *Reimicus* himselfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatened *Myserinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next unto *Myserinus*, by *Diodore*, who speaks no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, & excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by *Suidas* Authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that *Banchyrin* whom *Diodorus* commends in that kinde: *Eusebius* reckons 44. years of his reigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Ethiopian* follows in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Afyshis*; who made a law in sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This *Afyshis* made a Pyramid of brick, more costly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Afyshis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blind man, before the *Ethiopian*. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted between *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but fixe years; and so long doth *Funimis*, so long doth *Reimicus* hold, that these two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it improbable that the reignes of two Kings should have bin so soone spent; he may do it by taking some yeares from *Setson* or *Psammiticus*, and so adding them to either of these. To adde unto these without subtracting from some other, would breed a manifest inconvenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reigne, must have beene in the fifth of *Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, and the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part, I like it better to allow fixe years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witnesse of *Herodotus*, who concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacheribs* war: at which time *Setson* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore adde years unto these obscure names; for by adding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Setson* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwise, if it were a matter of no great envie to leave both *Afyshis* and *Anysis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, and extending his life yet fixe years further, or more (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reigne) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

Of *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian*, who took the Kingdome from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fiftie years. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toile he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their service to hire, and performed many works of more use than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Country. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sas*; the Scriptures call him *So*, *Hofea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptians* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserve the *Israelites* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroaching power of the *Affryan* grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar* and *Salmanassar* having eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the reigne of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his reigne began in the fourth of *Menabem*) that *Phul* himselfe did make the first entrance into *Palestina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe subdued people against their Conquerors; but the helpe which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that *Sennacheribs* Embassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reed. Thus supported by the strong staffe of him that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Isaiah*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, for *Chariots* and *Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoever it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it selfe, which *So* left unto *Setson* his Successor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he left the Country, and willingly retired into *Ethiopia*, because

1 King. 14. 25.
2 Chro. 12. 20.

2 Kin. 18. 25.

because it was often signified unto him in his dreames, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne should be neither long nor prosperous, unless he slew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he reigned his Kingdome. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some device of the fearefull old man, who seeing his Realme in danger of an invasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himselfe into *Ethiopia*, where he had bin bred in his youth. What if I should say, that the *Ethiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an Armie against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt* within two or three years after; but I will not trouble my selfe with such enquire. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus* was not indeed an *Ethiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* house) but only so furnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the kingdome from *Anysis*, who was his opposit. The quiet and milde form of his government, his holding the kingdome so long without an Army, and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally he betooke a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speake of *Setson* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembered by *Herodotus*, by a fire token of his having been King.

S. VII.

Of *Setson* who reigned with *Ezechia*, and sided with him against *Sennacherib*.

THE first yeare of *Setsons* reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Affryia* and *Egypt*, being then engaged in a warre, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serve. The *Affryan* had the better men of Warre; the *Egyptian* better provision of necessaries: the *Affryan* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Affry*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Affryan* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so neare and mighty a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet farre removed King. But herein was great difference betweene *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his especial confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Country: the multitude of *Judea* looking into the faire hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed up with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to feare any more of those injuries which they had suffered by the *Affryans*, and so became forgetfull of God, taking counsell, but not of him. The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giving the people of *Judea* to understand, That the *Egyptians* were men, and not God, and that *Affry* should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the *Egyptians* (saide the Prophet) they are vanity, and they shall help in vaine, their strength is so fit still.

According to the prophets words it came to passe. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was held at *Zaan*, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the *Jewes* by *Setson*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of *Horses* and *Chariots*, that they did not looke (as *Esay* saith) unto the holy One of *Israel*, nor seek unto the Lord. But he yet is wisest.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, & wakened them out of these dreames; for *Setson* their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did seeme farre off, being unready, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seeme that he purposed rather to make *Palestina* than *Egypt*, the stage whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Affryans* and *Jewes*, weakening one another, should yeeld unto him a faire

Ehy 30. 1.
Ehy 30. 2.
Ehy 30. 7.
Ehy 3. 4.

Ehy 31. 1.

EJay 30.6.

EJay 34.9.

faire advantage over both. Yet he fought with monie; for he sent Horses and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Esay* calleth a people that cannot profit. These *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*), all the strong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Senacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jerusalem* it selfe, which were in sore distresse, till the sword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did goe, for feare, to his Tower, that is, he fled to *Nineve*, where he was slaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Senacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Setson* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in defence of him and their Countrey; that *Setson* being *Vulcan* Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by their Countrey, that *Setson* being *Vulcan* Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by dream promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Setson*, with such as would follow him, (which were craft-men, shop-keepers, and the like), marched towards *Pelafium*, and that a great multitude of field-mice entering the Campe of *Senacherib* by night, did gnaw the bowes, quivers, and straps of his mens armour, that they were faine thence day to die away in all haste, finding themselves disarmed. In memorie hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription: *Let him that holds mee serve God*. Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how farre they swarved from the truth, being detraitors to the Image of their owne King, it may easily be perceived. It seemes that this Image of *Setson* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbear to tell him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jewes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof every childe could have told, how much falsehood had bene mingled with the truth.

We find this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Assyrians* and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure some borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made Warre upon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploit of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did unto his Priest; happie it was (if *Setson* were a Priest) that he tooke his god now in so good a moode. For within three or four years before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should have been slaine, if a mercifull King had not spared their lives, as it were halfe against the gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to serve as an example, that might stir up the *Egyptians* to pietie, seeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent *Senacherib* himselfe, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* maner of expressing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by means which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to pietie. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Divell helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Divell, I hold it very likely, that *Setson* finding himselfe in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Seraph*, or any to whom he had most devotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jewes* (even such of them as most were given to Idolatrie) would have bin ashamed of the confidence which they reposed in the Chariots of *Egypt*, because they were many, as in the Horsemen, because they were very strong; had it bin told them, that *Setson*, in stead of sending those Horse-men and Chariots, was beseeching *Vulcan* to send him and thence good lucke; or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing his prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtlesse the Prophecie of *Esay* tooke effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor doe them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproach*. Such is commonly the issue of humane wisdom, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Setson* to have bin set down by *Eusebius* under the name of *Tarachus*.

Tarachus the *Ethiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reigne of *Setson*. These have well observed that *Tarachus* the *Ethiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrey, or at least an enemy to *Senmacherib*, in the war last spoken of; the *Ethiopians* (as they are englished) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one king for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaca* is placed in the roome of *Setson*, and therefore give to *Setson* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Ethiopian* (as he is called) began his reigne over *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his account, after the death of *Senmacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the first year of *Manasse* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Setson*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Setson* reigned; *Funfins* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him downe thirty three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my self at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* Kings. The years which passed from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, I so divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred upon him whose length of reigne is uncertaine; that is, upon this *Setson*. By this account I find the thirty three years that are set downe by *Funfins*, to agree very nearely, if not precisely, with the time of *Setsons* reigne; therefore I conforme my owne reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one yeare lesse. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pammoniscus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I returne.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasse and his Contemporaries.

S. I.

The wickednesse of Manasse. His imprisonment, repentance and death.

Manasse the Sonne of *Ezechias*, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned and furnished all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Divell was by the *Heathen* worshipped. Besides, he himselfe esteemed the Sun, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Host of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a Sacrifice to the Divel *Moloch*, or *Moloch*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: where in was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Divels.

He also gave himselfe to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent blood, as *Jerusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the Kings race, and as the *Jewes* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neer unto the Fountain of *Siloa*, to be sawne in sunder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monstrous than hath bene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epirphanes*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captaines of the Host of the Kings of *Asshur*, which took *Manasse*, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to *Babel*: Where, after he had lyen twenty yeares as a captive, and disappointed of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall prayer, the

Just Martyr.
Calanus c. 91.
Glossa p. 297.
Tornik de Viti.

2 Chr. 33. 12.

God

God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the *Assyrians* heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loved his father *Exechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was againe established, remembering the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and divellish Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jerusalem*: and dyed after the long reigne of fiftie five yeares. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a cage of yron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleeve as it shall please their fancies.

§. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The reigne of Psammiticus.

THAT the wickednesse of King *Manasse* was the cause of the evill which fell upon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needs beleeve: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things in those parts of the World such, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, upon respect borne to his owne ends, desirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the kingdome of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the state of *Juda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with civill diffention, and after two yeares ill amended by a division of the government betweene twelve Princes. After some good agreement betweene these, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere *Anarchie* that was in *Egypt*, with the division of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reigne of *Sabacus* and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocratie*, or twelve Governours immediately before *Psammiticus*, who was out of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this diffention seems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that kingdome, for that the crowne of *Egypt* passed by succession of blood, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not settled untill one had obtained the Sovereignty.

These twelve Rulers governed fiftene yeares in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait covenant & alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in *Fulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this unity lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, which (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirms) no words could give it commendation answerable to the strangenesse of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downe that imperfect description which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have bin the worke of *Marus* or *Menides*, a King which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the warre of *Troy*; and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dadalus* took the pattered of that which he made for *Minos*; *Minos* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to have bin *Annenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dadalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chavemon*, & others, that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the story of *Amasis* and *Adisanes* the *Ethiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had conjectured *Manethons* *Amenophis* to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Adisanes*, and that *Annenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are those about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Amasis*, *Adisanes* was *Sabacus*; & *Marus* was one of these twelve Princes to whom *Herodotus* gives

From App.

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Adisanes* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Ethiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Adisanes* governed well, and was milde in punishing offenders; so likewise was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Adisanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (saving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same worke, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* beleeved the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembered by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to prove that it was the worke of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemne feast in *Fulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleven Cuppes. Hereupon, *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplied the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traytor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, they forbore to kill him, but being jealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleeve to have bin none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aide he vanquished his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

The yeares of his reigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius*, forty foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, gives forty yeares to his single reigne, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeepe, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have bene then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, must be thought to have lived unto extreme age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, three score and nine yeares. I therefore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*; but will not adventure to cut five yeares from the *Aristocratie*: though peradventure *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of blood) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten yeares companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeares of the *Egyptians*, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than serve to fill up the time between the first of *Rehoboam* and the fourth of *Jehojakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from *Sethons* reigne, that was of uncertain length; or else (which I had rather doe; because *Fanctius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himselfe alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time so nearly agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last yeare of one reigne with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronological tables, reigned precisely so many yeares as are prescribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke that the surplusage of one mans time supplied the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeare of those fiftene, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himselfe Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt* who entertained any strait amity with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsook their naturall Countrey of *Egypt*, and went into *Ethiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Messiges, nor by the King himselfe, who over-tooke them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wives and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is also reported of him, That he cauled two Infants to be brought up in such sort, as they might not heare any word spoken; by which means, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that Language which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cryed, *Beccus, Beccus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, served greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Gorepius Beccus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne over any part of *Gorepius* his works, may find enough of this kind, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks used none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it self of *Babel* being also *Dutch*, and given by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talke one knew not what.

But I will not insit upon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palestina*, about which he spent nine & twenty years. Never have we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any City endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan*, a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieved, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

§. III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. In what part of his reigne Manasses was taken prisoner.

WERE it certainly knowne, in what year of his reigne *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty; I thinke we should finde these *Egyptian* troubles to have been no small occasion, both of his captivity and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the civill Warres in *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Setbon*, or the renting of the 30 Kingdome, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the Warre betweene *Psammiticus* and his Colleagues, or the expedition of *Psammiticus* into *Syria*, and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister unto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessity of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him to make sure worke with the King of *Juda*. The same occasion sufficed also, to procure the deliverie of *Manasses*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Josaphus* hath it) by subtilty, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrey, but onely waite it. So that the *Jews*, having learned wit by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazias*, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargain upon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Juda* could afford) had no reason to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quitting his present advantage over the *Jews*, he might make his way the surer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manasses* his reigne, wherein he was taken prisoner; for concerning his captivity it selfe, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and *Josaphus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Tornellus* three opinions; the one of *Bellarmino*, who thinks that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirms, that it was in his twentieth seventh year; the third of *Rabbi Kimbi* upon *Ezechiel*, who saith, that he was forty yeares an Idolater, and lived fifteene yeares after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is upheld by *Tornellus*, who rejects the second, as more unprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Tornellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such, as may rather prove him to favour the *Cardinall* as farre as he may, (for where neede requires, he doth freely dissent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before

before he gave his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmino*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Josaphus* to have followed the workes of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his finnes, it is like that he should have continued, as he did, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the finnes of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them workes of his youth, which appeared when he was twelve yeares old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimbi*) until he was but fifteene yeares from death. Touching the second, howsoever it be a fearefull thing, to cullott into the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two and fiftie yeares, shall be punished with finall impenitencie. But against these two collections of *Tornellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely; That *Manasses* continued longer in his wickednesse than *Bellarmino* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimbi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of *Kings*, the evill which *Manasses* did, is remembered at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to have taken up no great part of his life; the storie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: Concerning the rest of the Acts of *Manasses*, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of *Juda*? The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where, in rehearsing the calamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of *Jehojakim*, the great Grand-child of this *Manasses*, it is said; Surely by the commandment of the Lord came this upon *Juda*; that he might put them out of his sight, for the finnes of *Manasses*, according to all that he did; for the innocent blood that he shed (for he filled *Jerusalem* with innocent blood) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who so considers well these places, may find small cause to pronounce it most false. That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was not earlier than fifteen yeares before his death; or most probable, That when he was thwentie seven yeares old, he repented, and becoming a new man, lived in the feare of God fortie yeares after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeares of civill dissention in *Egypt*, fourteen or fifteene yeares following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened by partition of the Sovereigntie: the warre of *Psammiticus* against his Associates: and foure and twentie yeares of the nine and twentie, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued; being all within the time of *Manasses*, did leave no one part of his reigne (after the first fifteen yeares) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses* was the last yeare of *Setbon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reigne, or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth. The seven and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twentieth third of *Psammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulassar*, the sonne of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but which of these was the yeare of his imprisonment, or whether any other, I forbore to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seeme to draw all matters over-violently to mine owne computation.

This was the first great mactrie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar* yet *Ezechias* never payed it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacherib* enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of silver, and thirtie of gold, besides the place which covered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessitie, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilst they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appeares not only by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose partie he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controversie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Josias* made afterwards to *Pharas Neco*, in favour of *Nabulassar*, which had bene against all reason

reason and policie, if it had not bin his dutie by covenant. Of this I will speake more in convenient place.

§. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian Wars, which were in the reignes of Ezechia and Manasse, Kings of Juda.

NOW concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasse*, the most remarkable were the *Messenian Wars*; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, betweene the *Trojan* and *Persian Wars*, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first *Messenian Warre* began and ended in the daies of *Ezechia*; the second in the reign of *Manasse*: but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I have thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Hercules*, driving the issue of *Pelops* and the *Achaens* out of their seats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdomes of *Lacedaem*, *Argos*, *Messene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did after wards forget the bond of kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloudie wars; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian War* are scarce worth remembrance, they were so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherewith the *Lacedaemonians* were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour to accomplish their greedie desires. Yet another matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Messenian* had slain many *Lacedaemonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to have him yielded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euphros* a *Lacedaemonian*. This *Euphros* had bargained to give pasture to the Cattell of *Polychares*, & was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain appointed, he sold the Cattell, & slaves that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stolen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedaemonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive he carried the son of *Polychares* home with him; but having him at home, he villainously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedaemonians* having refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Theefe and Murderer, sought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things which he did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselves had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand unto the judgement of the *Amphithyones*, who were as the generall Counsell of *Greece*, or to any other faire course. But the *Lacedaemonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the fair Countrie of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and so without sending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold war with *Messene* till they had mastered it: which done, they seized upon *Amphisa*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few escaped.

Hereupon the *Messenians* tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemy. A furious battell was fought between them, which ended not untill darke night, with uncertaine victorie. The *Messenians* did strongly encampe themselves; The *Lacedaemonians*, unable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the second year of the ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourteenth Olympiad, having lasted twentie yeares. The two enemy Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedaemonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to help. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third, and fourth battell, were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first, saving that in the fourth battell the *Lacedaemonians* were en-

ced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was still uncertain, though in one of them the *Messenians* lost *Enphros* their King, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many years were spent ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, caused the warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the *Messenians* forsake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountaine with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell us, the *Lacedaemonians* were so obtinate in this War, because of their vow, that having absented themselves ten yeares from *Sparta*, their wives sent them word, that their Citie would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been borne them in all that time: Whereupon they sent backe all their ablest young men,

to promiscuously to accompany the young women, who go: so many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* relates the begetting of these *Parthenians* to a former time. But in processe of this *Messenian Warre*, when the Divell in an Oracle had advised the *Messenians* to sacrifice a

Virgin of the stocke of *Aegyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the *Lacedaemonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*; *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to save her, said, she was only a fostered childe, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciscus*:

which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Nobleman; being in love with the Maide, when otherwise he could not prevail, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had deflowered her, and got her with childe: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly, to disprove the Lovers slander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, after wards falling, by other superstitions, into despair of prevailing against the *Lacedaemonians*, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Country, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the *Messenians* lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many waies, especially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearly fruits of their Land they were bound to send unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make solemne lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were also sworne to live in true subjection to the *Lacedaemonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was given to the *Almai*, and such as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

This peace being made upon so uneven termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeares it continued (the *Messenians* not finding how to help themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre than the former. The able young men, that were growne up in the roome of those *Messenians* whom the former Warre had consumed, began to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the *Lacedaemonians*, and therefore scorned to serve such Masters as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe of these was *Aristomenes*, a Noble Gentleman, of the house of *Aegyptus*; who perceiving the uniform desires of his Country-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, which he found thoroughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre upon the State of *Lacedaemon*. This was in the fourth year of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the *Lacedaemonians* hastened to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deal with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battell was fought between them, and a doubtfull, save that the *Messenians* were pleased with the issue, inasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their General.

Within one yeare another battell was fought, whereinto each part came better provided. The *Lacedaemonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and some other friends to help: the *Messenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behave himselfe, that finally he made the Enemies runne for their lives. Of such importance was this victorie, that the *Lacedaemonians* began to bechinke themselves, of making some good agreement.

But one *Tyrant* an *Asbenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Aristomenes* took by surprise a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did set upon him in hope to have recovered the booty.

But all these victories of *Aristomenes* perished, in the losse of one battell, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treason of *Arifocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Messenians* exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was so great, that together with *Andania* their principall Citie, all the Towns of *Messene*, standing too farre from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conveyed into a place of safetie. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven years. For besides that *Era* it selfe was a strong peece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindered their attendance on the siege. He waited all the fields of *Messene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattell, and all provisions, necessary for his owne people; the Slaves and household stuffe he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeem them. To remedy this mischief, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Messene*, nor the adjoining parts of their owne Countrey, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrant* appeased this uprore with pleasing Songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventure upon the Towns, surprised, and sackt *Amyle*, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing these and other services, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembered, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to set upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up senselesse, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deep natural Cave into which the *Spartans* used to cast head-long such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their fals; *Aristomenes* howsoever it came to passe, took no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceived by some small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing upon a dead bodie. Hereupon he bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saved himselfe from biring with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it crepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loost, ran through an hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delve so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitives of *Messene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Aristomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was revived. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedæmonians* in the siege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their Camp taken; then was it easily beleevd, that *Aristomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven years passed whilest the enemies hovering about *Era*, saw no likelihood of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a *Messenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leave their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the

rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre in such a darkie rainie night as this was. The slave that heard these tidings, rose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the *Lacedæmonian* Campe with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Master commanding in the Kings absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreme darknesse, together with the noise of winde and rain, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited by mere hope of ending a long worke; the other enraged by mere desperation. The great advantage that the *Spartans* had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of servitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the streetes and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Messenians* were in continuall toyle; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meate and sleep, and then returning supplied the place of their wearie fellows with fresh Companions. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as having bene three dayes and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continuall rain and cold) gathered together all the weaker fort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* General of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a faire passage to these desperate mad-men. So they issued forth, and arrived safe in *Arcadia*, where they were most lovingly entertained.

Upon the first bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themselves to the rescue: but *Arifocrates* their false-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in safetie, he chose out five hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste unto *Sparta*, hoping to finde the Towne secure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the spoyle of *Messene*. In this enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyne with him; but *Arifocrates* marred all, by sending speedie advertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Arifocrates* was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open assemble, the *Arcadians* stoned him to death, and casting forth his bodie unburied, erected a monument of his treacherie, with a note; That the Perjurer should deceive God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his son *Gorgus* and other sufficient Governors, who should plant them in some new seat abroad, he resolved himselfe to make abroad in those parts, hoping to finde the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in *Greece*. Finally, *Aristomenes* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he purposed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Sonne of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*; but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Messenians* were invired by *Anaxilus* (whose great Grandfather was a *Messenian*, and went into *Italie* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegiens* in *Italie*, to take his part against the *Zancleans* in *Sicilie*, on the other side of the Straights. They did so; and winning the Towne of *Zancle*, called it *Messene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This second *Messenian* warre ended in the first year of the twentie eighth *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home served the *Lacedæmonians*, found meanes to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being driven to forsake *Peloponnesus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewise, after few ages, they

were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Country-men into *Italic* and *Sicilies*; some of them went into *Africa*, where they chose unto themselves a seat.

It is very strange, that during two hundred and fourescore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forsaken Country; with a desire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and second *Olympiad*, that great *Epinonondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Messenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters where they dwelt abroad into *Peloponnesus*. There did *Epinonondas* restore unto them their old possession, and help them in building a fair Citie; which by the name of the Province, was called to *Messene*, and was held by them ever after, in despite of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in feare.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in *Lydia* and *Media*, while *Manasses* reigned. Whether *Deioces* the *Mede* were that *Arphaxad* which is mentioned in the Booke of *Judith*. Of the historie of *Judith*.

ARDYS King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the *Messenian* war. *Ardys* succeeding unto his father *Ogyes*, began his reign of nine and fortie yeares, in the second of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Asia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like manner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and assailed *Miletus*, but went away without it. In his reign, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own country by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Asia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchilde, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but wan the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardys*; whose long reign was unable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King untill the third year of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was fixe yeares after the *Messenian* war ended; the same being the last year of *Manasses* his reign over *Juda*.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of these five and fiftie yeares in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the *Medes* in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to desire the wholesome severitie of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke unto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldom gave presence; which also when he did, it was with such austeritie, that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majestie, which his predecessors had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King and such as were before him, seems to have bred that opinion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the first who reigned in *Media*.

This was he that built the great Citie of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he should be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the storie of *Judith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same account, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the *Assyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holofernes* sent to worke wonders upon *Phul* and *Lad*; and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last year of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reign of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

Herod. lib. i.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certainetime, there hath much labour beene spent with ill successe. The reignes of *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been fought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of *Jerusalem*, have beene thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein cannot (I speake of such as faine would) agree with him. Whilest *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the storie of *Judith* is found standing and dedicated. The other two *Persian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have beene very favourable to the *Jewes*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, & who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this Historie; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (withour whose judgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Persian* Monarchie, inclines the matter to the raigne of this vainglorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the businesse. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be a returne from captivitie lately foregoing, the Temple rebuilt; *Joachim* High Priest; and a long peace of threescore and ten yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the *Jewes*. Likewise on the other side, we must find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteen yeares at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jewes* refused to assist, one that fought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice-roy or Captain General knew not the Jewish Nation, but was faine to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Joachim*, with a returne from captivitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the raigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivitie of the *Jewes*, and dissolution of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controversie is, *I hat the booke of Judith is not Canonically*. Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly beene built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted; he adds, that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is, five or fixe yeares, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he supposeth to have beene so long) might give occasion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor*, having vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seeke to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth unto *Holofernes*. So should the *Jewes* have done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Sovereigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of *Jurie* were agreeable to the Historie of *Judith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough beignorant of the *Jewes*, and as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away belief from this conjecture: and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a Rebelle, whose King was abroad, with an Armie consisting of seventene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God than himselfe. It is indeed easie to finde enough that might be said against this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessitie of holding the booke of *Judith* to be Canonically, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it self. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Persian* Kings, *Bellarmino* (whose workes I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the Raigne of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proved very substantially, shewing how the Cardinal is driven, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*,

chodonofo, found out by *Ternellus*, are the children of meere fantasie, it is so plaine that it needs no prooffe at all. Wherefore we may truly say, that they, which have contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confuted each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stoffe field) have chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Judin. 2. 23. & 25.

Surely, to find out the borders of *Japheth*, which were towards the South, and over against *Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologists. But I will not busie my selfe herewith; having already so farre digressed, in logers. But I thinke it high time to returne unto mine shewing who lived not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time to returne unto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to have had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

§. VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first yeare of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one yeare to the *Romanes* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabine* chosen, a peaceable man and seeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to some good civillitie, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romanes* as things of great importance. But all these devices of *Numa* were, in his owne judgement, no better than meere delusions, that served onely as rudiments to bring the savage multitude of theeves, and un-laws, gathered into one bodie by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, than their boisterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Books¹⁰ that were found in his grave, almost fixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said, That *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompo*, King of the *Romanes* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being utterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped up in two bundels of waxe; of his owne constitutions seven, and other seven of Philosophie. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to have a sight of these Books, when he perceived wherunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath that they were against the Religion then in use. Hereupon the Senate, without more ado, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seems that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe unto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene so foolish as to beleeve the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he sat in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his grave. Had these Bookes not come to light, untill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cesar*, when the miste of ignorance was somewhat better disuffed; likely it is that they had not onely escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure generall) effect. Being as it was, they served as a confusion, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inveterate.

Numa reigned three and fortie yeares in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the fixe and fortieth of *Manasses*; and reigned two and thirtie yeares, busied for the most part, in warre. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to feare, that might grow unto them from the *Thybanes*, caused them to bethinke themselves of a counsell, whereby without effusion of so much blood, as might make them too weak for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins, borne at one birth (*Dionysius* sayes that they were Cousin Germans) of equally yeares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their severall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Champions for the *Romanes* got the victorie, though two of them first lost their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livie* tells it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equall speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he slew them, as it had been in single fight, man after man, ere they could joyne together and set upon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling so very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatii* was slaine, then one of the *Curatii*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly sever the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* Historie, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were, in a wager, against *Alba*, and in respect of the great increase which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediately become subject unto her owne Colonie, and was shortly after, upon some treacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the *Latines*, wherein of *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had been chiefe, became ere long dependant upon *Rome*, though not subject unto it, & divers petty States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were finally yet many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the workes of sundry ages, and few of them remarkable considered apart by themselves) untill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to be the main subject of this Historie.

The seventh yeare of *Hippomenes* in Athens, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Governours for ten yeares, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I finde only names, *Leocrates*, *Absander*, and *Erixius*. After *Erixius* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Governours for ten yeares, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortened, and from term of life reduced unto ten yeares; it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times unto those yeares of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronological Table, following this work, doth set them. For he not only professeth himselfe to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted always the yeares of the *Greeks*, how they did answer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Historie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the first year of the seventh *Olympiad*, and affirms, that the same was the first yeare of *Charops* government of *Athens*; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these *Athenians* somewhat sooner.

In the reign of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to have had Asses eares, held the kingdome of *Phrygia*. Many fables were devised of him; especially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meane he had like to have been starved (his meate and drinke being subject to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miserable facultie, by causing him to wash himselfe in the River *Pactolus*, the streame whereof hath ever since, forsooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinking Bulls blood; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) observed the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Milesians*, or, (as *Eusebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained some power by Sea, founded *Macedonia* a Citie on the East of *Egypt*. *Psammiticus* herein seems to have assisted them, who used all meanes of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his surest strength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in *Egypt* by force.

About

Philos. Euseb.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other *Corinthians* founded *Syracusa* in *Sicilie*, a Citie in after times exceeding famous.

* Whence in
Strabo there is
said *Astacus*
a part of *Propon-
tis* wherethis
Citie standeth.
Euseb. l. 11. c. 1.
Strab. l. 6.

The Citie of *Nicomedia* sometime* *Astacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pausanias*, lived much about this time.

About these times also was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuse*. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth *Pausanias*.

Jos. l. 3.
Euseb. l. 10.

About the same time the *Parthenians* being of age, and banished *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*; where it is said they founded *Tarentum*: but *Justine* and *Pausanias* finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time, *Manasse* yet living, the Citie *Phaselis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicilie*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Embriv*, now *Urbini* in *Italie*. About which time also *Chalcedon* in *Asia*, over against *Byzantium* (now *Constantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenses*: who therefore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of *Bosphorus*. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have bin done in the five and fiftie yeares of *Manasses*: that which already hath been told is enough: the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may wel be omitted, reserving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the business that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of *Manasses* to the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

§. I.

Of *Ammon* and *Josias*.

1 Kin. 22.
2 Chron. 33.



Ammon the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked than was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne servants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two yeares. *Phil. Eusebius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten yeares, following the Septuagint.

1 Kin. 22.
2 Chron. 34.

Josias succeeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. yeares old, he began to seek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged *Juda* and *Jerusalem* from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake downe in his sight the Altars of *Baalim*: He caused all the Images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stamped to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Chariots and horses of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Josias* it was prophesied in the time of *Jeroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child should be born unto the house of *David*, *Josias* by name, and upon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense upon thee: a propheticke very remarkable.

1 Kin. 23.

In the eighteenth yeare of his raigne, he re-built and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomie*, or, of the Law, which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandments therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he reat his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse *Huldah*; or, *Olda*, concerning the Booke, who answered the messengers in these words: Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evill upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the Book, which they have read before the King of *Juda*, because they have forsaken

me, and burnt incense to other gods. Only for the King himselfe, because he was a lover of God and his Lawes, it was promised that this evill should not fall on *Juda* and *Jerusalem* in his dayes, but that he himselfe should inherit his grave in peace.

Josias assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in *Jerusalem* and *Benjamin* to doe the like, promising thereby to observe the Lawes and Commandments in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Josias* upon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets at *Bethel*, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victory of *Josias* in war got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight & death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did use the advantage which the faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdome of *Israel*, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the Babylonian finding himselfe unable to deale with *Psammetichus* in *Syria* (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Alexis*, though the Towne held out nine & twenty yeares) did give unto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in *Israel* as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amity that the Kings of *Juda* had so long held with those of *Egypt*, by casting a bone between them, and withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Jewes, which had been lost by injuries done in seeking to bereave them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliverance from imprisonment, put Captaines of War in all the strong Cities of *Juda*, it may be that some such business is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making *Jerusalem* it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather belevee, that he, having already compounded with the Babylonian, did fortifie himselfe against the Egyptians, whose side he had forsaken, than that he travelled in making such provisions only for his mindes sake. The earnestnesse of *Josias* in the King of *Babel* his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was upon such friendly termes, as required not onely a faithfull observance, but a thankfull requital. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Josias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of *Egypt* passed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*.

The last yeer of *Josias* his reigne it was, when as *Necho* the son of *Psammetichus*, came with a powerfull Army towards the border of *Judea*, determining to passe that way, being the nearest toward *Euphrates*, either to strengthen the passages of that River about *Carchemish*, or *Cercusium*, for the defence of *Syria* (as long after this, *Dioclesian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade *Syria* it selfe. For it seemeth that the travaile of *Psammetichus* had not beene idly consumed about that one Towne of *Alexis*, but had put the Egyptians in possession of no small part of *Syria*, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the *Adades* Kings of *Damasco*.

Neither was the industry of *Necho* lesse than his Fathers had bin, in pursuing the war against *Babel*. In which warre, two things may greatly have availed the Egyptians, and advanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary Greekes, that were far better Souldiers than *Egypt* of it selfe could afford; & the danger wherein *Assyria* stood, by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helps, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more convenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the Chaldeans to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did invite the King of *Egypt*, into the Countries bordering upon *Euphrates*; whither *Pharao Necho* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Josias* advised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory set in the mid-way between both, so as the one could not invade the other; but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Necho* himselfe desired by his Embassadors, leave

2 Chron. 35.

leave to passe along by *Judea*, protesting that he directed himselfe against the *Assyrians* only, without all harmefull purpose against *Josias*; yct all sufficed not, but the King of *Israel* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of *Egypt* could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of *Israel*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Assyrian*, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus*, or *Sons* King of *Egypt*, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the *Assyrian* so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fell upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechia*, whilest that good king and his people relied upon *Seibon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proofe, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the helpe of the *Egyptians*, who (neare neighbors though they were) were alwaies unreadie, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seeke to have the Jewes renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the *Assyrians*. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an *Assyrian* did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar* upon his own borders, left unto the Jewes, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to give it any checke upon the way. Wherefore I beleeve that this religious and vertuous Prince *Josias*, was not stirred up only by 20 politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himself bound in faith and honor, to doe his best in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendship was, and to the *Egyptians* what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemie.

Some think that this action of *Josias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremie* the Prophet, which I doe not find in the Prophecie of *Jeremie*, nor can find reason to beleeve. Others hold opinion that he forgot to ask the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing he 30 might beleeve that an enterprize grounded upon fidelitie and thankfulness due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such root, as all the care of *Josias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was questionlesse far from hearkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined that their good king, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should give an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Josias* levying all the strength he could make, neare unto *Megiddo*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*; and there he received the stroke of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jerusalem*, 40 brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of *Juda*, especially of *Jeremie* the Prophet, who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

Lam. 4. 10.

§. II.

Of *Pharao Neco* that fought with *Josias*: Of *Jehoahaz* and *Jehojakim* Kings of *Israel*.

Of these warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mention among 50 the acts of *Neco*. He tels us of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It should have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middle of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* should have the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toyle some businesse twelve hundred thousand *Egyptians*; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and

and levied a great Armie, wherewith he marched against the King of *Babel*. In this expedition, he used the service, as well of his Navie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, save only this victorie against *Josias*, where 10 *Herodotus* calls the place *Magdolos*, and the Jewes *Syrians*; which is a small error, seeing that *Judea* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolos* or *Magdala* is taken to have bin the same place (though diversly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Neco* himselfe Lord, in a manner, of all *Syria*, as *Josephus* witnesseth. *Jos. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 7.*

Particularly we find, that the *Phenicians*, one of the most powerful Nations in *Syria*, *Herod. 4.* were his Subjects, and that by his command they surrounded all *Africa*, setting sail from 10 the gulf of *Arabia*, and so passing along all the coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corne for their sustenance in that long voyage, which lasted three years. This was the first Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called of good Hope, was discovered, which after was forgotten, until *Vasco de Gama* the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the *Phenicians* held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) 20 called now the streights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africke* still on the right hand; but the *Portingalls*, beginning their voyage not far from the same streights, leave *Africke* on the Larbord, and bend their course unto the East. That report of the *Phenicians*, which *Herodotus* durst not beleeve, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof, makes me the better to beleeve, that such a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were busie at *Charchemish*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the room of his father *Josias*. The Prophet 30 *Jerome* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short reigne of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Israel* reigned but one month; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Josias*: Wherefore it may seem that he was set up as the best affected unto the King of *Babel*; the rest of his house being more inclined to the *Egyptians*, as appears by the sequel. An 40 Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his business in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Judea*. This Countie was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The Citie of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be observed in divers examples. Yet here *Jehojakim*, together with his new-name, got his 50 Kingdome; an ill gain, since he could no better use it. But how-ever *Jehojakim* thrived by the bargain, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken; which three moneths before was too stout to give him peace, when he desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taske lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waite his forces upon *Judea*; but now the reputation of his good success at *Megiddo*, and *Charchemish*, together with the diffention of the Princes *Josias* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have stormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to doe even what should please himselfe. Yet he did forbear to make a conquest of the Land, perhaps upon the same reason, which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace with it. For the Jewes 60 had suffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of necessitie to forsake that partie, and to joyn with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; seeing they were such a people as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: so good a Patron did he meane to be unto them. Neverthelesse he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of silver, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reap the present some fruit of his paines taken, and leave unto them some document in the future, of greater

greater punishment than verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into Egypt the unfortunate King *Jehoaabaz*, who died in his Captivity.

The reign of *Jehoaabaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Jehojakim* his successor, did reign ten whole yeares; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short reign, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also prove the matter to be unworthie of dispute; and so I leave it.

Jehojakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last Kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall words, with reference to all the evill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyson wherewith *Abaaz* and *Manasse* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnesse of *Josias*, but that it still cleaved unto the chiefe of the people, *Tea unto the Priest: alis*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royall authoritie was much abated by the dangers wherein the Countrey stood, in this trouble-some age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbear to professe, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehojakim* had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him insolent and cruel, as we finde by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes do appeare to have been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgments against the Citie and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into Egypt: but such regard was had unto *Jehojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrarie to the custome used, both in those dayes, and since among all civill Nations, of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all privilege.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment possible to *Jehojakim*: for the Assyrian Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeares, began about these times to roare so loud upon the banks of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatening to make himselfe Lord of all the Forreist. The causes that hitherto had withdrawn the house of *Merodach* from opposing the Egyptian in his conquest of Syria, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemish*, where shortly after this the glory of Egypt is to fall.

§. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe, that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to lose that Province.

Merodach the sonne of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Senacherib*s misadventure and death, together with the dissention between his children, presented, made himselfe King of *Babylon*, was eleven yeares troubled with a powerfull Enemy, *Asarhaddon* the son of *Senacherib*, reigning over the Assyrians in *Nineve*, from whom whilst he could not any other way divert his cares, he was faine to omit all businesse in Syria, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make over unto *Ezechias*, some part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gave unto him some part of Syria, if not (as is commonly, but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the Assyrians, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reigne following, & his little intermeddling in matters of Syria, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Josaphat* gives him the honour of having wonne *Nineve* it selfe, which we may believe; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the Median. Perhaps it yielded upon some capitulation: and

and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings, being of the Chaldean race, preferred *Babylon* before it.

Some thinke that this was the Assyrian King, whose Captaine tooke *Manasse* prisoner; but I rather beleeve those that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reasons in due place. To say truth, I finde little cause why *Merodach* should have looked into those parts, as long as the Jewes were his friends, and the Egyptians, that maligned the Northern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was untill the time of *Psammetichus*, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his son.

Ben Merodach the son and successour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speake little of his doings. The length of his Reigne is gathered by inference to have bene one and twenty yeeres; for so much remaineth of the time that passed betwene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Reignes (which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasse* Prisoner, and released him. Hee sped ill in Syria; where *Psammetichus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary Greekes, did much prevaille. This may have been some cause that hereafter *Manasse*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in *Babylon* after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater businesse in his owne Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: inso much as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-sight of *Psammetichus* & *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond *Euphrates*. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the Medes invaded Assyria, and besieged *Nineve*; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remove by the coming of the Scythians, who in these ages did overflow those parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these Scythians, and the Lordship that they held in Asia, it is convenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, upon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering Assyria.

Phraortes, the sonne of *Deioces*, King of the Medes, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a faire possibility of making himselfe Lord of *Nineve*.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Sovereigne Lady, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howsoever *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Countrey; yet it found the means to set it selfe at liberty: as after this againe it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his Grande-child.

Sharpe warre, and the very novelty of suddaine violence, use to dismay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth even those that are unwarlike. *Nineve* had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the fury, wherewith either Domestickall tumults between the sons of *Senacherib*, or forreigne war of the Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it is the lesse wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumstances (perhaps hee undervalued their forces, and brought a lesse power than was needfull.) It is enough, that herein we may beleeve *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the son of *Phraortes*, a braver man of war than his Father, was as much of Asia the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the River of Halys; hee sought revenge upon the Assyrians for the death of his father, & besieged *Nineve* it selfe, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleeve *Eusebius*, that hee tooke the City, and fulfilled his displeasure upon it, than *Herodotus*, that the Scythian Army came upon him whilst hee lay before it. For where equall authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yeeld unto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the Scythians came upon *Cyaxares*, whilst he lay before *Nineve*, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was faine to leave the Towne, when a Warre

so dangerous fell upon his owne Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that Scythian expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the Chaldean and Assyrian affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there set down as happening about these times; of which book whosoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of those ages, & hath committed no such error in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecie of *Nabum*, though it be not limited unto any certaine terme, yet it appears to have taken effect, in the finall destruction of Nineve by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conquest of Egypt, foregoing this calamity, to whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the reformed Churches yield, to the booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessity, to asseme, that about these times, Nineve was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needles conjecture, if the place of *Eusebius* bewel considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach*, did seize upon it, and place a King or Vice-roy therein, about such time as the Country of Assyria was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the Scythian Warre over-whelmed Media. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirks of the Ninevites were allayed, and their malice to Babylon so much asswaged, that it might be though a great favour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, tooke him & to them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this unthankfull People and their King rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. I V.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty yeeres.

†. I.
The time of this expedition.

NOW that I have shewed what impediment was given by the Assyrians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth upon the Egyptians in Syria; it is time that I speake of that great Scythian expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the Babylonians, but the Medes & Lydians, with the Countries adjacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble redounded even to the Egyptians themselves. Of the Scythian people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them; for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Author, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to bee too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act upon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty yeeres, hee saith, that the Scythians reigned in Asia, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Countrey from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the Lydian, as foregoing the siege of Nineve; the siege of Nineve being ere the Scythians came. And further he tels, how the Scythians, having vanquished the Medes, did passe into Syria, and were encountered in Palestina by *Psammiticus* King of Egypt, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in such order of time, as he hath marshalled them. For *Psammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his forty yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of Lydia, so that hee could not, after those Lydian Warres, reigne eight and twenty yeeres together with the Scythians. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammis* the sonne of *Phrao Neco*, by the name of *Psammiticus*; and this King *Psammis* may, by some strained conjecture, be thought to have bene he that met with the Scythians: for he liveth with.

with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the Scythian irruption into Palestina, to *Psammiticus* the Father of *Neco*, whom he leaves dead before the Reigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relye upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise than to beleieve him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in divers places: a worke necessary, for that the greatneesse of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a generall History; yet not easie, the consent of those that have written thereof, being nothing neare to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reigne of *Arads* King of Lydia, the Cimmerians overran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, untill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Arads* got the upper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Arads*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to finde the eight and twenty years, wherein the Scythians reigned over Asia. Now so much as *Psammiticus* the Egyptian had some dealings with the Scythians, even in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last yeeres unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reigne in Lydia, being three and twenty yeeres compleat after the death of *Psammiticus*, leaves the space very scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meete the Egyptian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increase this difficulty, the victorious Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that hee should have adventured the strength of his Kingdome against the Egyptians & Jewes, had he stood in daily feare of losing his owne, to a more mighty nation, that lay upon his necke? To speake simply as it appears to me, the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of some troopes, that infected their severall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar*, having the like successe, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardy Northern Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twenty years of the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassar*'s Reigne, in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein Asia suffered the violence of their oppressors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their Journie.

TOUCHING the expedition it selfe, *Herodotus* tels us, that the Cimmerians being driven out of their Country by the Scythians, invaded and wasted some part of Asia; & that the Scythians, not contented with having won the land of the Cimmerians, did follow them; I know not why, into farre removed quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling upon Media & Egypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious & base people; the Scythians, as mischievous & foolish; or else *Herodotus*, & some other of this Country-men, great slanderers of those, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grievously ranfact. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is so well known, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of divers Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is insufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose re-flow did overwhelm no small portion of Greece & Asia; well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their original and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonia*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to have spoken, of all *Goropius* his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There we finde it proved, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homar* indeed hath mention of the Cimmerians; whose Country whether he placeth in the West, as neare unto the

Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and covered with eternall darknesse; certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to Hell: for hee had the same quarrell to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them seeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirms) to insert into his works the names of such as lived in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserved. And for this reason it is proved by *Eusebius*, that the Cimmerians were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Country. Perhaps that invasion of Phrygia by the Amazons, wherof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Eusebius* noteth to have happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together invaded Asia.

This is certain, that both the Amazons & the Cimmerii (who in after-times were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Asia; which though it be not in expresse termes written, that they did with joynnt-forces, yet seeing they invaded the selfe-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the streights of the Cimmerians, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the Scythians therein gave them assistance. The same Authour, before his entry into those discourses of the Amazons, which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have bene wives of the Scythians, and no lesse Warre-like than their Husbonds; alledging the example of that Queen who is said to have slaine the great Persian *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carry their wives along with them to the warres; and how desperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into Italy, when *Marius* the Romane overthrew them, gives prooffe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; another place will give me better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers Historians to have belonged unto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three nations were one, at least that they were neare allies.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appeares to have bene none other than the sending a Colony of them forth into Asia, with an Army of Scythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new seat, and establishing the plantation.

The Sarmatians also were companions in this journey. For the City of Novogradin Russia (which Country is the same that was called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon bee further shewed. So that all the North was up in Armes: and therefore it is no marvell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountered by the Romans. For they issued from the parts about the Lake Maotus; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the Scythians their neighbours; they had in their Armie above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children: they wandered over many Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to have settled themselves in Italy, they divided their Company, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Consuls. Meere necessity enforced these poore Nations to trouble the World, in following such hard adventures. For their Country being more fruitfull of men than of sustenance, and shut up on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their over-swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civill, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnesse, gave them great advantage over such as were accustomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevailed very farre; their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner bee ridde of them; others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as

Diod. lib. 4. c. 2.

Diod. lib. 2. c. 11.

Plutarch in the life of Marius.

the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

The first Company of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leaving on the other side, & behinde them, the great Mountains of Caucasus. These having passed through the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Country of Pontus, & being arrived in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontory, whereon Synope, a famous Haven Towne of the Greeks, was after built. Here it seemes that they bestowed their carriages, under some good guard: as drawing near to those Regions, in conquest wherof they were to trie the utmost hazzard. For in like sort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of strength, where Antwerpe now stands, when they drew neare unto Gaule, uppon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From Sinope, the way unto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines, or any deep Rivers at all to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they had already passed.

What battels were fought between these invaders and the Lydians, & with what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Arads*, the Cimmerians got possession of Sardes the capitall City of Lydia; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I observe, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Arads* Kings of Lydia, before this invasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crasus* in the times following, all that *Arads* did against the Cimmerians, and all, save burning the Milesians Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that he could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of war are never so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seats, labour to root out the established possessor of another Land; making roome for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgements; which had they bene yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the sucking infants. The mercilesse termes of this controversie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of Rome was overthrowne by such invasions. But our Isle of Britaine can best witness the diversity of Conquests; having by the happy victory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Civill Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly intrusted therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seeke after the Dominion only, but the entire possession of the Country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British Race, & defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian blood) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, & Scythians in the higher Asia, did arrive unto. So that by considering the proesse of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battailes the Danes wonne; yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the Saxons won upon the Danes, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred such acquaintance

betweene them, as bowing the natures of both the people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great slaughter had made large room; others returning home, found their owne Country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graves abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victory of *Halysates* may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should leave to adde hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded between the Cimmerians & *Halysates*, that the River of Halys should divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the River was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing betweene *Halysates* and *Cyaxares* the Mede, hath very good reference. For *Halysates* (as is said) fought in defence of certain Scythians, upon whom the Median sought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should have joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halysates*, if hee had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the Warre betweene these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I finde it of little waight, and lesse probability. He tells of Scythians, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*; who committed unto them certaine Boyes, to be instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feare of Archery. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these Scythians using much to hunt, & commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neverthelesse other-whiles misse of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward & cholericke, bitterly reviled them; & they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes; that was under their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fledde unto *Halysates*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a war that lasted sixe yeeres betweene the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding these fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians to betake themselves to either of these Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdome, of whom it is now meet that we should speake.

†. IV.

The Warre of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

AS the Cimmerians held their course westerly, along the shores of the Euxine Sea; so the Scythians & Sarmatians took the other way, & having the Caspian Sea on their left hand, passed between it & Caucasus through Albania, Colchene, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Servan and Georgia, & so they entered into Media. The Medes encountered them in Armes; but were beaten, & therupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilst *Plammiticus* reigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixt yeere of *Nabulassars* Reigne over Babylon (supposing him to have reigned five & thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight & twenty yeeres of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of Syria; which expedition hee began while his Father yet lived, as *Iosephus* out of *Berephus* relates the History.

Now the Medes, desirous to save themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to under-

goe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding still the Countries pleasanter & better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselves to be perswaded, that a little more travaile would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relied so much upon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; & being the bravest men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not think: Babylon was neare enough; whether if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I doe not reade. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middest betweene Media & Egypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributary; wherefore we may very well believe, that they watered their horses in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give them provender.

Plammiticus hearing of their progresse (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife) took care that they might not looke upon Egypt; lest the sight thereof should more easily detain them there, than any force or perswasion that hee could use, would send them going. Therefore hee met them in Syria, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow upon them, than on his Army that should keepe them backe. Egypt was rich; and halfe the riches had not been ill spent in saving all. Yet *Plammiticus* tooke the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close upon the edge of the Wildernesse in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermost border of Palestina: whence he never advanced to meete with the Scythians; but gave them leave to feede as much of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of Syria could beare upon them. When they were come as farre as Ascalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heate of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Plammiticus* had at his backe a vast wildernesse, over the scorching sands whereof, the Scythians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diffempers, could ill have endured to pursue him through unknowne wayes, had they fought with him and prevailed: especially the Kingdome of Egypt being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries: The Egyptian King (besides that hee preserved his owne Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coast well repayed in the proceesse of his wars in Syria, where the Nations beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themselves with the returne of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resolving now to seeke no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the Country, taking what they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were to save the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher Asia, that is, over the Country lying betweene the Caspian and Red Seas; and betweene India and Asia the lesse. Happy it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private men, to whose wealth any Scythian did beare a fancy, would have lighted in generall upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellows. Yet it seemes that the heaviest burthen lay upon Media; for it was a fruitfull Countrey not farre from their owne home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; therefore it was that they had the farall blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the Medes, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the Scythians, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by

Herod. lib. 1.

Artaegam.

stratagem. The manging of the businesse is thus delivered in briefe; That he, and his Medes, feasted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunke, and slew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed upon the Danes in England; but it was revenged by their Countymen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practised before. That the Scythians which escaped this bloody feast, made any stirre in Media, I do not find; neither do I reade that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by invasion from Scythia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of Media, was very strong, & encountered with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, took good effect, with lesse blood-shed than hath been supposed. For if he surpris'd all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse in eight and twenty years had so well settled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Country; many (of whom I shall speake anon) having done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe joyne with the Cimmericians in Lydia, or seeke their fortunes in other Provinces among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to have bin with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be understood, that a great part of the Scythians, upon hope of gaine, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto *Nabuchadnezzar*: mens love of their wealth being most effectuell, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as ever after, so in his first beginning of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deale with the Babylonians after another fashion: & this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Of the Scythian Army returning out of Media, divers Authors report a Story, which confirms me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their kinned and friends, in acquiring a new feare, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behinde them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themselves in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, & therefore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of slaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tels us, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needs be that they were very Boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleeve that tale as it is told by the Russes themselves, who agreeing in the rest with the content of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I finde it in *Maister Doctur Fleischer* his exact discourse of the *Russe Common-wealth*. They understood by the way, that their Chiefteyn, or Bond-slaves, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their wives, lands, houses, wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the silliness of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from Novogradmes them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed also to set upon them with no other them of weapon but with their horse-whips (which, as their manner is, every man rideth with) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, slaying all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onset: which seemed so terrible in the eyes of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheep before the Drivers. In memory of this victory, the Novogradians ever since have stamped their Coine (which they call a *Dingio Novogradsky*, current through all *Russia*) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. It may seeme, that all the women of that Country have fared the worse ever since, in regard of the universall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaves, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the Moscovian wife, even in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection; being well

Herod. lib. 4.

Jerem. 35. 9.

Rus. Common. Chap. 4.

well assured to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document unto the Scythians, or rather Sarmatians (for Novograd stands in the Country that was called Sarmatia) to beware of absenting themselves any more so long from their wives; which affter this, I finde not that they did.

This much I thought good to set down of the Scythian expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appears to have been a great cause of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and about Judæa, which continues yet a while the center of our discourse.

§. V.
Of Princes living in divers Countries, in these ages.

Having thus far digressed from the matters of Juda, to avoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings, and men of mark, as were betwene the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of Jerusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I have spoken as much as I thought needfull. In Rome, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdome, untill the one and twentieth yeere of *Josias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* succeeding, reigned foure and twenty yeeres. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but very rich, prevailed so farre, by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the Kingdome to himselfe, disappointing the sonnes of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of *Zedekias*, and reigned eight and thirty yeeres. In this time it was, namely, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedæmonians bethinking them how to be avenged of the Arcadians, who gave succour to the Messenians against them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of Phigalia or Phalia, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the Bacidae, made himselfe Lord of Corinth about these times, & governed it in peace thirty yeeres, leaving for successeur his sonne *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, & afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women stark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that the wisdome of the Greekes was not excellent in those dayes, when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus* & *Draco*, famous Lawgivers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous, that he was said to have written them with blood: for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, & power given to *Solon* by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very mild: He forbade any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, unless it were when she was drunke; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, unless it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse her selfe up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant Ordinances he effected his desire; for none would feeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of justice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his owne to save the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindness.

I shall not henceforth neede so farre to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in pursuing of actions collateral to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The Chaldeans will soon fall under the Persians; ere long, encounter with the Greeks; the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befall them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred yeeres, which passed betwene the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of Jerusalem, wee finde little matter, wherein the History of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very nearest borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected, and

and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neare distance; all which must have beene quite omitted, or else referred unto a very unseasonable rehearfall, had they not beene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Judaa, and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

NOW to returne to the Jewish Story, from whence we have so farre digressed. In the third year of *Jehojakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet living, entered Judaa with a great Army, who besieging and forcing Jerusalem, made *Jehojakim* his Vassall in despite of *Necho*, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a child, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them thoroughly; for *Necho* hastned to the succour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in Judaa: where in this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazard himselfe and his Army, it being a Country of an evill affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retreat. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of Scythian horse-men in his Army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Country, into places that were more even and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him just occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome, before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This hee did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him so farre, and to bid him battaile, untill the new yeere came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this yeere the Babylonian lying upon the Bank Euphrates (his owne Territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arrival of *Necho*. There, after a resolved contention for victory, *Necho* was slaine, and his Army remaining forced to save it selfe, which full ill it did, by a violent retreat. This victory, *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recovered all Syria, and whatsoever the Egyptians held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Jehojakim* held himselfe quiet, as being friend in heart unto the Egyptian, yet having made his peace with the Chaldean the year before; who contented with such profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute upon Juda. But this coole reservednesse of *Jehojakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King *Psammetichus*, who succeeded unto *Necho*, began to thinke upon restoring *Jehoahaz*, taken prisoner by his Father, and setting him up as a Domestickall Enemy, against his ungratefull brother. Against all such accidents, the Judaan had prepared the usuall remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for hee had made his owne sonne *Jechonias* King with him long before, in the second yeere of his owne Reigne, when the 7th year was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz*'s returne; the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: *He shall not returne thither, but he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this Land no more.* The Egyptians indeede, having spent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heave blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe Steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammetichus* Apries, who reigning after *Psammetichus*, did once adventure to shew his face in Syria; but after a bigge looke, hee was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought only with brave words, telling such frivolous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing use, of their glorious acts fore-past, against *Josias* & *Jehoahaz*. In this case it was easie for *Jehojakim* to give them satisfaction, by letting them understanding the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Jehojakim*, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore Judaan lay aside all thought of *Jehoahaz*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would have him. So hee continued in

Jehoi. Ann. lib. 10. c. 9.

the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out against the Jewes, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy yeares. The same calamity hee threatened to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumaeans, & the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken; and after the seventy yeeres expired, that the Babylonians themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the Medes, & *Jeremy*, 25: 10 the Judaeans permitted to returne againe into their owne Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* seemes to have been in the fourth yeere of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to reade them unto the People, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had first fet *Jeremy* at liberty, and advised him and *Baruch* to hide themselves.

Jehojakim, after he heard a part of it & perceived the ill newes therein delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in peeces and cast it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* caused to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost, & there should be none of his seed to sit on the Throne of David.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre opposed it selfe against the Chaldean forces; & upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seventy yeeres was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of Tyre, as of Jerusalem, and other towns & countries; it is apparent, that they which referred the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonosor*, have sure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it followes of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seventh of his Reigne; as having lasted thirteen yeeres.

Here I will take leave to intrude a briefe note, concerning the severall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third yeere of *Jehojakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being delivered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had revolted from him unto *Pharao Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince his sonne, with an Army into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same year. The year next following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expresse words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered Egypt; and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeere it was, wherein hee saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigure the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the coming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I finde, of long disputations: but returne unto the siege of Tyre, which began in the seventh of his Reigne.

The City of Tyre covered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the maine, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The Chaldeans had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, & skill to use them, excelled all other Nations; and every winde, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheless the judgements of God denounced against it by *Ezay*, *Jeremy*, & *Ezechiel*. *Ezay* 23: *Jeremy* 25: *Ezechiel* 26: had threatened the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, undertooke a vast piece of worke, even to fill up the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old Tyre, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firme Land, and the mountain of Libanus near adjoining that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteen yeeres were spent in this laborious, and almost hopelesse business. Which needeth not seeme strange: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remainyng of *Nabuchodonosor*'s Peere; and being

being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that where-
with *Alexander* laboured to cover a thieve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were consume, the worke of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; striving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. Every man knowes, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to use, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldeans, Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not give over till he was master of the Towne.

Ezek. 29.

Josph. Antiq.
Jud. lib. 10. c. 7.

When he was entered upon this desperate service; whether it were so, that some losses received, some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely; & so *Josephus* reports) some glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gave courage to his evill willers; *Jehojakim* renounced his subjection, & began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fell out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gave him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into Judaea, where the amazed King made so little resistance (the Egyptians having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred Jerusalem, and layed hands on *Jehojakim*: whom he first bound & determined to send to Babylon, but changing counsell, hee caused him to be slaine in the place, and gave him the Sepulchre of an Aile, to be devoured by beasts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his sonne; whom, after three moneths & tendies, *Nabuchodonosor* removed, and sent prisoner to Babylon, with *Ezekiel*, *Marobechus*, & *Jedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his servants Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carried away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counsell of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no resistance; but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the evil that befell him, rather than the greater evil that he thereto avoided. This only particular of his is recorded; which was good. But it seems that hee was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in generall words, that he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Masania* his Uncle in the Kingdome of Judaea, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as the justice of God. For like as *Nero* King of Egypt had formerly displaced *Jehoaahaz*, after his Father *Josias* was slaine, & set up *Jehojakim*, the son of another mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Jehojakim*, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his son *Jechonias* Prisoner to Babel, gave the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoaahaz*, whom *Nero* tooke with him into Egypt. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithful obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine assured to the Kings of Chaldaea.

In the first yeere of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those Judaeans that were carried away captive, the other those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a booke all the evill that should fall upon Babylon, which booke or scrole he gave to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedechias* to Babylon, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captive Jewes, and then to binde it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall Babel be downed, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her.* This journey of *Zedechias* to Babel is probably thought to have beene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that he had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those unjust courses, from which *Jeremy* deterred both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appoint-

appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enjoy their own countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also foretold them, that those Vessels which as yet remained in *Jerusalem*, should also travell after the rest, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeare *Ananias*, the false Prophet, rooke off the wooden Chaine which *Jeremy* wore in signe of the Captivity of the Jewes, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would breake the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layd on all Nations; restore *Jechonias* and all the Jewes, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all these troubles. But *Jeremy*, in stead of his woollen yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in signe that *Ananias* had given a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which seized upon him in the second Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth yeare of his reigne he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrrians*, and others that were promised great aydes of the Egyptians: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. He ere of when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jerusalem*, and besieged it. *Jeremy* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himselfe: but being confident of the helpe from Egypt, and being perswaded by his Counsellors and false Prophets, that it was impossible that the Kingdome of *Juda* should be extirpate, untill the coming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he despised the words of *Jeremy*, Gen. 49. 10. and imprisoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Jerusalem being the following yeare surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Armie; the King of Egypt, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entered the border of *Juda* with his Army to succour *Zedechias*, of whose revolt he had bene the principall Author. But *Jeremy* gave the Jewes faithful counsell, willing them not to have any trust in the succours of Egypt: for he assured them that they should returne againe, and in no sort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldeans removed from *Jerusalem* to encounter the Egyptians, these vaunting Parrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into Egypt, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poore people of *Jerusalem* to their destined miseries.

In the meane while the Jewes, who in their first extremity had manumifed their Hebrew Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the year of *Jubile*) and made them free, there-
by the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the Chaldaean Army, repent them of their Chariry: and thinking all had bene at an end, held them perforce to their former slavery. But the Chaldees being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the State of *Jerusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedechias* to render himselfe unto them; assuring him of his owne life, and the safety of the Citie, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and perjury, had provided for him.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some do reckon it) or, according to *Josephus*, eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army lay before *Jerusalem*, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as *P. Marius* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turres* King. 25. 12. *remigam per circuitum*: They surrounded the Citie with wooden Towers, so as the besieged could neither fall out, nor receive into the Citie any supply of men or victuals. *Josephus* reports, that they over-topped the Walls with high Towers raised upon Mounts; from which they did so bear upon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their Stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like unto these, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions thereabouts, and had the Woods and Rivers

to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded by the Wallles of *Jerusalem* interposed; and theirs within, layd open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men straitly besieged) grew on fast upon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Jewes* failed, the *Chaldeans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did fear themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shuted himselfe, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principall servants, out of the Citie, by a way to under ground; leaving his amazed and guidelesse people, to the mercilesse sword of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the counsell of God and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*; used now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truly termeth, *Triste, turpe, & infelix: Wofull, shamefull, and unfortunate.*

By this secret subterranean vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Defarts of *Jericho*: but by reason of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him those whom they held most deare unto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Josephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldeans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shuted themselves into the Defarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Prisoner, with his Children and Princes, he was conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblash*, a City (as some thinke) of *Neptalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jerusalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had layd before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falsehood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be slaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should bee the last that ever he should behold in the World, he caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual imprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & isam now videbit: I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Thus in the eleventh and last year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldeans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

In the year next following, *Nabuзарadan* Generall of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Jerusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood foure hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a second search, *Nabuзарadan* (not yet satiated with blood) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his House-hold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Judea*; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Josias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by *Josephus* highly commended. This man, a Jew by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the Warre: and by *Jeremies* desire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldea* or elswhere, he made election of *Godolia*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jewes* that were left under his charge, promising them favour & liberty,

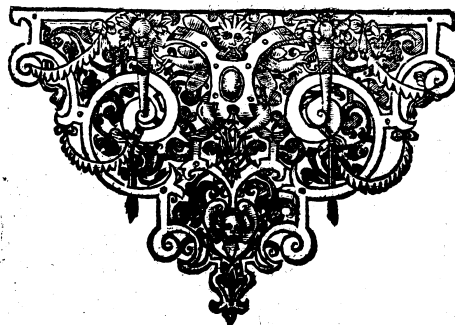
so long as they remained obedient subjects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Provinciaall Governour of his owne Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Jerusalem*, had kept himself out of the storme, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godolia* feasted them in *Mispha* or *Mispha*, the City of his residence, trayterously slew him, together with divers *Chaldeans* and *Jewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godolia* with presents, he slew the most of them; and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godolia* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had bene formerly discovered unto *Godolia* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jewes*; but *Godolia* was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a Governour (for *Ismael* durst not take it upon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Jewes*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldeans*, resolved to flye away into *Egypt*, and besought *Jeremy* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Judea*, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in *Egypt*, that they should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this advice, the *Jewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neare unto *Taphnes*: where when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselves, and the *Egyptians* also, hee was by these his owne hard-hearted and ungratefull Country-men, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly revered him, buried neare the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.

Hhh 2





THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the destruction of Jerusalem,
to the time of PHILIP of
MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*Of the time passing between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fall
of the Assyrian Empire.*

§. I.

Of the connexion of sacred and prophane Historie.



THE course of Time, which in profane Historie might rather be discerned through the greatest part of this way, hitherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path, having once in Greece by the Olympiads, & in the Easterne countries by the account from Nabuchadnezzar, left surer marks, & more applicable to actions concurrent, than were the war of Troy, or any other token of former dates; begins at length in the ruine of Jerusalem to discover the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the original and progresse of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne up, are not to be found among those that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore pursued the story of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse derived unto us, I hold it now convenient briefly to shew by what means & circumstances the History of the Hebrews, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conjoynd with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry metalls, discovered by God unto Nebuchadnezzar, did reigne over the earth, when Israel was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull to insist upon those authorities which give, as it were by heare-say, a certaine year of some old Assyrian King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of Ninus his

line in Sardapanalus, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of Belochus & his issue that occupied the kingdome afterwards, depending upon the uncertaine relations of such as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore suffice that the consent and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worne Monarchs, doth preserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we only learne in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reigne began or ended, were it not that the reigne of Nabuchadnezzar is more precisely applied to the times of Jehojakim and Zedechia. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For under Nabuchadnezzar was the beginning of the captivity of Juda, which ended when 70. years were expired; and these 70. years took end at the first of Cyrus, whose time being well knowne, affords us meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first year of Cyrus his reigne in Persia, by generall consent, is joynd with the first year of the 55. Olympiad, where, that he reigned three and twenty years before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost out of controversie. Giving therefore foure hundred and eight years unto the distance between the fall of Troy, and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus, we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of Greece, which were not merely fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundry parts of the world, S. Augustine and others may be trusted in setting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned unto Alexander, and from him to the battell of Actium, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to set downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the Babylonian captivity are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the world through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that wee take some paines to informe our selves truly of the 70. years during which it continued, even from Nabuchadnezzar unto Cyrus.

§. II.

A briefe hear-say of two opinions touching the beginning of the captivity: with an answer to the cavills of Porphyrie, inveighing against S. Matthew and Daniel, upon whom the later of these opinions is founded.

Many Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers finde that the captivity then began when Jeconias was carried prisoner into Babylon, eleven years before the final destruction of Jerusalem under Zedechias. This they prove out of divers places in Ezekiel, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of Jerusalem by Nabuchadrezzar, in these words: *In the five and twentieth year of our being in Captivitie, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth day of the month, in the fourteenth year after that the Citie was smitten.* In which words hee begetteth the captivity in plaine termes, eleven years before the City was destroyed. Beroaldus is of opinion that it began in the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the fourth of Joakim; which he endeavours to prove out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out of Saint Matthew and Daniel, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serve not to make good so much as Beroaldus would enforce. That place of S. Matthew, and the whole booke of Daniel have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man Porphyrie, who, not understanding how the sonnes of King Josias were called by divers names, as Epiphanius hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some Translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon Daniel also the same Porphyrie doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming, that these prophecies and visions remembered by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time

of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the seventy Interpreters, who converted the old Testament about an hundred years before *Epiphanes*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who lived divers years before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jerusalem* to have destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stayed his hand from the harme of that City and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, hee conquered *Darius*, and the Eastern Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phoenicia*.

It is true indeed that the *Jewes* themselves give lesse authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdra*s and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonically: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Esdra*s and the Seniors, we may assure our selves by testimony of Councils and Fathers. For in the Councell of *Laodicea* held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Jovian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty years, this booke of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonically Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Councell it may be seen; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witness *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, the fourth booke, and five and twentieth chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonically books upon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarion* in his Preface upon the *Palme*s, and *Epiphanius* in his booke of *Weights* and *Measures*, &c. To these I may adde *Saint Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* booke or holy Writings, the *Jewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalms*, *Psalms*, *Psalms*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, *Ezra*, *Nehemia*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdra*s, that wrote this booke, Gods commendement unto him by his Angell, to seale up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other prooffe, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* & *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth verse the second. *Saint Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniel*s visions.

§. II. I.

That the 70. years of captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of *Jerusalem*; not from the migration of *Jechonia*.

Having thus farre digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we returne unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these 70. years. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few namelesse Authors have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Four Kings of *Juda* were carried away captives to *Babylon*: First, *Manassers* then *Jehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Jechonias*, and with him *Ezechiel*; lastly, *Zedechias*, at which time the city & temple were destroyed. To the first of these captivities the beginning of the 70. years is referred by none that I have read; to the second, by few and with weak prooffe; to the third, by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezechiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered

gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, useth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After 70. years be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.*

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumstances, when the prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. *Jeremy* hath already in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the finnes and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel, my servant; and will bring them against this Land,* *Jer. 29. ver. 16.*
10 *and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continuall desolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladnesse, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the Bride; the noise of the mil stones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Babel 70. years. And when 70. years are expired, I will visit the King of Babel,* *Jer. 29. ver. 18.*
10 *Here we see prescribed unto the captivity the terme of 70. years, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*; but with the utter desolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did againe give notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearsed. And so did the people understand this prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. years at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appears in the end of the History of *Juda*, where it is said thus: *They burn the house of God, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carried he away to Babel, and they were servants to him and to his sonnes, untill the kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of *Jeremia*, untill the Land had her fill of her Sabbath: for all the dayes that the lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, so fulfill 70. years. But in the first year of Cyrus King of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of *Jeremia*, was finished) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus. We seldom finde one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to have afterwards become the subject of alteration. For one can hardly devise how either the desolation could have been expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophecy have been more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more prooffe in evidence a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimony sufficient, unto this expedition of *Jeremia* his prophecy, that *Jerusalem* was to lye waste 70. years. For in the fifth year of *Darius* the Mede, which was the last of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by Dan. 9. 2.*
40 *the number of the years whereof the Lord had spoken unto *Jeremia* the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70. years in the desolation of Jerusalem. So that howsoever the time of *Daniel* his owne captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Jechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their owne captivity; yet with the generall desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabite, began in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor* the great captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of seventy years.***

This I will not further seek to prove, by the authority of *Josephus* and others affirming the same; forasmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfy any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§. IV.

§. I V.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. years.

WHAT Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seventy years of the Captivity, & how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, & perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nabuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seeme that hee and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argueno lesse. For whereas under *Nabuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished that hardy piece of worke, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by joyning unto it the continent, filling up the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, dividing it from the maine with a mole or piece of earth, and other matter; the reputation whereof when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* workes: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bowes would carry, but were ready to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the distance offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nabuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reigns of their severall Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine been taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captivity of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, we may as reasonably forebore to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* servitude; resting satisfied in both with the general assured summe.

Yet forasmuch as many have travelled in this businesse, upon desire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the 70. yeares, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselves: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting downe the years of their severall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerey follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither have they only the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophecy of *Jeremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very fame. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his owne will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serve him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonnes, untill the very time of his land come also; then many Nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldean* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I finde no other necessity of qualification to be used herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures unto profane Authors. And this desire were not unjust, if the content of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other side.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, & the proofes of their different reports are so slender & insufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by

some Author of equall credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following *Josephus*, derive that Empire, as by descent, from father to son, through five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giving to him 43. yeares; to *Evilmerodach* 18. to *Nightsar* the son of *Evilmerodach*, 40. to *Labosardach* the son of *Nightsar* 9. moneths, and lastly, to *Balthasar* (whom *Josephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (save that he forbears to reckon the yeares, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the sonne of *Labosardach*) *Saint Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus* and *Josephus* as a testator of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Josephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tels us that *Evilmerodach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did reigne but two yeares, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Nightsar*, who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeares, and left it to his owne sonne *Labosardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17. yeares. This relation ill agrees with that of *Josephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of yeares, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them some authority, so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings brethren, and sonnes of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleve *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate successor to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jerusalem* and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plain enough it is that he hath, out of any History sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus* and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have supposed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is oftentimes called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that *S. Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthasar* was not the King indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conqueror, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Eafrican* languages, he was called the son.

Annus his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seventy yeares of captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. yeares, to *Evilmerodach* 30. yeares, and to the three sons of *Evilmerodach*, *Nepheues* of *Nabuchodonosor*, fourteen yeares; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest son, three yeares, to *Lab-Assar* the second sonne, fixe yeares, and to *Balthasar* the third sonne, five.

To this account agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of yeares, and in the number of generations, I have sometime subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Annus* his nation. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed unto his brother in the kingdome, and not unto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose History of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted unto *Balthasar* by *Annus* his *Metasthenes*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeares he pleased amongst the rest. For in the third yeare of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certain dayes, but when he rose up, he did the Kings businesse: from which businesse, that he did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and live retired, so long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appears plainly, both by the many words which the old *Queene* used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he

were

Dan. 5. 11, 12, 13.
Dan. 2. 49.

were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two years have been worne out of remembrance, were in my judgement a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of *Amnius* his impostures.

Out of these reports of *Josephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captivity being 70. years, and these years extending unto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nabuchadnezzar*, his son and grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill up the whole continuance of the captivity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, joynd unto the years following the nineteen of *Nabuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jerusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, fashion the yeares of *Evilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. yeares given to him by *Josephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. years, and the two years that *Berosus* hath allotted to *Evilmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of 1. is mistaken for the figure of 2. and in the latter there should have bin added the figure of 3. to ken for the figure of (2.) and in the latter there should have bin added the figure of 3. to ken for the figure of (2.) this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28. years, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* lived after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, make 48. then 4. years of *Lahmishar* according to *Berosus*, 5. months of *Labassardach* his son, and 17. years of *Nabonidus* or *Balthasar*, make up the number of 70. years to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by error in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly mistaken in all copies extant; upon how weak a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, have only on the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have that place of *Jeremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authority.

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

Other suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purpose to rehearse, as falling under the same answer. That of *Joseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deserving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to *Nabuchadnezzar* 44. years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Balthasar* five: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Jerusalem* was destroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59. years; beginning (as many do) the captivity 11. years sooner from the transportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath bin said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the Chaldean Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzar*'s reigne, I shall hereafter upon better occasion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we finde in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was continuall portion given him of the King, him all the dayes of his life until he died. The very sound of *Babel*, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life until he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two years, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandment he had obeyed in yielding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not so short a while after this 2. yeares, it is more than likely; for he was but 55. yeares old when he was set at liberty, having bin 37. years in the prison, wherein he was cast at the age of 18. yeares; after which time it seems plaine that he began *Salutiel*, as well by the age of *Berechiah*, who is said to have bene

Jer. 52. 33, 34.

but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of *Balthasar*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him also *Laborosardach*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughters son, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to help out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Niriglisaroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzar*'s daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these years; by which means there remains about one year to *Balthasar* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine months assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Niriglisar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to passe it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stock or race, a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the travell of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himselfe, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in generall he approveth, might with greater reason have wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherein can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdome, not saying that he wanne it by force of armes: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Original, or of the Greek translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signifie that *Darius* took or received the Kingdome; I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next King entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the meanes and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been said (if *Daniel* had cared to use the most expressive termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did winne the Kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his works printed at *Basile*, in the year 1559. I finde onely thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheus*: That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*, that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldeans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a divine fury, he cryed with a loud voyce: O Babylonians, I foretold ye of a great calamity that shall come upon you, which neither Bel, nor any of the gods shall avert: There will come a Persian, halfe an Asse, that shall bring slavery upon you: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, saving that *Nabuchodonosor* knew before-hand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the silver breast. But that he wanne all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaliger*'s copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells us that *Nabuchodonosor* wanne both *Affrick* and *Spain*, I believee the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Affrians*; as where it tels of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an Asse, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo*'s Oracle, wherein he termeth him a Mule, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side than on the fathers; as Mules are begotten by *Asses* upon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing; for mere fictions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one so judicious, industrious, and deeply learned as *Joseph Scaliger*, would overthrow himselfe, in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeal. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, has

Dan. 8. 10.

hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Balthasar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not given to the *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethinke our selves what *Persian* it might be that shared the Kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine that *Balthasar* lost his life and Kingdome, than that his Kingdome was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to ther did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it; but these two Nations did have been *Darius*, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject Provinces, in somuch that the Greek Historians did commonly call those Warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The Warres of the *Medes*. Yet to clear this point, even *Daniel* himselfe resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have beene condemned by *Joseph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldean* King by him subdued. Neither was *Josephus* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus* and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Josephus* had no reason to beleve any mans faith or knowledge of those times half so wel as *Daniel*, whom I beleve that he understood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to alledge all Authors that had any mention, though imperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the *Jewes*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Roman* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Even so doe *Eusebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the testimonies of Heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore be trayed in generall by the selfe same *Ethnicke* Philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as *Josephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding nevertheless in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had then beene very great.

§. V I.

What may bee held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor for his successors.

I now remains that I freely acknowledge mine owne weaknesse, who cannot find how the 70. years of captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly say with *Peregrinus*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulness, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to have reigned over the *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he supposeth by *Niglissar* and *Laborsardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth year *Jerusalem* was taken and sacked, but in his nineteenth laid utterly desolate.

Most of Writers have given to him 43. years of reigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who have added one year more; and some have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest

Manifest it is, that the 19. year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is joyned with the 11. of *Zedechias*, as also that his eighth yeer, was the first yeere of *Jechonia* his captivity; the reigne of *Zedechias* occupied all the meane space, being of 11. years. This is generally agreed upon, so that it needs no further proofes: As for the beginning of his succesor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the seven and thirtieth year of *Jechonia* his captivity; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* after his 8. yeare (which was the first of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35. whole years, and peradventure a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Jechonia* was enlarged with so great favour, not untill the end of the year. Subtracting therefore out of these foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne did well nere occupie, those eight or nine years of this which passed away before the captivity of *Juda*, and ruine of the city, we have remaining fixe and twenty years of the seventy, that were almost wholly spent when his son began to reigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seventie yeeres were divided between the Kings ruling in *Babylon* untill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needfull: the whole some being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were slothfull Princes. Neither can any man the more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. years, for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjectural; seeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both unlikely and desperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others have done; knowing well before hand, that whosoever shall discover my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making me to understand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeeres remaining in account of *Nebuchadnezzars* death, wee are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the Mede, & then having uttering good enough to warrant us from blame of presumption, in giving us seventene yeeres to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our hands to bestow upon *Evilmerodach* fixe & twenty yeeres. Of the yeere belonging unto *Darius* the Mede, I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captivity. That *Balthasar* did reigne seventeen yeeres, we have the authority of *Josephus*, before cited in expresse words; We have also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long; & *Balthasar* to have beene one. But nothing moveth me so much to beleve this Tradition, as first those evident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeere of *Balthasar* hee followed the Kings business, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a proofe sufficient of no few yeeres, passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniel* employments tooke end either that yeere or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the *Assyrians*, which beginning with the death of this mans father, & being alwaies prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower Asia, which fell out in the midde-way: I have already shewed, that there appears in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of *Evilmerodach* was not short, and that men of great judgement have found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I thinke, they would have allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus*, caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to bee wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes never so excellent; and in all things else unquestionably true, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enimie: How much lesse ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing only seven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they beleeve that follow him in the rest. The Scriptures have told us that God gave the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of them held it, we finde not expresse; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided alwayes, that helping us in a particularity, he destroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, than *Berosus*, or *Josephus* who cited him, hath beene wronged by the needlesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two

Dan. 8. 1.
2. 27. Recap. 6.
1. 1. 12. & 13.

Jerem. 27.

for fixe and twenty, as for three & twenty, or perhaps more easie. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5, signifying 6, hath a neerer resemblance of 8 than hath 7 which is used for 3. So that the numerall notes 8 5, expressing 26, were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might bee altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusual, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could bee supposed in standing for 23. I doe not well perceive. As for the Arithmetical figures now in use, they were long after the time of Josephus brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe not appertaine unto this time of business, unless wee should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humane, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to nity, but in a sort wholly given over to the doctrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to make Berofus our friend, to let it be; if not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forsaking Jeremy and Daniel, when they seeme to be his opposites.

§. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained betwene the destruction of Jerusalem and conquest of Egypt.

WITH what actions this time of 70. years was entertained by the Babylonian Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it selfe was, & is yet sought to bee abridged, as not having left sufficient matter to witness the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people even their being. For every Nation (I know not whom I should except) betwene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no marvel, if the posterity of Nabuchodonosor, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have desired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sons of greedy fathers, their own wisdom greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their dayes in the restless travell of purchasing: Though indeed the reigne of Nabuchodonosor was so divided, that his youthfull and stronger years having been exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours past. The nineteenth yeere of his reigne it was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty Citie of Jerusalem, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoile, & terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, he, untill his three and twentieth yeere, laboured in the conquest of those adjoining Regions, which God had exposed unto his sword, and commanded to wear his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sydonians, and Egyptians, though some of these were already become his followers, and served under him, when Jerusalem was beaten down and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-army, & whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, in employing all his power to their subversion.

That the City of Tyre was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of Jerusalem (which had held the same course that Tyrrus did, and endured all that might bee in the same quarrell against the common enemy) it appears by the words which Ezekiel condemneth as the common voice of Tyrrus; Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, that great worke of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appeare above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable mischief.

But those prophecies of Jeremy & of Esay, which appoint unto this desolation of Tyre the same terme of 70. years, that was prescribed unto the reigne of the Chaldeans, doe plainly

plainly shew, that he followed Jerusalem, the same nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themselves, and fledde into the Isle of Cyprus. Neverthelesse it seemes that this evasion served only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort unto the enemies fury. For, not onely such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus Nabuchodonosor caused his Armie to serve a great service against Tyrrus, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honour of having destroyed that Citie, which in all mens judgements had beene held invincible.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull cities, having made the name of the Chaldeans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, Nabuchodonosor used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with lesse paine. The Kingdome of Egypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough to seek occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemy to the Crown of Babylon, that had it bin poorer, yet either it must have beene subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill have beene established. Neverthelesse it was needfull, that before hee entered into this business, the Countries adjacent should bee reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For, the people of Moab, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazar, and other adjoining Regions, whom God for their finnes had condemned to fall under the Babylonian swords, were such, as regarding only their owne gaine, had some of them, like Ravens, followed the Chaldean Armie, to feed upon the carcasses that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to Nabuchodonosor: all of them thinking, that when the Assyrian had satisfied his fury, he should be faine to forsake those desolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the Edomites and Philistims had shed much malice to the Jewes when their city was taken. What good service they had done to the Chaldeans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to have beene with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of Jerusalem, but presently they entered upon the Country of Gad, and took possession, as if not the Assyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of Basia King of the Ammonites, when he sent Ismahel, a Prince of the blood of Juda, to murder Gedalia, whom the King of Babel had left Governour over those that remained in Israel, and to carry captive into the Ammonites Country the people that abode in Mizpah, than a desire of embroiling Nabuchodonosor with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Country, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the Moabites did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, & their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their treivish wits. But Nebuchadnezzar did cut asunder all their devices by sharpe and suddaine warre, over-whelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of Esay, Jeremy, and Ezekiel, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them hee first began, I finde not; it seemes that Moab was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophesie of Esay, threatening Moab with destruction after three yeeres, as having reference to the third year following the ruine of Jerusalem; the next year after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition.

expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaves, few excepted, who being preserved by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations over-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but lived as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, untill the end of the seventy yeares, which God had prescribed unto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Juda.

§. VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by Nabuchodonosor, contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who, following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

When by a long course of victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subjection all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in such wise, that no enemy to himself, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his backe, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conquest of Egypt himselfe, upon which those other Nations had formerly bin depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esa*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written so plainly, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleged out of these. Nevertheless, wee finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, & *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to straine these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of having done some spoile in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helpes conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to uphold a sentence, giving testimony to one clause, doe carelessly overthrow the history it selfe, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke: but that which they have spoken of *Apries* was purposely reserved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirm that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unlesse we should understand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to have made upon Tyrrus and Sydon) that he reigned five and twenty yeeres, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne Subjects; who did set up *Amasis*, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians hee imputeth to a great losse which they received in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole army was destroyed. This calamity the people of Egypt thought to bee well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reigne over such as staid at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against *Apries*, who sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebels, & was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to trust unto his foraine Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom he kept continually in readinesse thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the Egyptian forces, amounting unto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. *Apries* himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, untill the Egyptians, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme enemy to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neerely agree, telling us that *Apries* did vanquish the Cyprians and Phoenicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished Sydon, wanne the other townes of Phoenicia, and the Ile of Cyprus, and finally, perished, as is before rehearsed, when he

Herod. l. 2. c. 14.

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

had reigned two and twenty yeeres. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe us of *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than have the traditions of Egyptian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that looke only into humane reasons. For *Esa* prophesied long before of the shamefull captivity of the Egyptians, whom the King of Asshur should carry away naked, young & old, in such wise, that the Jewes, who fled unto them for deliverance from the Assyrian, should bee ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so unable to defend themselves.

10 But *Ezekiel* & *Jeremy*, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that Egypt should be given to *Nabuchadnezzar*, as wages for the service which he had done at Tyre: Also hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Egypt, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and goe into captivity, yea, that *Pharao* and all his Army should be slain by the sword. Wherefore it must needs bee a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion concludes all, without any other alteration in Egypt, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniforme consent of all the people. Certainly, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein hee foretelleth how the Jewes in Egypt should see *Pharao Hophra* delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Tedekia* had bene, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath over-ruled it; then was it vainely dote of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing hee did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hill, those very stones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should bee set, and his Pavilion spread. Yea then was that prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharao* thus: Behold, I will visit the common people of No, & *Pharao* and Egypt, with their gods and their Kings, even *Pharao*, and all that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of those that seeke their lives, and into the band of *Nabuchadnezzar*, King of Babel, and into the hands of his servants. The clearnesse of this prophecy being such as could not but refuse that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greeke Historians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharao Hophra* to bee *Amasis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Egyptian Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coyned upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well bee thought, that the history of *Nabuchadnezzar* was better knowne to the Jewes, whom it concerned, than to the Greekes, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe *Josephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and the fift yeere of the destruction of Jerusalem, did conquer Egypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*, who being meere strangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should once consider the relations of *Josephus*, and of the Greeke Historians, as either of them might be verified of it selfe by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or Egyptian Priests, mee thinke the death of *Apries* can no way be approved as having bene wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspicion; yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love & honor which the Egyptians did beare unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniforme testimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himselfe. How then can we thinke it probable, that *Apries* having wonne great victories, did for one onely losse fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serve to perswade us, that a King of Egypt would feeke, or so determine himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his naturall subjects: As for that Army of thirty thousand souldiers, Carians and Ionians, which the King

Esa. 40. ver. 4. 5. & 6.

Ezekiel 29. v. 20. & c. 30.

Ezekiel 32. 23.

Jerem. 44. 20. Jerem. 45. 10.

Jerem. 46. v. 15. & c. 26.

Jun. in Jerem. cap. 44. v. 36.

Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. c. 11.

of Egypt, whom *Amasis* took prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a forrainger, and one that armed himself against the Egyptians, wishing them few and weak, rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Countrey, as assuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to use all Arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who fought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that hee was some forraigne Governour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would have desired to save his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had stood upon great appearance of truth, considering that the voice of truth it selfe cries out against it, but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of Egypt by *Nabuchodonosor*, to be observed where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

§. IX.

How Egypt was subdued and held by Nabuchadnezzar.

IT is a great losse, that the generall History of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have preserved the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertaine. That his Victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Countrey of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may seeme to have reached out into Mauritania, as people subdued by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these Warres are in a manner utterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular observation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe most safe in Egypt by the well defended situation of his Countrey, did very unwisely in suffering his enemies to sweep the way cleane unto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than weary the Chaldean Army, so the confidence and vaine security of the Egyptians, relying upon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the Arabian deserts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would afford unto themselves, did little availle them in provision for the war, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually seene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helpees faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of Egypt had flourished under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand five hundred and fourescore yeeres; but from this time forward it remained forty yeeres without a King, under the subjection of the Babylonians; & then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatnesse, yet so, that it was never dreadfull unto others, God having said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations.* For whereas it hath bene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the wife, I am the sonne of the ancient Kings*; & whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of Egypt now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was taken & slaine, and that ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeere after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Josephus*) *He slew the King then reigning, placed another in his room, and carried captives thence to Babylon, the Jewes whom he found in that Countrey.* Now concerning the time which *Josephus* gives unto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Jerusalem, and carrying away those unto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three & twentieth yeere of *Nabuchadnezzar*, is not improbably thought by

Ezekiel 29. 13. 14.
& 35.
Ezekiel 39. 11.
Ezekiel 39. 9.

Josephus Ant. Jud.
lib. 10. 611.

Jerem. 52. 30.

good

good authors to have bene at the returne from this Egyptian expedition. But whereas *Josephus* tells us, that there was another King put in the room of *Apries* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, we must understand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as some have mistaken) thinke that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two successively bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nabuchadnezzar*, other by *Amasis*; a question of small importance, because the difference is only about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life & Kingdome by the Assyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the Greeke Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nabuchadnezzar*, seeing that he was the Grand-child of *Pharao Meco*, & made war (as they report) upon the Phoenicians, who were before the Egyptians, become subject unto the Crowne of Babylon. I might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nabuchadnezzar* left as Governour of Egypt, was more likely to have had some Chaldean or Assyrian, than Egyptian name; unless we should thinke that he had bene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countrey: about which it were but frivolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to believe, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute Conquest of Egypt; that he was not so foolish as to give it away, any man may ghesse; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is consequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Josephus*; that his Governour (or some Successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and believe what they list. As for the army which this Egyptian King *Apries* is supposed to have kept of Ionians & Carians; hold them to be none other than the garrisons of mercenary souldiers which were left by the Assyrian for the guard of his Viceroy, and custody of the new subdued Province: as likewise the company returning from Cyrene & Barce, who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembered before out of the Greeke Historians, depose & slew *Apries*, I take them to have been the Egyptian fugitives, which then recovered their own Countrey. Sure it is that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *Arise out of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered, and will bring againe the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to returne into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation, & they shall be there a small Kingdome.* If the Egyptian Priests alluded herunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they devised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keepe the Greeks from knowledge of their Countreys disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

§. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawne from sundry acts of Nabuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Nineve, by him; the time of which action is uncertaine.

THESE victories brought the greatnesse of the Assyrian Empire to the full, & from them was reckoned the time of *Nabuchadnezzars* reigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nabuchadnezzars* his times, might seeme to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third yeere of *Jehoiakims* reigne (which ran along with some part of *Nabuchadnezzars* first yeare) & was kept inder three years more, before hee was brought into the Kings presence; it could not be the second of *Nabuchadnezzars* Kingdome, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, for shewing the successe of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of divers places which referre sundry matters unto their first years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tells, that Egypt should be given in reward for the service done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecy in the seven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeare: for these yeeres held no dependance upon either the beginning of *Nabuchad-*

Daniel 1. & 2.

Nabuchadnezzar's Kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not eafie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertaine search.

Nahum 3. 8.

Of any warre made by *Nabuchadnezzar*, after fuch time as he returned from the Conquest of Egypt, I doe not reade: excepting that againſt Nineve, the deſtruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. Nineve had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath bene ſhewed) and together with the reſt of Aſſyria made ſubject to Babylon. Yet was it left unto a peculiar King, who rebelling againſt the Chaldean, as *Jeſojakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of Juda, had done, taſted likewiſe of the ſame fortune. That the deſtruction of Nineve followed the Conquest of Egypt, it appeareth by the compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made betwene this City, that was to fall, and the City of No in Egypt, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to paſſe, it is (me thinks) impoſſible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the firſt of *Nabuchadnezzar's* reign, the place of *Nahum* laſt cited is enough to diſprove it. Whereas it is referred by ſome unto the firſt of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian warres; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum* which went betwene the one and the other, argueth ſtrongly, that there was a longer ſpace of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very eare of this deſtruction, or other circumſtances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonosor* in perſon, or by his Lieutenants, were ſomewhat like unto the vaine curioſity of *Tyberius Cæſar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*, or to the like idle paines which he ſhould take, who would ſeek to learne what woman that *Huſſab* Queen of Nineve was, whoſe woeful captivity the ſame Prophet *Nahum* likewiſe did fore-tell.

§. X I.

Of the latter time of *Nabuchadnezzar*; his buildiſgs, madneſſe, and death.

Dan. 4. 27.

Of the time which this great Monarch ſpent in quiet, I think there are no monuments extant; ſave thoſe which we finde among the prophecies of *Dauid*. Among theſe we may reckon his great workes of Babylon, wherewith he pleaſed himſelfe ſo well, that he brake out into theſe glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have built for the houſe of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, & for the honour of my Maieſty?* Surely if thoſe things be true that are by *Joſephus* rehearſed of him out of *Berſus* & *Megasthenes*, he might well delight himſelfe with the contemplation of ſuch goodly & magnificent buildiſgs. For it is ſaid, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; ſituate beſides other ſtately workes, he raiſed thoſe huge arches wherewith were borne up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the aire, & equalling the tops of Mountaines; which moſt ſumptuous frame, that out-laſted all the remainder of the Aſſyrian, and all the Perſian Empire, is ſaid to have bene reared, and finiſhed in ſeventene dayes.

But of all this, & other his magnificence, we finde little elſe reſcorderd, than that (which indeed is moſt profitable for us to conſider) his over-valuing of his owne greatneſſe abſeſed him unto a condition, inferior to the pooreſt of men. And not undeſervedly fell theſe judgements of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not only with many victories, and much happineſſe in his owne life, but with a diſcovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dreame, by the miraculoſus reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: hee nevertheleſſe became ſo forgetfull of God, whoſe wonderfull power he had ſeene and acknowledged, that he cauſed a golden Image to be ſet up and worſhipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward unto them that ſhould dare to diſobey his Kingly will and pleaſure, which was utterly repugnant to the law of him that is the Kings of kings. Hereof *S. Hierome* hath well noted; *Felox obliſio veritatis, ut qui dudum ſervum Dei quaſi Deum adoraverat, nunc ſtatuum ſibi fieri jubcat, ut ipſe quaſi Deus in ſtatua adoraretur: A haſtu forgetfullneſſe of the truth, that he who ſo lately had worſhipped (Daniel) the ſervant of God, as if hee had bene God himſelfe, ſhould now command a ſtatua to be erected unto himſelfe, wherein himſelfe might be worſhipped as God.* From this impiety it pleaſed God to reclaim him, by the ſtrange and wonderfull delivery of thoſe bleſſed Saints out of the fire; who being throwne into it bound, for reſuſtaining to commit Idolatry, were

aſſiſed by an Angel; preſerved from all harme of the fire; looſened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and reſtored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nabuchadnezzar* was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſtie zeale. Therefore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible judgement hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, adviſed him to *break off buſineſſe by right conſcience, and his iniquity by mercy towards the poore, that there might be a healing of his error.* Hereby it ſeemes that injuſtice and cruelty were the faultes, for which hee was threatned: but this threatening ſufficed not unto his information. For, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould be driven from among men; (according to the tenor of the dream & interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eate graſſe as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans judgement, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dreame; and much more eaſily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole yeare laſt to repent was given to this haughty Prince: which reſpite of the execution may ſeem to have bred in him a forgetfulneſſe of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royall Palace of Babel, he was ſo over-joyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his owne ſeeming happineſſe, that without all feare of Gods heavie judgement pronounced againſt him, he uttered thoſe loſtie words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Maſteſſe works which he had reared, as well beſeeming his maſteſſe-call perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voyce from heaven, telling him that his high dome was departed from him, rehearſed over unto him the ſentence againe, which was fulfilled upon him the very ſame houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildiſgs, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that ever I have read of any, that were puniſhed for rejoycing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard injoy, or any paſſion of the minde, to keepe a juſt meaſure) excepting onely this *Nabuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *Dauid*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings have muſtered all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none have been knowne to have bene puniſhed as *Dauid* was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to rejoyce in thoſe good things wherewith God hath bleſſed us; but a more of much unthankfulneſſe to enter tain them with a ſullen and unfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure clouds, hindring the influence of that bleſſed light, which clarifies the ſoule of man, and prediſpoſeth it unto the brightneſſe of eternall felicity; ſo that inſolent joy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other paſſions blaſt our mindes, as it were with lightning, & make us to reflect our thoughts upon our ſeeming inherent greatneſſe, forgetting the whileſt him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore theſe *Mala mentis gaudia*; *The evil joyes of the minde*, were not unapely, by the Prince of Latine Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of hell, and placed further inward than ſorrowes, cares, and feares: not far from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when theſe unreaſonable ſluſhes of proud and vaine joy, doe rage in a minde, that ſhould have beene humbled with a juſt repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deſerving.

This was verified upon *Nabuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and unexampled. For hee ran among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeven yeeres hee lived, not only as a ſalvage man, but as a ſalvage beaſt, for a beaſt he thought himſelfe, ſecundum ſuam imaginatiōem, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himſelfe in the ſame manner, and with the ſame ſoode that beaſts doe; Not that hee was changed in figure externally, according to *Mediana*, inſomuch as hee appeared a beaſt to other mens eyes, as *S. Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knows) ſpeakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* only a woman; neither was hee changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hinde; nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to *S. Jeromes* expoſition of theſe words: *At the ſame time was my underſtanding reſtored unto me, &c. Quando diſcretiſſimè ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem;* When he ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored unto him, he ſhewed that hee had not loſt his humane ſhape, but

Dan 4: 32-34.

but his understanding. Seven yeeres expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his understanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and everlasting being; that he was the Lord of heaven and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his workes were all truth, and his wayes righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his salvation; namely, *S. Augustine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Ezay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may bee gathered, the aforementioned Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Isay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, speaketh of the King, and the destruction of Babylon jointly.

§. XII. of Evilmerodach.

HAVING already spoken what I could of the succession and yeeres of *Nebuchadnezzar's* posterity; the most that may bee said of him, is said of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. Hee lost Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeere of his reign, which was forty yeeres after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the account of *Herodotus*, who allows to *Amasis* foure & forty yeeres of reigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, saying, that he died in the third yeere of the threecore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but seven and thirty yeeres, which passed between the second yeere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fit of *Cambyses* his reigne, wherein he was Egypt; of which seven and thirty yeeres it is credibly held, that *Psammiticus*, the son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could bee no longer King than foure and thirty yeeres. But seeing that these two Greek Historians have bin abused by Egyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no marvell though they were also deceived in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine answer to this objection. For to say eicher that the numbers were mis-written, & foure & forty set down instead of foure and thirty, or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the Assyrians, and not beare himself as absolute King of Egypt, untill the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out *Ezechiel*, that Egypt became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptian troubles did animate the King of the Medes to deale with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame & reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foyle received by the Assyrian invading Media, emboldned the Egyptians to rebell against him: I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the first service of young *Cyrus* in warre, was under *Astages* King of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the Assyrian Prince, who did set upon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteene or sixteene yeeres old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threecore and three yeeres (as he is said to have died well stricken in yeeres) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeere of *Evilmerodach* his reigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well bee, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gave courage unto those that had felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder termes with the Assyrians, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrell beganne, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the Assyrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the Medes and their Allies the Persians, drew unto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the lesser Asia, with gifts and strong persuasions, hoping so to over-whelme his enemies with a strong invasion, whom in vaine hee had sought to wearie out with a lingering Warre.

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 1.

Xenoph. Cyrop. lib. 2.

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This happened after the death of *Astages*, who left the world in the nineteenth yeere of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* tooke possession of Egypt. So that the Assyrian having his hands already full of businesse, which more earnestly did affect him, seemed thereby to have given the better meanes unto the Egyptians, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebell in after-ages, and set up a King within it selfe, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* against the Medes, was such as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many yeeres before uttered against Babel, by *Ezay* and *Jeremy*.

For, the Assyrians and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to have buried the Medes and Persians under their thicke showres of arrowes and darts, were encountered with an army of stout and well-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Evilmerodach* was slaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and up-held, being shaken and grievously crackt under his unfortunate son, was left to be sustained by his unworthy Nephew: a man more likely to have overthrowen it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

§. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; serving to make good those things, which are cited out of *Berosus*, concerning the Successors of *Evilmerodach*, without wrong to the truth. The qualitie, and death of *Balthasar*.

THOUGH I have already (as it seemes to me) sufficiently proved that *Balthasar* was the Son, and immediate Successour to *Evilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Negessar*, or *Ningsaroor*, and his son *Bassardach* betweene them: as also that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew; by what means it was possible that some error might have crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby have brought us to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I observe, that the time which *Berosus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeeres in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wilde among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddenness of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doublelesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that classe which promised his recoverie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for settling the government, whilst the King was thus distracted, wee shall finde it most likely, that his Son and Heire did occupie the Royall Throne, with condition to restore it unto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule, *Evilmerodach* being to supply the utter want of understanding in his Father, as Protectors doe the unipotence of in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small ability of government, it appears by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit, it appears by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying, that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and usefull workes about the River of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Assyrians, and amongst them Nineve. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgovernment, used practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leave it unto her ungracious son. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, wee doe not finde; but wee finde in *Berosus* (as *Josephus* hath cited him) that *Negessar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his sisters husband;

Herodot. lib. 2.

husband; which argues this to have been the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the son of *Niglissar*, if at the end of nine months reign he were for his lewd conditions flaine by the Nobility, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzars* restitution (whose terme of punishment was then expired by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here use many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was flaine by his sisters husband: for the plain words of the Scripture, named the year wherein he gave liberty to *Jehonia*, do plainly testifie that he out-lived the three or foure and fortieth year of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to have succeeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his owne right. Of *Balhisar*, who was his Son and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruine of the people. Hee was from his young yeeres of a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slaine a Noble young man that should have married his sister, only for spight and envie to see him kill two wilde beasts in hunting, at which himselfe having throwne his Javeline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said it were a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him so unto the enemy as soone as hee was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a foole he lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to give battell to them that daily took somewhat from him. Yet carelessly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on every side, & when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base & miserable; for hee died as a foole taken in unexcusable security, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadfull vision; which had shewed his ruine not in many houres before, even whilest he was drinking in that wine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest blood. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after dishonourable reigne of severenteene yeares, he perished like a beast, and was slaine as he deserved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath bene spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story that of *Balhisar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and first greatnesse of the Persians.

§. 1.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the subversion of the Babylonian Empire.

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balhisar*, the Empire of Babylon, and of Assyria, was joyned first to that of Media, which then was governed by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of Assyria and of Media it selfe.

Of the race of *Belal Belochus* there were tenne Kings besides him selfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metaphanes*. These two Provinciaill Governours having cut downe the last branch of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, divided betwene them the Eastern Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balhisar*; the Dominions aswell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achamenes*, the Princes of which blood reigning in Persia, had formerly

formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Familie of the *Achamenes*, and Line of the *Persian* Kings, we shall hereafter finde occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* descended from *Madai* the third sonne of *Japhet*; that they had Kings soone after the Flood, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seven sonnes, slaine by the *Assyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the *Assyrian*, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus* of whom I have spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these.

<i>Arbaces.</i>	28. years.
<i>Sosarmus.</i>	30. years.
<i>Medidus.</i>	40. years.
<i>Cardiceus.</i>	13. years.
<i>Diocles.</i>	53. years.
<i>Phraortes.</i>	24. years.
<i>Cyaxares.</i>	32. years.
<i>Astyages.</i>	38. years.
<i>Darius Medus.</i>	

And though the *Greekes* ascribe the conquest of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Persians* his followers, but that the Armie victorious over *Balhisar* was his; as the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire also was during his owne life. For we finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdome being threecore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdome. And so was it prophesied by *Isay* long before: Be-

hold, I will stirre up the Medes against them, &c. And by *Jeremie*; The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpose is against Babel to destroy it; and in the eight and twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures *Julius Africanus* doth well open, who taking authoritie from *Diodore*, *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the *Medes* were subjugated by the *Persians*, so before *Lib.* 16. that both the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* were mastered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Justin* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

§. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

HOW the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of *Babel* to the *Persian* only. For some there are who deny that *Astyages* had any other Successor than *Cyrus* his grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom he calleth *Astias* or *Apania*) but only that having vanquished him in battell, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amysis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesias* often cited & seldom followed, and himselfe sometimes very justly reprov'd of wilfull untruth.

Viginius a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such son as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and before them *Cassor*, *Thallus*, and *Pblegon*, who doe not find any such Successor. Neither do *Tasianus*, *Theophilus Autiochenus*, *Julius Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *S. Hierome*, or *S. Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Successor to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*.

to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*; than to thoſe that make him a meane man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her ſon (whoſe native he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cauſe of griefe could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the ſon of his daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecie his love to his grand-child ſhould have encreaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and as I think the deviſer of the miſchiefe intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confeſſe, That the line of the *Achemenida* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperitie did thence derive himſelfe, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they bin ignoble, or had they bin the vaffals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelfe.

{ *Achemenes*.
{ *Cambyſes*.
{ *Cyrus*.

{ *Tetiſeus*.
{ *Ariaramnes*.
{ *Arſamnes*.

{ *Hyſtaſpes*.
{ *Darius*.
{ *Xerxes*.

Of the *Achemenida* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue to male failed in his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royall familie is thus ſet downe by the learned *Reineſcius*.

Achemenes, the ſon of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.

Darius.

Cyrus, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes* and *Atoſſa*; who married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artayſana* and other daughters.

Cambyſes had

Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had

Cambyſes, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis*, ſlaine by his brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrowne the uſurped royaltie of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdome of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the ſon of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamita*; by *Elanus*, *Elyma*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

*Euſt. l. 2. c. 2. de
Prep. Evang.*

Suidas derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſai*; which *Maguſai*, according to *Eufebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for thoſe who were afterward called the *Magi* or *Wilemen*. So doe the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirme, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artai*, & that they called themſelves *Cepheneſes*. But that they were were confirmed: Which alſo *S. Hierome* upon *Jeremie* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eighth, and alſo in his Hebrew queſtions, approveth, ſaying: *Elam, a quo Elamita Principes Perſida*; *Elam, of whom were the Elamites Princes of Perſia*.

And that Citie which the Author of the ſecond booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſopolis*, is by the Author of the firſt called *Elamais*, but is now called *Sirus*, being the ſame which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great diſhonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Sirus*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander* at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The firſt King of *Perſia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth chapter of *Geneſis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amraphel* or *Nimrod*, and joyned with him in the war againſt thoſe *Arabians*; who was afterward extinguiſhed by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus his name, and firſt actions.



Stouching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* ſaith, That the ſame was taken from a river which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince having *Agradaus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the firſt of that name. *Herodotus* otherwiſe; and that *Cyrus* ſignifieth a father in the *Perſian* Tongue, and therefore ſo intitled by the people.

It is true that for his Juſtice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any ſuch ſignification, I think it might be miſtaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to ſay as the Sunne in the ſame Language. Howſoever it be, yet the Prophet *Eſay*, almoſt two hundred years before *Cyrus* was borne, gives him that name, Thus ſaith the Lord unto *Cyrus* his Anointed, &c.

Before the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great among which, the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto ſubject, together with the taking of *Craſus* himſelfe, are not recounted by *Eufebius*, *Oroſius*, and others, but placed among his latter achievements: whoſe opinion for this difference of time founded upon two reaſons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that laſt war againſt *Craſus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and the glorious victorie which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have bin uſed (and was by the *Greekes*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it ſelfe, which in due place I have answered. The latter ſeems to have reference to the ſecond War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he ſo eſtabliſhed his former Conqueſt, as after that time theſe Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with *Herodotus*, whom the moſt of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterpriſe of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

§. II.

Of Craſus the King of Lydia, who made warre upon Cyrus.

I Have in the laſt Book ſpoken ſomewhat of *Craſus*, of his race and predeceſſors, as alſo of the Kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the firſt (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydius* the ſon of *Arys*: which Familie extinguiſhed, the kingdome was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, deſcended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the laſt, who by ſhewing his fair wife naked to *Gyges* his favorite, he was by the ſame *Gyges* (thereto urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day ſlain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the ſame to *Arys* his ſon, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thruſt the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*) and *Halyattes*, begat *Craſus*. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that kingdome an hundred and ſeventie years. *Halyattes* the father of *Craſus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a war againſt *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it ſix years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Aſtyages, the ſon of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himſelfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Argenes*, *Craſus* ſiſter, whom he married.

Kkk 3

But

But *Cræsus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had joyned *Phœnicia*, *Palestina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his owne life.

But *Cræsus*, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, he yet mastered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces posselt by the *Greeks* in *Asia* the lesse, adjoining to *Lydia*; gave law to the *Phrigians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Mysians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he also inforced the *Ephesians* to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with *Diana's* girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreover, *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which *Cræsus* obtained against the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Seythians*, in memorie whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he undertooke him: from whom he received this riddle; *Cræsus, passing over the River Halys, shall dissolve agnus Dominion*. For the divell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with merchandize of 10 both sides alike, and might be inverted either way, to the ruine of *Persia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

§. III.

Cræsus his Expedition against Cyrus.

Hereupon *Cræsus* being resolved to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments used by *Sandaues* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not covered with the soft silke of worms, but with the hard skins of beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subiected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this solid counsel, *Cræsus* having prepared a powerful armie, he led the same toward *Media*, but in his passage he was arrested at *Pterium*, a City of great strength in *Cappadocia*; which while he fought by all means to surprize or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I doe not find: for out of doubt, *Cræsus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie; so was he not under any in territory and fame that he lived.

But as *Cræpus* of *Mitylene* answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they favoured a disturber and usurper of the Common-weale against him who fought for the *Romane* libertie, That Kingdomes and Common-weals had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: so at this time was the winter of *Cræsus* prosperitie at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes, the *Persians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in grosse troups: supplies from both Kings thrust on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as the *Persians* had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each Armie from the others view, *Cræsus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speed possible retired, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his first Citie and Regall Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing suspecting

suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and sent the troups of his sundrie Nations to their owne Provinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of five moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

§. IV.

The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

C*yrus* in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of *Cræsus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himselfe before *Sardis*, till such time as *Cræsus* had disposed his Armie to their wintering garisons: which being altogether unlooked for, and unforeseen, he surrounded *Sardis* with his Armie; Wherein *Cræsus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes siege the same was enured by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cræsus* having now neither arms to fight, nor wings to flye, *Sardis* being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremities of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the Souldiers to spare *Cræsus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembering the discourse which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence: but urged againe, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discern himselfe for happy indeed, till his end.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembering the changes of fortune and his owne mortalitie, he commanded his ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to save *Cræsus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? or what selfe reason had conducted him to invade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered; It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the *Grecian* god flustering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and conductors of *Cræsus* warre against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierc't with *Cræsus* answer, & bewailing his estate, though victorious over it did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed. *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the reall difference discerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficence* (*latronis*, and *gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne evill.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Cræsus* at the first fight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already set down, that he should have bin burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent so cruell, fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much unbecoming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neere necessity of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he bin otherwise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsoever it was, the morall part of the storie hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the truth reposed in *Cræsus* afterwards may seem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not use him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth us, when *Cyrus* past with his Armie over *Araxes* into *Seythia*, he left *Cræsus* to accompany and advise his sonne *Cambyses*, Governour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow *Cambyses*.

Cambyſes into Egypt, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I doe not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balchaſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Creaſus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus won Babylon.

After this *Lydian* War enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large & mightie, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, is uncertain; only it ſeems, that ten whole years did paſſe between his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardiſ* and *Babylon*; which nevertheless I doe not thinke to have bin wholly occupied in proviſion for the *Aſſyrian* war, but rather to have bin ſpent in ſetting the Eſtate which he had already purchaſed. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Creaſus* hath in his fragments of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Syrians*, though related as foregoing the victorie obtained againſt *Creaſus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Syria*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battell overthrowen by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought, that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoon after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſſe, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Creaſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; againſt whom he employed *Palius*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the reſt of the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Eolians*, and *Lydians*, who reſolvedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it ſelfe, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the work upon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength unto the taking of that Citie, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, & ſurrounded with waters unfordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Persians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a Citie ſo wel fortified & manned, was in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries: whereof though the Town was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than 20. years, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoon appear, & vanquiſh the reſolution of that unwearied multitude. In expecting the ſucces of this courſe, the beſiegers were likely to endure much travel, & all in vain, if they did not keep ſtreight watch & ſtrong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe walks which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured unto their commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtered unto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having bin their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyne with them, if occaſion were offered, than to uſe much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yesterdai layd upon their neckes the galling yoke of ſervitude. Whileſt the beſieged were playing themſelves in this deſcendiſſe and vaine gladneſſe, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of ſudden calamities; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inventive, deviſed by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, and ſo to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, he

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 7.

he ſtayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain bankes or heads un-cut, between the maine river which ſurrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balchaſar*, finding neither any want or weakneſſe within, nor any poſſibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous feaſt, publike Playes and other Paſtimes, and thereto invited a thouſand of his Princes or Nobilitie, beſides his wives, curtizans, & others of that trade. This he did either to let the beſiegers know, that his proviſions were either ſufficient, not only for all needfull uſes, but even for jollitie and exceſſe: Or becauſe he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many diſtreſſes were well neere broken; or in honour of *Bel* his moſt revered Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all theſe reſpects. And hee was not contented with ſuch magnificence as no Prince elſe could equall, but (uſing *Daniels* words) He liſted himſelf up againſt the Lord of Heavens: for he & his Princes, wives & concubines, made carowling cups of the Veſſels of God, in contempt of whom he praiſed his own puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Braſſe, Iron, Wood, and Stone, *Quanta ſuit ſultitia in cuſtodia aureis bibentes, lignos & lapideos deo laudare*; How great a fooliſhneſſe was it (ſaith *S. Hierome*) drinking in golden Cups, to praife gods of Wood and Stone. While *Balchaſar* was in this ſort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall oppoſite unto him, certaine words which he underſtood not: wherewith ſo great a feare and amazement ſeized him, as the joynts of his loynes were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other. Which paſſion when he had in ſome part recovered, he cried out for his *Chaldeans*, *Aſtologi*ans, and *Soothſayers*, promiſing them great rewards, and the third place of honor in the kingdom to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this diſturbance and aſtoniſhment the Queen hearing what had paſt, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, uſed this ſpeech: *There is a man in thy Kingdom, in whom is the ſpirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and underſtanding, & wiſedome, like the wiſdome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor, thy father, the King (I ſay) thy father made chiefe of the Incubers, Aſtologi*ans, *Chaldeans*, and *Soothſayers*, becauſe a more excellent ſpirit, and knowledge, and underſtanding, &c. were found in him, even in *Daniel*, &c. Now let *Daniel* be called, and he will declare the interpretation.

This Queen, *Jeſeph* ſaves for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balchaſar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that ſhe was not any of the Kings wives, becauſe abſent from the feaſt; and being paſt the age of dancing and banquetting, came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his diſtreaſion: And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger years and times, this old Queene remembered well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balchaſar*, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts.

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings preſence, who acknowledged thoſe excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promiſes of reward and honour, to reade and interpret thoſe words miraculoſly written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a farre different ſtile from that he uſed towards his Grandfather: for the evil which he ſaw in *Nabuchodonosor*, he wiſhed that the ſame might befall his enemies; but to this King (whoſe neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in theſe words, *Keep thy rewards to thy ſelfe, and give thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing unto the King, and ſhew him the interpretation*. Which before he had performed, he gave him firſt the cauſe of Gods juſt judgement againſt him, and the reaſon of this terrible ſentence, whereof the King and all his Wife men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect: That forgetting Gods goodneſſe to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of thoſe benefits, as he deprived him of his eſtate and underſtanding; ſo upon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he reſtored him to both. This King notwithstanding liſted himſelf up againſt the ſame God, and preſuming both to abuſe thoſe veſſels dedicated to holy uſes, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praiſed and worſhipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Braſſe, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore thoſe words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharſin*,

GAVE

Dan. 5. 1. 2. 19. 30.

gave the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes and Persians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthazar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus*, either by his espiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inspired by God himselfe, whose engine he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no lesse filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them he drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the present, by whole channell running, his Armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the *Persians* way, were put to the sword, unless they saved themselves by flight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertaine tumult.

Such *Assyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselves to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Palace; which having easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banqueting, slew both him and them without any mercie, who struggled in vain to keep those lives which God had newly threatened to take away. And now was the prophetic of *Jeremie* fulfilled, and that of *Esay*, two hundred yeares before this subversion, who in his seven and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction for feelingly and lively as if he had been present both at the terrible slaughter there committed, and had scene the great and unfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had heard the sorrowes and bewailings of every surviving soule thereunto subject. His so heard the sorrowes and bewailings of every surviving soule thereunto subject. His Prophecie of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come downe, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no Throne, &c.* And again, *Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God used *Nabuchodonosor* in this place, to punish the Idolatry of the *Judeans*, yet *Esay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (saith *Esay*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hands: thou didst shew them no mercy, thou didst lay thy very heavy yoke upon the ancient. I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and the nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found, shall be stricken thorow: and whosoever joyneth himself, shall fall by the sword; their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their wives ravished.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the fame to posteritie after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred yeares before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous: for besides the reports of *Saint Hierome*, *Solinus*, and *Orosius*, *Aristotle* in the third of his *Politiques*, the second Chapter, received the report for true. That one part of the Citie knew not that the rest was taken three dayes after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonie of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compasse thereof at three hundred and three score Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and fortie miles: the walls whereof had fo great a breadth, that six Chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Ctesias* and *Clitarchus*, three hundred three score and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geographie gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twentie furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred foure score and five furlongs, which makes eight and fortie mile and one furlong, but finds the wall farre under that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; every cubit containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he gives the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, four hundred

dred and foure score furlongs circle; the thicknesse of the wall he measures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same metall: and therefore did the Prophet *Esay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princeesse and Glory of kingdoms.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slave; dividing not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselves as bond-slaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted only seven yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royall power to themselves and their posteritie.

§. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

The last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diversly written. *Herodotus* and *Justin* deliver, That after the Conquest of *Asia* the lesse, *Cyrus* invaded the *Massagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an encounter between the *Persians* and these Northerne *No-mades*, *Tomyris* lost her armie, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queene making new levies of men of War, and following the War against *Cyrus*, in a second battell beat the *Persian* Armie, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his bodie, and cast the same into a boule of bloud, using these words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satiate thy selfe.*

It should hereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their furie by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Astages*, those *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Asia* the lesse, and held the same in a servile subjection eight and twenty yeares.

This war which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) sixe yeares, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleeve with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the *Sacians*, before the conquest of *Lydia*, according to *Ctesias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparethra*, though he deliver the successe of that war otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viginier*) because *Strabo* in his eleventh book reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the *Sacians* by the same stratagem by which *Justin* saith he defeated the son of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporteth, That the last war which *Cyrus* made, was against *Amorheus* king of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the rest) of *Scythia*, whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three dayes after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Pasagardes*, which himselfe had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have bin this: *O vir quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventuram ignoravi: Ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terrae quae meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invidias; O thou man, whosoever thou art, or whence soever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldst come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire, doe not envie unto me this little earth, with which my bodie is covered.*

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treasure, supposed to have been buried with him, or upon desire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, *Alexander* caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set upon it. These things well considered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, so they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his bodie in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And

Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

S. II.

of Cambyfes, and the conquering of Egypt by him.

W E will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of Persia to Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, saving the desire to increase the greatness of his Empire: whereof he was possessor in his Fathers time while Cyrus made war in the North. Ctesias with others give him a longer reigne than agreeeth with the Grecian account before received.

In the fifth year of his sole reigne, and in the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to Diodore and Eusebius, he invaded Egypt, and having overthrown the King thereof, Psammenniticus, he not onely caused him to be slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and Ctesias give for cause of this war (being no other indeed than the Ambition of Cambyfes) that when he sent to Amasis king of Egypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries his predecessor, which Cambyfes disdained.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that Cambyfes gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entered Egypt, Amasis died, and left Psammenniticus, whom Ctesias called Amyreus, his successor; who enjoyed Egypt after his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but fixe Moneths, though other Chronologers give him fixe years.

But how long soever he held the Crowne, in one battell hee lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that Cambyfes, following therein the example of Cyrus, did not onely spare life to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the government of Egypt, and that upon some revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may beleve Herodotus and Thucydides, but that he left a son called Inarus, who caused the Egyptians to revolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Psammenniticus was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very improbable, if it bee true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amasis the King of Egypt, who died before his arrivall, that he caused his body to be drawne out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians used to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not devour them. The Persians durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

S. III.

The rest of Cambyfes his AEs.

AFTER this victory obtained in Egypt, Cambyfes sent an Army into Cyprus, and constrained Evagoras King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Island of the Egyptians.

While Cambyfes yet busied himselfe in Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torne downe and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into Libya, to overthrow the Temple of Jupiter Ammon; but the Divell in defence of his Oracle raised such a Tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is covered, as the Persians were therewith choked and over-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, Herodotus and Seneca report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Army, which himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first sent troupe had tryed, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the elements doe not obey them, according to that old English proverb, *God, saith the King; Sea, saith the Tide.*

After his returne from the attempt of Ethiopia, he caused Apis the Egyptian Bull, worshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and been executed as in service of him that onely is, and liveth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed unto him that Smerdis did sit in the royall throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) he gave it in charge to his favorite Praxaspes, to murder Smerdis his brother. And having married his own sisters, contrary to the Persian Lawes, he committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder upon the one of them called Meroe, then by himselfe with child, because she bewailed the death of her brother Smerdis. I finde it written of this Cambyfes, That because his Predecessors observed religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Judges, and enquired of them whether there were any Law among the Persians that did permit the brother to marry his owne sister: it being his owne intent so to doe. The Judges (who had alwayes either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwayes left to the will of the Persian Kings to do what best pleased themselves; and so as Nearchus termes it, *invenerunt occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Judges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private satisfaction, he caused Sisamnes one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to be slayed alive, for an unjust judgement given, and the same his hide to be hung up over the judgement seate. After which, bestowing the Fathers Office on his son, he willed him to remember that the same partiality deserved the same punishment.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the sonne of his beloved Praxaspes was very strange and ungrateful. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the Persians thought of his conditions, Praxaspes answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; onely it was by many observed, that he took more than usuall delight in the tast of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, he used this replication: And are the Persians double-tongued, who also tell mee that I have in all things excelled my father Cyrus? thou Praxaspes shalt then witness, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my Subjects beleaved. This being spoken, he immediately directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling downe dead with the stroke, Cambyfes commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broached on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, shewed it to the Father, with this saying in stead of an Epitaph: Now Praxaspes, thou maist resolve thy selfe, that I have not lost my wit with Wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *selon de soy*. For when he was informed that Patistates, and Smerdis the Magi (Cedrenus writeth them Sphendaces, & Cimerdus) Ministers of his domestick affaires, taking advantage of the great resemblance between Smerdis the Kings brother, and Smerdis the Magus, possessed themselves of the Empire, he made all haste towards Persia, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his word disheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an over-hate and remorselesse repentance of the slaughter which he had executed upon his own brother, he soone after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein those seven & fortyeth in which the Magi governed, while he was absent.

In Cambyfes the Male Line of Cyrus failed. For he had no issue either by Atossa or Meroe: yet Zonaras out of Hierome gives him a daughter called Panaspes, and a son called Zucymus. Orontes, who being drowned in the river Ophites by Antioch, the same was afterward in memory of the Princes death called Orontes.

He built the Citie of Babylon in Egypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly seated, and that of Meroe in the Island of Nils, calling it by the name of his sister Meroe.

§. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum betweene Cambyfes and Darius.

CYRUS and his two sonnes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Oranes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyfus*, *Alphasines*, *Midarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achamenes* the first *Persian King*) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joynd their forces together, surpris'd and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. In which action (saith *Justine*) *Intaphernes* and *Alphasines* were slaine: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were onely wounded; for he avoweth that all the seven Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. *Oranes* one of the seven did not fancy any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by just lawes defend their liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified by the cruelties of *Cambyfes*: As first, that it was not safe to give all power to any one, seeing greameffe it selfe, even in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the liberty and freedom in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Again, that tyrants do commonly use the services of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the lawes of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without judgement.

Megabyfus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without judgement, runne into businesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and over-bearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darius gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnity of concord is seldom found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforce't the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, saith *Darius*, farre safer to observe the lawes of our Country, by which Kingly government hath beene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall government by God established, and made prosperous. And to avoyd partiality, it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse-backe, and on him the kingdome should be conferred, whose Horse after the Sun-rising should first ney or bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is said that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his Horse *Oebanus*, who in the Suburbs of the City where the election was resolv'd, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who as soon as he came into the same place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes descended from their Horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memory of the seven Princes, whereof *Darius* himselfe was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into seven governments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius the sonne of Hyftaspes.

§. I.

Of Darius his Linage.



Darius was descended of the ancient *Persian Kings*, to wit, of the *Achamenide*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* derives him as before.

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispus, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arfames, the father of
Hyftaspes, the father of
Darius, surnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*.

Cur. 46

Hyftaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the warres against the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, caused him to be sent into *Persia*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyfes* into *Egypt*; he then joynd with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the meying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he thence assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives.

Hyftaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius*, these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artabernes*, and *Artabanus*, who dislaid *Xerxes* from the second *Grecian* warre. *Hyftaspes* had also a Daughter married to *Gobrias* the Father of *Mardamis*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the Daughter of *Darius*, *Artochtre* his Cousen germane.

Rumecius gives to *Hyftaspes* five sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyfes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Oranes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

Herodotus 1. 3. 37.
Pag. 154.
Pag. 130.
Plato 2. 208.
Pag. 180. 190.
Herodotus 1. 5. 180.
Herodotus 1. 8. 190.
Pag. 199.
Pag. 200. 204.
Pag. 223. 228.
286.
Pag. 214. 216.
De Reg. Persar.
Fol. 34.

§. II.

Of Darius his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

Darius devised equall lawes whereby his subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gave access to all his subjects, and behaved himselfe so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he layd divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not beene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteene thousand five hundred and three score talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyfes* made a far off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to shake off the *Persian yoke*; whereof *Darius* being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that Citie and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he used the service of *Zopirus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flye to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who for having given him advice to give over the siege of their City, had in this sort dismembered and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small colourable over-throwes given to the *Persians* upon the Citie, he delivered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twenty months.

Herodotus 1.

§. III. of

§. III.

Of Darius his favour to the Jewes in building the Temple.

IN the second year of *Darius*, hee gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should bee finished at his owne charge, and out of the revenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Governours of those Provinces which are situate between *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and mid-land Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the River) had hindered the worke in *Cambyfes* his time, *Darius* gave commandement that they should not thenceforth come neare unto *Jerusalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they should with-draw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis; with-draw your selves far from them;* In our *English*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

He also made a decree which concerned his owne Subjects, That whosoever should thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should become downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallows made of the timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh invocation to God; *That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem, &c.* In foure years after which decree (the Jewes being really finished with money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth year of *Darius Hystaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

§. I V.

Of Darius his Scythian Warre.

AFTER the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whose king *Iustine* calleth *Lanthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* undertooke this warre against him, because he refused him his daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of small Vessels over the River *Ister* or *Danubius*; & gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Tonians* & *Asians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perswaded the *Asian Grecians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by *Hystianus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Tonia*, which Nation being a Colonie of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their Countrey, because they joyned themselves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good slaves, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, when they were presented with as faire an occasion of liberty as could have beene desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entering the desert Countrey called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posterity, at this day all Horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grazier, driving their Herds from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but used for Houses the Waggon wherein they carried their wives and children. These Waggones they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, removeable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than such as *Azora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himselfe might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemies; he began to perceive his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet setting a good face upon a bad game, he sent brave messengers to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour & fortune in plaine battell: Or, if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yield

by faire means, and become his Subject, giving him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* used to demand as a signe that all was yielded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an Hieroglyphicall answer; sending a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and five Arrows: which dumbe shew *Darius* interpreting by his owne wisht, thought that he did yeelde all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven Princes, who had slaine the *Magi*, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye Persians, get ye wings like Birds, or drive under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrows.* And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Scythians* themselves, who assailed the *Persian* campe, drave the horsemen into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continuall Allarums day and night; were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his sight, they did not forbear the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsooke his Campe by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were sick and weake behinde him, and so with all speed marched away towards the River *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Tonians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* king should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hystianus* the *Milesian* prevailed with his people, to attend the coming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise faile to meet, when they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian Warre.

Darius having thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre he employed *Megabastus*, who mastered the *Pæonians*, and transplanted them, and possest *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being also soone after subjected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otares*, the son of *Sylamnes*, whom *Cambyfes* had exoriated for false judgment. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and * *Cardia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, who having now reduced under his obeyssance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Aminias* King of *Macedon* adjoining, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Sovereignty over that kingdom. *Aminias* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemne and magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadors, who were well filled with wine, and presumed upon their greatnesse and many victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings son, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, disdain the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to with-draw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-favoured young men to clothe themselves in the same garments, & to use the same attires which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after given by *Darius* for a severe revenge of this murder. But *Alexander* somewhat before the death of *Aminias*, gave his sister *Gyges* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpful the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invasion of *Africa* intended, so prevailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall upon him very suddenly; the war of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

§ VI. The

§. VI.

The first occasion of the War which Darius made upon Greece, with a rehearsal of the governments in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.

Now the better to understand thereupon and motives of that great War, which followed soone after, between the *Persians* and *Grecians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable successe. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a business as gave fire to those wars, which never could be thoroughly quenched, untill the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchy, *Persopolis* the capital City of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently governed, the same being already set downe, though scatteringly, & in severall times, among other the Contemporary occurrences of the Eastern Emperors, and the Kings of *Judea*; so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedemonians*, they maintained still their ancient policy under Kings, though these also after some fifteen descents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians*, in the former bookes remembered, who willingly died for the safety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former government from Monarchical to Princty for terme of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medonidae*; and of these there were twelve Generations besides *Medon*, so wit,

Agefus.

Archippus, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) finde in the year after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.

Thersippus.

Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gave Lawes to the *Spartans*.

Phereus.

Ariphron.

Thespius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was over-throwne by *Belochus* and *Araces*.

Agamuefer.

Elcibylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedemon*.

Alcemonon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decemall* Governours: the former Princes

for life having continued in all three hundred and fixtence yeares. The first of those that governed fortene yeares, or the first *Archon*, was

Charops, then

Æsymedes.

Elydicus.

Hippoments.

Loocrates.

Abxander.

Erixias was the last *Archon* of the *decemall*

Governours, which forme continuing threecore and tenne yeares, was then changed into *annual* Magistrates, *Maiors*, or *Burg-masters*, of which *Thespius* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others finde *Leoftratus*; and then

Anthothesens.

Archimedes.

Miltiades.

Damaspis.

Draco.

Megacles.

Solon, & others, who are the last to be regarded, by reason of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisdom, gave Lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after Ages derived into the *Romanes*, and by the *Decemviri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed into the practice

practice and maintenance of a popular government; the state of *Athens* was very soone changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* & *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of noble Families, were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolency to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Having by this means obtained love and credit, he wounded himselfe, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have beene slaine for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men surprisning the State-house, or Cittadell of *Athens*, he made himselfe Lord of the towne; *Hegesistratus* being then Governor. But the Citizens, who in every change of government had sought to remove themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this usurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to flye the towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny, founded upon the diffention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreements; so was it soone after well redified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usuall practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmaonidae*, whereof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerfull, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmaonidae*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his mildemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* upon the first discovery of their intent, perceived no other remedy for his affaires, than to withdraw himselfe to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven yeares. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he governed *Athens* seventene yeares, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three yeares, saith *Eliahus*, but as *Justine* hath it, foure and thirty, accounting the time belike as well before as after his severall expulsions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son fixe and thirty yeares; *Aristotle* five and thirty. But *Thucydides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Successors, his two Sonnes, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall successors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, & some three yeares before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucydides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with unnatural lust, after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers & authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprise upon his brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first sought to discover the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who because she would not reveale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strict amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whose son *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against himselfe, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had ever exercised, during their usurpation till this time.

And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred up *Clistines* one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practise their delivery: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmaonidae*, together with an Army of the *Lacedemonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias*, as by composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence embarking himselfe, took land at * *Seigum*, whence he went to *Lampacus* in *Atysia* governed by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* agree, twenty yeares before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for

Darius,

Herl. 122
Eretria a City of
Eubœa, by o-
ther called
Medon, by *Ste-*
phanus *Eretria*.
Pol. 5.
Herodid. apud E-
lian. pag. 262.
Just. pag. 28.
Her. 16.
Thucid. 6. c. 10.

Lampacus a City
of *Myssopon*
the Hellespont
Her. 15.
Thucid. 6. c. 11.

* *Seigum* a pro-
montory oppo-
site to the Ile of
Tenedos, which
is in the *Ægean*.
The name is
promon-

Ad. At.

it seemeth that the invading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set down, in their disorderly retreat, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Justinus* report, That two hundred thousand of the *Persian* army were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the persuader of the enterprise was slain, saith *Justinus* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tells us, That he escaped, and died most miserably in *Lemnos*.

Tertia Attil.

The greatest honour of this victorie was cast upon *Miltiades*, who both persuaded the trial by battell, and behaved himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which he gave. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the *Grecians*, of mark & commandment, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Persians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the shore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first year of the three score and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Caranus* against his fellow-Romans: *Alexander* the son of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phaenippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hylides*, after *Halicarnassensis*.

This great fray thus parted, and the *Persians* returned backe into the lesser *Asia*, *Miltiades* fought and obtained an employment against the Islanders of *Eurus*, one of the *Cyclades*, and passing over his Companies in three score and ten Gallies, after fixe and twentie dayes assault he brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himself being made unable, and his companies discouraged, he returned to *Athens*, where those ungratefull Citizens forgetting all his services past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battell of *Marathon*, did by the perswasion of *Xanthippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weak and wounded bodie being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which envie of the better sort to each other, with their private Factions, assisted by the unthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subjection and slavery. *Miltiades* left behinde him one son called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegespila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in understanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than sorrow for the losse received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, & all other warlike provisions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of *Greece*. The dissention also among his sons, of whom the younger being born after he was king, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, did disdain to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joynd him to the earth of his ancestors, about a year after the battell of *Marathon*; & after that he had reigned fixe & thirty years. He left behinde him five sons, namely, *Artabanus*, born before he obtained the kingdom, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achamenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Mastises* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.
Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparation of Xerxes against Greece.



Xerxes received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre, one to be made against the *Egyptians*, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the *Grecians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Persia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes*, his sister *Artogestres*, persuaded by many arguments the *European* warre. But *Ariabannus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late invasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsell: The one in person upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lieutenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his Honour.

He therefore besought *Xerxes* to be right well advised before he did too far imbarke himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwaies answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variability of his owne nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any humane power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Ariabannus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) assisted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the war of *Egypt* was ended, foure yeares were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the *Persian* Empire, consisted of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleieve *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number lesse by seven hundred thousand footmen.

The Commanders of the severall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Persia*, either by marriage in the kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandments of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their owne Leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were joynd some others of *Xerxes* his nearest kinned, as Generalls over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select *Persians*, called the immortal Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slaine, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eightie thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furnished by the *Phenicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Eolians*, and *Hellestonines*; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of *Persia*, as by *Ariabignes*, the son of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artemisia*, the daughter of *Lygdamis*, Princess of *Halicarnassensis*, and the Islands adjoining, which her selfe commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded

all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was embarked.

§. II.

Xerxes Armie entertained by *Pythius*: his cutting off Mount *Arbos* from the Continent: his bridge of Boats over the *Hellepont*: and the discourse betwene him and *Artabanus* upon the view of the Armie.

When this world of an Armie was thoroughly furnished, he caused all the nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had assembled to the number of seventene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the bodie of *Celenus*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattell gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of silver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting seven thousand of the *Persian Daries*, which make so many of our Markes.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberalitie of *Pythius*, did not only refuse his treasure offered, but commanded that seven thousand *Daries* should be given him to make up his four Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his five sons from his attendance into *Greece* (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne son) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundred into two parts, commanding that the one halfe of his carcase should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was passage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount *Arbos*, making the same (with the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, besides the Mountain and the *Chersonesus* or Necke of Land it selfe: a worke of more ostentation than of use, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so severed from the maine, were *Dian*, *Olympus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus* and *Cleone*.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the *Hellepont* between *Abidos* and *Sestos*, the Sea there having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and dislevered: where with *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused fixe hundred threecore and fouretee Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industrie of the *Phenicians* was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and fourecore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past over it into *Europe* in seven dayes and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward use. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plains of *Abidos*, being carried up, and seated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoining; and after he had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there should not any one survive of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Uncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it selfe which we enjoy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes given us in the world, there

there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that ever found himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorowes whereto mankinde is subject, being so many and inevitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to over-cast those joyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invasion of *Greece*, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of *Greece* could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good successe? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that he assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to goe on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellously affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most adverse; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: in so much, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any safety: and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremitie; men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the unsatiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give resistance, yet the want of means to feed such an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will, without any other violence offered, dis-inable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he most feared; to wit, the overthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed.

These Cautions were reckoned weightie, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not misprised them. For, to invade by Sea upon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any partie, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with understanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second upon *England* in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counsell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it is very likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not have in it lesse than two millions of Soules, besides his beasts for Service and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and using *Machiavels* words, *Mourir sans causes, die without a knife*. For it was impossible for *Greece*, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what served themselves) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertaine, but with the sharpest points of their weapons, destroying withall whatsoever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleeve *Herodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermoplie*, consisted of five millions, two hundred eightie three thousand, two hundred twentie men, besides Landrestles, Harlots, and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedie famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whatsoever should enterprise any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconveniences, he should never pursue the same farther than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the *Persian* Kings, had done, they had never growne to that greatnesse, or posselt so many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did; and therefore concluded; That great enterprises were never undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any necessitie had enforced him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he alreadie commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperitie of the *Persians* endured, and that *Greece* was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this Warre was answered.

answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weak counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgement not sufficient, (for he gathered in marching on all the strength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greeks* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and virtues, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus; & impedita potius sunt quam auxilium; They are great in bulk, but weak in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of men in one Armie, so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same confusion among the *Persian* commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fiftie thousand choosen Souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, or brought them into obedience by necessity & famine, which cannot be resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he employed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea; yet, he himself, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into *Asia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintered in *Theffalie*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perfwaded the enterprize, was in the Summer following utterly defeated, and himself slain.

§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylae and Artemisium.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Armie over the *Hellepont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how the River of *Lissus* was drunke dry by his multitudes, and the lake *neero Pissyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will speake of the encounters he had, and the shamefull and incredible overthrowes which he received. As first at *Thermopylae*, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which divide *Theffalie* from *Greece*, where sometime the *Phocians* had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedemonians*, assisted with one thousand *Tegeate* and *Manantineans*, one thousand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand *Phocians*, foure hundred *Thebans*, seven hundred *Theffians*, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the passage two whole dayes together against that huge Armie of the *Persians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first dayes fight, *Xerxes* is said to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had utterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might have continued, had not a run-agate *Grecian* taught him a secret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledg of Mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the *Persian* Armie had almost inclosed the small forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, with his three hundred, and seven hundred *Theffians*, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage, not onely resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. *Xerxes* having lost in this last fight, together with twentie thousand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not bin present at these battels, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the *Spartans* he stood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this triall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring

bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrified him by saying, That the flight of the *Persian* arrowes was so thicke as would hide the sun: he answered thus; It is very good newes: for then shall we fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds, as it was uttered in words, caused the *Persian* to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedemonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of *Demaratus*, a banished King of the *Spartans*, who had always well advised and instructed him in the things of *Greece*, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces should assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that straight necke of ground which joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned should be sent unto the Coast of *Laconia*, to spoile the country, and to hold the *Lacedemonians* and their neighbours busied at home, whilst *Xerxes* at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weak alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further advised, That the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize upon the Land thence called *Cythera*, now *Cerge*, which lying neare to the Coast of *Laconia*, might serve as a fit place of Rendezvous upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* should be verified, That it were better for his Countrymen to have that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might have taken, had it bin followed, it is not easie to gesse. But a contrarie opinion of *Achemenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the *Persian* fleet had bin sorely vexed with a grievous tempest, which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of *Magefia*, foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Ariabanes* had foreseen, that if any such calamitie should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them succour. Therefore *Achemenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet, nor if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Navie, which holding all together is invincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yielded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them find the other in good stead, whilst both held one course, and lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the same time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by land, his Navie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at sea. The *Grecians* fleet lay at that time at *Artemisium* in the straits of *Eubaea*, where the *Persians* thinking to incompass them, sent two hundred sayle about the Land to fall upon them behind, using a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not unlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which divideth *Eubaea* from the main, was in the same fort held by a Navie of two hundred threescore and eleven saile against the huge *Persian* Armada, as the straits of *Thermopylae* had formerly bin maintained by *Leonidas*, til he was circumvented, as this Navie might have bin, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Island, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the *Persian* fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the *Greeks*, who setting saile by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking & sinking thirty vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being overtaken with foule weather, they were driven upon the rocks and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Navie of the *Greeks* was increased by the arrivall of fiftie three *Athenian* ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces encouraged the one side, so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred up the other to redeem their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policie, they resolved in plain fight to repaire their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the *Greeks*, who readily did present them battell at *Artemisium*.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the *Persian* ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse felt altogether

gether as heaue upon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worse beare it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemy, who nevertheless were faine to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ships were forely crusht in the battel, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylae*. Before they wayed anchors, *Themistocles*, Generall of the *Athenians*, engraued upon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they should revolt unto the *Greeks*, or stand neutrall; which persuasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

§. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes upon Apollo's Temple: and his taking of Athens;

When *Xerxes* had past the straits of *Thermopylae*, he wasted the country of the *Phocians*, & the regions adjoining: as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to flie, & reserve themselves to a day of battel, than to adventure their liues into his hands, upon hope of saving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their service. Part of his armie he sent to spoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had bin made by diuers Kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have sacked it, and of two Rockes that breaking from the Mount *Parnassus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, saith, That the broken Rockes remained even to his memorie in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he believed that *Apollo* was a god, he should not have dared to entertaine a covetous desire of enriching himself by committing sacrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impietie, in such manner as is reported, was granted unto the diuinitie, by that Holy One, who saith, *Will a man spoile his gods? and elsewhere, Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Ile of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impietie of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the *Persians* alledged the burning of *Cybele's* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they set fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Asia*, to be the ground and cause of the waste which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize against *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, discovered the face of covetousnesse so much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer mischance.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: He came to *Athens*, which finding forsaken, he took and burnt the Citadell and Temple which was therein. The Citadell indeed was defended awhile by some of more courage than wisdom, who literally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; that *Athens* should be safe in wooden walls, had fortified that place with Boords and Palisadoes: too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yielded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the propheticke: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business to words.

§. V.

How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greeks to fight at Salamis.

The *Athenians* had before the coming of *Xerxes* removed their wives and children into *Troazene*, *Egina*, and *Salamis*, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedom, and the common libertie of *Greece*. Nevertheless, this

Mal. 3. 8.
Jer. 2. 23. 10.

great zeale, which the *Athenians* did shew for the generall good of their Countrey, was requirited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly incited to stay for them at *Salamis*, whilst they removed their wives and children out of the Citie. But when the Citie of *Athens* was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forsake the Ile of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Isthmus*: which necke of land they did purpose to fortifie against the *Persians*, and so to defend *Peloponnesus* by land and sea, leaving the rest of *Greece* as indefensible, to the furie of the enemy. So should the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Egina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there bestowed as in places of securitie) have been given over into mercilesse bondage. Against his resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the *Athenian* Fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponnesians* were so possessed with feare of losing their owne, which they would not hazzard, that no persuasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at *Salamis*; As first in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedamonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the selfe-same feare which made them forsake those coasts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the first) cause them also to dissever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to with-draw himselfe to the defence of his owne Citie and Estate: Then to the Councell of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter;) he shewed that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the streights; and that, besides the safeguard of *Egina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the *Barbarians* should not so much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by sea; which they could not so well hope for elsewhere, as in that present place which gave him so good advantage. All this would not serve to retaine the *Peloponnesians*, of whom one, unworthy of memorie, upbraided *Themistocles* with the losse of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Countrey of his own to inhabit. A bafe and shamefull objection it was, to lay as a reproach that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a replice so sharp, as availed more than all his former persuasions. He told them all plainly, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer Cause than any Nation of *Greece* could boast of; having well-near two hundred good ships of Warre, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in *Italy* belonging of old to the State of *Athens*, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the *Athenians* in proesse of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our selves, leaving unto you a sorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your owne unthankfulness. The *Peloponnesians* hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the *Athenians*, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceived, upon so weak termes, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might enforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend even to the utmost of their owne demands.

For the *Athenians*, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessity should enforce them so farre, for the preservation of their liberty; did employ the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Navie. By these means they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well that a strong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Countrey. The other States of *Greece* held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their navie. Whereby it came to passe, that, had they bin vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetuall slavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the *Athenians*, whose forces by

Sea

leaded equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their owne condition, which would have stood upon desperate points, if the fleet of *Athens* had forsaken them; were soon perfwaded, by the greater feare of such a bad event, to forge the lesler, which they had conceived of the *Persians*: and laying aside their insolent braverie; they yielded to that most profitable counsell of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giving battell: and how Themistocles by policie held the Greeks to their resolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the meane season the *Persians* had entred into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battell to the *Greekes*, or no. The rest of the Captaines giving such advice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in person, was of contrarie opinion: Her counsell was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward *Peloponnesus*, whereby it would come to passe, that the *Greek* Navie (unable otherwise to continue long at *Salamis* for want of provision) should presently be dislevered, and every one seeking to preserve his owne Citie and goods, they should, being divided, prove unable to resist him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battell; so on the other side, the danger will be more (said she) which we shall undergoe, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the losse in case it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the victorie which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flee, it is more than they would have done, we fitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put us to the worst, the journey to *Peloponnesus* is utterly dashed, and many that now declare for us, will soon revolt unto the *Greekes*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related unto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her advice, yet resolved upon following the more generally, but farre worse counsell of the rest; which would questionlesse have beene the same which *Artemisia* gave, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines utter that, as out of their owne judgement, which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence upon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Aegaleus*; which is opposite unto the Isle of *Salamis*, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of every Capitaine. The neere approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countreimen shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a *Persian* Armie, marching a pace thither; did now againe so terrifie and amaze the *Peloponnesians*, that no intreatie, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madnesse to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what miserie would befall them, if losing the victorie, they should be driven into *Salamis*, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poore desolate Iland.

Herupon they resolved forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently bin done, if the wisdom of *Themistocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what avolent fear had stopp'd up their eares against all good counsell, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to prevent the execution of this unwholesome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to finde him busie in wrangling alteration. As soon as the Councell brake up, he dispatched secretly a trustie Gentleman to the *Persian* Captaines, informing them truly of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Navie about the Iland, which encompassing the *Greekes*, might prevent their escape; giving them withall a false hope of his assistance. The *Persians* no sooner heard than beleev'd these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne assured,

assured, if the *Athenian* fleet joyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what ability their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their City, and Territories. By these means it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to weigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in rear, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Psittalea*, which lyeth over against *Salamis*, to save such of their owne, and kill such of the *Gracian* parties, as by any misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Thus did mere necessity enforce the *Gracians* to undertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, & chasing the rest, who falling foule one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flee. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that befell the *Persian* fleet; which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one piece service worthy the presence of their King, or the registering of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well seeme to have wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principal honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Aegina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flee towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-army of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Aegina* having possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, whilest the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFTER this victorie, the *Greekes* intending by way of Scrutiny, to determine which of the Captaines had best merited of them, in all this great service; every Capitaine, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his own name, but in the second place, as best deserving next unto himselfe, almost every Suffrage did concur upon *Themistocles*. Thus private affection yielded unto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was served. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discern his faint heart through his painted looks. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, began to cast away his eye upon his Master, fearing lest his counsell should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the victorie, than to cast it away by undergoing his Princes indignation; hee advised the King to leave unto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces hee promised to reduce all *Greece* under the subjection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to soothe *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, That the cowardise of those *Egyptians*, *Phenicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metall, nothing better than slaves, who had so ill behaved themselves in the late Sea-service; did not concerne his honour, who had alwayes beene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it selfe, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings care, who presently betooke himselfe to his journey homewards, making the more haist, for that he understood, how the *Greeks* had a purpose to saile to *Hellepont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that hee would leave his Armie not so strong, as it should have beene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* give counsell, that by no means they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessity should enforce the *Persians* to take more courage; and rather to fight like men, than like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timorous Prince, advising him to convey himselfe into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolved: which counsell *Xerxes* took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests,

and he thereby driven to imbarke himself in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greeks* did most willingly embrace the latter of these reports. Howsoever it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as *Locusts*, had before overwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius and the Athenians, as also betwene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, after the flight of Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawne himself into *Thessalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retain their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that warre.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their city, but not as yet brought backe their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not bee secure, till the Army of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, understanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest he should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, used the best of their perswasion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the subversion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that City, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of injustice could not leave them. Wee know, said they, that yee have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forsake the Towne, the houses thereof bee ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, wee undertake to maintaine as our owne, your wives and children amongst us, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who have always procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to use many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilst the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which hee might seeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselves, only desiring the *Lacedæmonians* shut with all speed they would cause their Armie to marche, forasmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in *Thessalie*, having once received such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to invade *Attica*, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his army towards them, and their City: they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more security abroad in the Countrey, where they expected the arrivall of their confederates. From *Athens* he sent his Agent unto them, with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, & to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings charges. Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would relie upon their old confederates, whose succors did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should faile, the destruction of *Athens* would be a good meane to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes understand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of *Greece*, in the strongest part of their owne Countrey. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the *Athenians* so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lyndus*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him)

Cyrillus

Cyrillus, advised the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators* & as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house, heard what he had said, immediately set upon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or mony, that had moved him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithstanding, when they perceived the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giving them aide, they were faine to betake themselves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardnes in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very severe messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknes, and threatening withall, to take such course as might stand best with their owne good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded a-thwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed carelesse and dull, so the *Athenians* hotly pressed them to a quick resolution, giving them plainly to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay upon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Navie contained it selfe within the Harbours upon *Europe* side; both to doe service where need should require at home; & withall to shunne the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being distracted from the rest) had adventured over-farre. So mutual feare preserved in quiet the Ilands lying in the midst of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably observed by a Counsellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Isthmus* would serve to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gave eare to *Mardonius*: considering that many doores would bee opened into that *Demie* Island, as soone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better persuall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to give satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadors, who not brooking their delays, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pausanias*; they gave audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse, deeply swearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already farre upon the journey, and giving them leave to take up other five thousand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoining, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distasting such want of gravity, in a matter so important, were nevertheless contented with the final conclusion; & levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Greeks* were nothing slacke in sending forth Companies, whose neare approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much disadvantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating downe the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great battaile of Platae.

It were too long a rehearse to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the *Greekes* and him, in the Countrey of *Boeotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to bee the seat of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand upon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoynd the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Thessaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished his Campe with fifty thousand men. Against these the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leaved an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thou-

land were weightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more slightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustain any strong charges.

These two armies having eleven dayes confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to faile, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victory by an Oracle, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plain of *Ceres* & *Proserpina*, making prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the Oracle designed. For the plain of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, neare unto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphes and Demi-gods, were in the same place, upon Mount *Citharon*, and the ground served well for foot-men against horse; onely the Land belonged unto the *Plataeans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilest the *Greekes* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull Oracle, the *Plataeans* to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the Towne upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataeans* caused *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifie their City, which was ruined in the *Peloponnesian* wars.

All things being ready for battaile, the *Lacedemonian* Generall thought it most meet, that the *Athenians* should stand opposite that day to the *Medes* & *Persians*, whom they had formerly vanquished at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, should entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedemonians*; which *Mardonius* understanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whose valour the *Medes* & *Persians* had felt heave proofe, or desiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers in *Greece*) he did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to *Pausanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceive how the Enemy did shift his wings, and *Pausanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did also the like. Some whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Persians* made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the *Greekes* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into consultation of retiring; because they could not without much losse to themselves, and none to the enemy, lye neare to that fountaine which did serve all the Campe. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Army being sent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him seemed to proceed out of meer cowardise) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedemonians* being over-taken by the enemies horse, & over-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly sit still, not making any resistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and slaine, and some of especiall make lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as *Pausanias* had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did sit upon the ground, as was their manner, arose altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any feare of such notable resistance. The rest of the *Greek* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pausanias*, came in a-pace to succour the *Lacedemonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battaile, because the *Thebans*, and others *Greekes* confederated with the *Persians*, gave them checke by the way. Nevertheless, the *Spartans* with other their assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the *Persians* were vanquished, and *Mardonius* with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest fled into the Campe, which they had fortified with wooden Walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity enforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the *Lacedemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane time the *Athenians* having found strong opposition

of the *Thebans* and *Thessians*, did with much labour & courage obtain victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the *Lacedemonians*, whom they found weakly buisied in assaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves under-took it, & in short space forced a passage through the Wall, which breach first, and then on all sides, the *Greekes* entred with such fury, and just desire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fledde away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Persian* Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish retreat, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the place was well fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the Assistants; yet they being of severall Nations and Languages and having lost their Generall and astonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy Country, against an Army of men, farre more valiant than themselves, and enlamed with present victory. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the slaughtering fury of unpitifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Trabze*, telling the people of *Thessaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was sent by *Mardonius* upon some piece of service: For he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great diffiniture, all places would have beene hostile unto him, and fought with his ruine to purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and lost, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he shipped his men over into *Asia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* against the *Greekes*, upon hope of Honour, and Conquest, though forcing otherwise, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which never ended before the ruine of the *Persian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, despised and fought to have beene brought into slavery. Hereby it may seeme, that the vision appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the *Persian* Monarchie by the *Greekes*, who thus provoked, entred into greater consideration of their owne strength, and the weaknesse of their Enemies.

§. X.

The battaile of *Mycalé*, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THE same day on which the battaile was fought at *Plataea*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycalé*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Asia*, where the *Persian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greek* Navie, at the request of some Ilanders & *Ionians*, did saile into those parts, to deliver the *Samiens*, & procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Persian*. *Xerxes* himselfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a city in *Lidia*, not farre from the Sea-side, having left three-score thousand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionis* & the Sea-coast. Therefore when *Artayntes*, and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Persian* fleet, understood that the *Greekes* bent their course towards them; they did forth-with draw their ships a ground, fortifying with *Palisades*; & otherwise, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their land & sea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrivall, perceiving that they meant to keep within their strength, & resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his gally close aboard the shore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the *Persians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, & use the faire occasion which they now had to recover it. Herein hee did imitate *Themistocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*, trusting that either these persuasions would prevaille, or if the *Persians* did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousie in them, causing them to fight in feare of their own companions. It need not seeme strange, that this

very same stratageme, which little or nothing availed *Themistocles*, did now very happily succeed. For *Xerxes* being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to persuade those inhabitants of *Asia* to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gave a willing ear to the sweet sound of liberty. The *Persians* likewise, who in their former bravery, little regarded and less feared, any treason to be contrived by their subjects, were now fowary, that from the *Samians* which were amongst them, they took away their arms; the *Milefians*; whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the straight passages of *Mycale*; pretending that these *Milefians* did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage to in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, assailed the *Persians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* presently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Campe, a rumour suddenly ranne in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps was given out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the same day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Aemilius* overthrowne *Perseus* the last King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure dayes, as *Livie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the same day in *Peloponnesus*: That of the battell against the *Tarquinians* & the *Latines*, presently noised at *Rome*: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebelle to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lievtenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promises, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the City of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre, it was sodainly reported that *Antonius* was slaine, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer sacrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publique joy, as in such cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Authour of these tidings could not be found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebelle; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertisement by Poste, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembering the rumour noised before in *Rome*, of the selfe-same victory, he found that the report and victory were borne upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make about five & twenty hundred miles) a-funder. It is truly said of *Plutarch*, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among so many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, & fostered by credulous imagination, there should not be found (as happens in dreams among many thousand vaine and frivolous) a few precisely true. Howbeit we may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes use to terrifie those who presume upon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noises, as he raised the siege of *Samaria*, by causing a sound of Horses and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; & as he threatened *Senacherib*, saying: Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall heare a noise, and returne to his owne land. Wherefore it may well have bene true, that God was pleased by such a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heave hearts, being in great feare, left their owne adventure should by no meanes fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their owne Countrey of *Greece*, which was ready to be subdued by *Mardonius* whilest they went wandring to seek out their enemies a-farre-off, upon the coast of *Asia*. But the same of the battaile fought at *Plataea* being noised among them; every man desired that his own valour in the present fight, might be some help to worke out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalians, whereof the *Athenians* led the one; by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies Campe; the *Lacedaemonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and straight passages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did first set upon the Campe (ere the *Lacedaemonians* could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, did for-

forcibly assault it, that they brake way through the Palissadoes and Gabions, & made themselves Masters of the place, slaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good service, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Milefians*, who upon the like jealousy, were placed by the *Persians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had bin set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the sword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by-paths. The *Lacedaemonians* that day did little service, for the business was dispatched ere they came in: Only they broke such companies as retired in whole troopes; making them flee dispersed in very much disorder; whereby the *Milefians* were enabled to doe the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of that huge Army leaved against *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no meane left to make offensive Warre.

§. X I.

Of the barbarous qualities of *Xerxes*: with a transition from the Persian Affairs to matters of *Greece*, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not farr from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to revenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom hee could not prevaile by integrity, nor would obtaine his desire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband: hee thought it best to make a match between his owne Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to finde occasion of such familiarity as might worke out his desire. But whether it were so, that the chastity of the Mother did still reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him; hee soone after fell in love with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to governe himselfe in peace, as to guide his Army in warre. This young Lady having once desired the King to give her the Garment which hee then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife, shee caused the Queen thereby to perceive her husbands conversation with her, which she imputed not to much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feast, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, shee craved that the Wife of *Masses*, her husbands brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuse of such a custome, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatening her selfe with the like, to whatsoe ver she should inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the request; & sending for his brother, persuaded him to put away the Wife which hee had, and take one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee understood how villainously that poore Lady should be intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loved. *Masses* refused to put her away; alledging his owne love; her deserving, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reasons important to move him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him; saying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which hee had, nor have his Daughter whom hee had promised unto him. *Masses* was much grieved with these words, but much more, when hee returned home; hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queene *Amestris*, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breasts in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. *Masses* enraged with this villany; tooke his way with his children, and some Friends; towards *Bactria*, of which Province hee was Governor, intending to rebelle & avenge himselfe. But *Xerxes* understanding his purpose, caused an Army to be leaved, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the sword. Such was the Tyrannicall conclusion of the Persian Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with absolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that hee was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore Alexander the Great, finding an Image of his over-throwne; and lying upon the ground, said, That hee doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischief done by him to *Greece*, should let it lye. But surely whatsoever his

other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercelle.

Therefore wee may firmly beleieve, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of *Xerxes*, & other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, untill it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had been, very good; but against the generall estate of *Greece*, neither he, or any of his posterity, did ever make offensive warre, but received many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycalé* served but as an introduction; teaching the *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraigne Country: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historie of *Greece*, taking in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatnesse, many ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Majesty of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended onely upon the riches & power that had formerly been acquired, yielding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have beene enervated, made unwildy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry fwords of poore and hardy Enemies. Herby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his successours were faine to defend their Crowns with money and base policies; very seldom or never (unlesse it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the triall of plaine bataille with that little Nation of *Greeks*; which would soone have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealousy urged every City to envie the height of her neighbours wals, and thereby diverted the fwords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of conquest, on the side of *Asia*.



CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



THAT the *Medes* and *Persians* had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycalé*: *Leutychides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Army, leaving the pursuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, assisted by the revolted *Ionians*, returned with the *Lacedemonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had beene leaved. The *Athenians* in the meane while besieged *Sestos*, a City on the strait of the *Hellepont*, betweene which and *Abydos*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defense thereof, but quitted it to the *Greekes*, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the *Hellepont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, since the invasion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in divers Islands; and at *Troizen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all the houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down,

and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themselves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedemonians* being advertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their owne City of *Sparta* was unwall'd, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to dissuade them; not acknowledging any private mislike or jealousy; but pretending, that if the *Persians* should return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately bin. To this the *Athenians* promised to give them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But being resolved to goe on with their workes by the advice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedemonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their walls to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedamon*, giving him for excuse, that hee could not deliver the *Athenians* resolutions, till the arrivall of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedemonians* expectation being converted into jealousy (for by the arrivall of divers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the walls of *Athens* were speedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to beleve reports and vaine rumors, but that they would be pleased to send some of their owne trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, & determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his owne, by whom he advised the *Athenians*, first to entertaine the *Lacedemonians* with some such discourse as might retaine them a few daies, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himself, & the other *Athenian* Embassadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates & *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedemonians* know, That it was true that the walls of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedemonians* to beleve, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such as right well understood what appertained to a Common-weale and their owne safety, without direction & advice from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsell and courage, and not thereto taught or persuaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the *Persians* they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the *Greekes*: And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confederate within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the Walls of *Athens* should be finished and maintained. The *Lacedemonians* finding the time unfit for quarrell, dissembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the division; and so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyrens*, by which they might under covert imbarke themselves upon all occasions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warre made by that State upon the Persian.

THE *Athenians* having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedemonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederate, they set saile for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*; where, after their landing having posselt themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Army againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recovering from the

the *Perſians* by force the City *Byzantium*, now *Conſtantinople*: from whence *Pauſanius*, behaving himſelfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, eſpecially towards the *Ionians*, lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the Councell of *Lacedæmon*, and not only accuſed of many inſolent behavours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, & Treason againſt his Country. In his ſtead they employed *Dacres*, who either gave the ſame cauſe of offence; or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt commandement in that warre, praſtiſed the ſouldiers to complaine; though indeede the wife and vertuous behaviour of *Ariſtides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare & incomparable ſincerity, had beene able to make a good Commander ſeeme ill in compariſon of himſelfe; & therefore was much more available, in rendering thoſe deteſted, whoſe vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being lo leſſe wearied of the war, than the *Athenians* were eager to purſue it, the one obtained their eaſe, and the other the execution and honour which they deſired: for all the *Greeks* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubjected themſelves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatneſſe in that preſent age, and of their ruine in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treasuſers, & began to levie mony, according to their diſcretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, & for the recovering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſſe, and the Iſlands, from the *Perſians*. This tribute (the firſt that was ever payed by the *Greeks*) amounted to foure hundred and threeſcore Talents; which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that juſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the confederates referred themſelves, & no one man found occaſion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Ariſtides*, & other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commoditie ſo the deſire which they conceived of encreaſing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall love, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their City to the defence of her treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe foure hundred and threeſcore Talents were raiſed to fix hundred, not long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into ſlaves, and extorted from them yearly thirteene hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at 30 the firſt appointed for the Treasuſe-houſe wherein theſe ſummes were laid up, and where, at the generall Aſſembly, the Captaines of thoſe forces, ſent by the confederates, were for ſome ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians*, who were ſtronger by ſea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt up the common treaſure in an Iſland, under their owne protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this Warre was *Cimon*, the ſon of *Miltiades*, who firſt tooke *Eion*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Delopis*: they maſtered the *Carſiis*, and brought into ſervitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandements; taking upon them & uſurping a kinde of ſovereigne authority over the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the warre in their owne perſons, and given up altogether to their eaſe, made choiſe rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in ſhips; leaving the proviſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weak in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Warres; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Navie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and employed in honorable Services, at the coſt of thoſe, who having liſted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony, levied upon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of reſenting was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall ſcouring the *Aſiaticke* Seas, took in the City of *Thaſtis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and reſuſed to relieve, or any way aſſiſt the *Greeks*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence hee ſet ſaile for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian* Fleet

Fleet rode, being of fixe hundred ſayle, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the ſhoare; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affairs in *Greece*, where utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*, the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere ever they had ſworn in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoone preſented with a third. For foureſcore ſayle of *Phenicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, under the *Perſian* command) thinking to have joyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arrived upon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than what enſued. Upon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did lo amaze them, that they only ſought to run themſelves on ground; by which meane preſerving few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo breake the courage of the *Perſian*, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoever Articles pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſayle to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any war that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the empire of *Perſia*; in which warre, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerved altogether under the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of Xerxes by the treaſon of Artabanus.

BEſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily have bin repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gave juſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace upon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his Maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch, as in kindred or place were neere unto him, began to repoſe leſſe hope of a ſafetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Sovereignie, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpised for his cowardice and miſfortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelfe had been innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſſe hee got the Kingdome, and held it ſeven moneths; or whether intending the like evill to *Artaxerxes* the ſon of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and ſurprized, were hard to a firme any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this; That taken hee was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme torments, according to the ſentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe:

Raro antecedens cum ſcelis ſum

Deſeruit pede pana claudo.

Seldome the villaine though, much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance ſailes to overtake.

§. I V.

The baniſhment of Themistoocles: his flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Perſia; & his death.

ARTAXERXES being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, and having ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affaires required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greeks*, than hee or his predeceſſors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athen*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their owne merits in that ſervice, that they not only thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders over many Townes and Iſlands of the *Greekes*, but even within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than merely *Democratieall*. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integritie

nor good desert was able to preserve the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatness upon popularity, yet now presuming upon his good services done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laide upon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby hee was banished for ten years, as a man over-burthened to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedemonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Paulanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles*, finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty cities, was driven, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly settled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proved altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and scouring those Easterne Seas, to the great hindrance of *Artaxerxes*, & (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which hee had given, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceived much unlikeliness of good successe, in leading a great army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulness to his well deserving Prince, and natural affection to his own ill-deserving people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Egypt.

Then was *Artaxerxes* driven to use the service of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, that a just cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred saile strong was sent forth under *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the *Persian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to have been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proofe of the *Gracian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receive no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found sailing towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate yett all the Sea-coast (no small part of his Dominions) exposed to the waite of an enemy too far over-matching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worse fortunes he had made with them, hee would break in theirs; and therefore sought to get such assurance into their hands, as might utterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues & power, by adding that rich and great Island to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilst they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Isle of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the streights betweene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly feared for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countreies, or to infect one or more of them

them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Island, was on the sudden well nigh choaked with a greater morsell, to snatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might easily have swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians*, confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Countrey was exhausted by the late warres, and how weakly defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, conceived rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sudden of his owne Guards, or levie out of the ordinary Garrisons, were by him defeated, the naturalls of the Countrey not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a revolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith with him, who had no other title to that Kingdome than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, unable to defend themselves against the *Persian* without his assistance, would easily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly slaine *Achamenes* the *Viceroy*, divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeavour for prosecution of the Warre. But he considering his owne weakness, and that the means of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein embarked; he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdome of *Egypt*, as a farre greater reward of their adventure, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would have bin contented with an equall share, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was possesed of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affaires was such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterprize very good and hopefull successe: For they entered the Land as far as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were strong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well devise what means to use for the recovery of that which was lost, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the *Lacedemonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greekes* one against the other, by stirring them up with gold, to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treasure; who after great expence, finding that the *Lacedemonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to imploy the rest of his money and means to their reliefe, who had now the space of sixe yeares defended his masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was first encountered by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him master of the Countrey, whilst the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessaries made the *Athenians* inferior to themselves, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neare, as they were forced to fortifie themselves in the Isle of *Prospiter*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteene moneths siege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the sword, save a few that saved themselves by flight into *Lybia*; the same entertainment had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred.

Mendes is an Island in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the out-let called *Bustiniticus*, and *Didon*: But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendefium*, runneth into the Sea by the City *Panephys*.

hundred. For those *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleet and Armie was confumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendefium*, and fell unawares among the *Phœnician* Gallies and the *Persian* Armie; so as the *Persians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* fixe yeares Warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many enterprizes at once.

§. V.

Of other Warres made by the Athenians for the most part with good successe, about the same time.

Notwithstanding these overthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neare unto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one over the *Peloponnesians*, neere unto *Ceryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, neare unto *Ægina*; where they sunke and carried away threecore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall losse, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to set up their *Trophia*, as Victors in the former battell, were utterly broken and slaughtered by the *Athenian* Garrisons and *Megarians*, to their great losse and dishonour.

Again, as the *Athenians* were discomfited neare to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the succour of the *Dorians* against the *Phocians* (at which time the *Thessalian* horse-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought against them) so about threecore daies after, the *Athenians* entred *Boeotia* under the conduct of *Myrmides*, where beating that Nation, they won *Phocis* on the gulfes of *Otteeus*, and evened the wals of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon most base conditions; as to beat down the wals of their Citie, and to give them hostages for Tribute; the siege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides these victories, they sackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their succour. These were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of those six yeares that a part of their forces made war in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Thessalie*, periwaded thereunto by *Orestes*, but were resisted by the king *Pharalus*, who had chased *Orestes* out of his Dominions. They also landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over those that resisted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five yeares, and sent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ships; but they were againe allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddie parts of *Egypt* from the *Persians*, to whom they sent sixty of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprize at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coasted the Island, incourted a fleet of the *Phœnicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as also those returned safe which were sent into *Egypt*.

§. VI.

Of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ahashuerosh the husband of Quene Hester.

These *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reign of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable; whereof the length is by some restrained into twenty yeares, but the more and better Authors give him forty, some allow unto him foure and forty.

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleness. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jewes*; as appeareth by the Histories of *Esdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needlesse travell; considering that all the late Divines have taken very much paines to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him, and succoured in that building, in such sort as appears in their writings.

This was likewise that King *Ahashuerosh* who married *Hester*. Whereof if it be needfull to give proofe, it may suffice, That *Ahashuerosh* lived in *Susa*, reigning from *India* to *Ethiopia*, and therefore must have been a *Persian*; That he lived in peace as appears by the circumstances of the Historie, and used the counsell of the seven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyses*.

The continuall Warres which exercised King *Darius* the Sonne of *Hystaspes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with sundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wife *Arosta*, the daughter of *Cyrus* alive in great honour, she being mother to *Xerxes* the succeeding King; do manifestly prove that *Hester* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the Jew, That at the perswasion of *Mardocheus*, *Jochachim* the high Priest the son of *Jesua*, caused the feast of *Purim* to be instituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jochachim* was in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, at the coming of *Esdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jesua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The same continuance of wars, with other his furious and tragicall loves wherewith *Xerxes* did consume such little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that the story of *Hester* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty yeares, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahashuerus* or *Artaxerxes* is expressed by *Nehemias*. Again, it is well knowne that *Xerxes* in the seventh year of his reign (wherein this marriage must have bin celebrated) came not neare to *Susa*. Of the Princes that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahashuerosh*, it is enough to say, that *Mardocheus* having been carried from *Hierusalem* captive, with *Jechonias* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived untill their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Susa*, reigned from *India* to *Ethiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jochachim* the high Priest, and further he had happily by his Lieutenants reclaymed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that seventh year of his reign; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Royall Feast, as is described in the beginning of *Hester*. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Hester*'s storie by the learned and diligent *Krenizhemus*, who adds the authorities of *Josephus*, affirming the same, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardocheus* eightene yeares more than *Isaac* the Patriarch lived, namely, one hundred foure score and eightene yeares in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth year of this *Artaxerxes*, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

§. VIII.

Of the troubles in Greece foregoing the Peloponnesian Warre.

But it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently prosecuting their civill warres, suffered the *Persians* for many ages to rest in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertooke the warre called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Dulphos*, and delivered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the same, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the banished *Boeotians* re-entred their owne Land, and mastered two of their own Townes posselt by the *Athenians*, which they soone recovered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens*, the *Boeotians*, *Eubœians*, and *Locrians* (Nations opprest by the *Athenians*) leapon them with such resolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all slain or taken,

taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Islanders of *Eubœa* tooke such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the *Megarians* (who first left the *Lacedæmonians*, and submitted themselves to *Aibens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slain the *Athenians* Garrisons, and joynd themselves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Epidaurians*. These newes hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Philoanax* the son of *Pausanias*, had invaded it, pillaged & burnt many parts thereof, after whose returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yielded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After sixe of these years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Mylæans* against the *Samiens*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forced to yeeld themselves upon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break downe their own walls, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* War, whereof I have gathered this briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell, I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Country at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Aibens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

§. I.

Upon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece, Aibens and Sparta, stood at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.



*P*reece was never united under the government of any one Prince or Estate, untill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Union and League against the *Persians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every Estate held their own, and were governed by Lawes, farr different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeeld obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the Generall quarrell of *Greece*)

and tooke the profit and honour of the victory, to their own use and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so farr enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under such obedience, as differed little from servitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with arms, and sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first given occasion thereto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Country by perpetuall Warre. For untill these two Cities of *Aibens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gave beginning to the *Peloponnesian* Warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had over-matched all, so much as every conclusion

conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Country) the wars, commenced between one Citie of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictyones*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the assurance of victory.

These *Lacedæmonians* had lived about foure hundred yeares under one forme of Government, when the *Peloponnesian* War began. Their education was only to practise feats of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equal to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equal portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meales being in common Halls, where all fared alike. They used money of yron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian* like, save that they used no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted so great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Islanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference between these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, sodaine in their conclusions, and as hasty in the execution. The *Lacedæmonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold blood perform what the *Athenians* did usually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and assured, that sought honor & not riches; whereas the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in streight subjection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing so large, untill such time as the *Persian* *Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrell to *Aibens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the town of *Aibens* could not be defended against his great Armie of severene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Navie, & (assisted by the other *Grecians*) overthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all served under conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the Islands of the *Greekish* Seas under their obedience; imposing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War against the *Persians*, though indeed they employed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Islands and haven-Townes of their owne Countreymen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were Islanders, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would have oppressed the *Plataeans*, when they of *Plataea* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this advice, That they should seek help at *Aibens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serve to increase their honour and puissance.

§. II.

How Sparta and Aibens entered into Warre.

*N*evertheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill-affected to *Aibens*, because that Citie grew very insolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking

their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much enraged, because the people of the Iland *Cercyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adjoining that of *Cercyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now howsoever it were so that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace so that these dealings of the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much ado) they concluded to redresse by warre the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore, seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certain offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answer, That they themselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they began to deale plainly, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the State of *Athen*, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reversed. This last point they so earnestly presse, that if they might obtaine it, they promised to abstain from their purpose of making War.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by seeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entering into a war, which threatened them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergoe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothings; for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needfull to the War; wherein the *Lacedemonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the generall favour, as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed; but the *Athenians* did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

THE first and second yeares expedition was very grievous to the Citie of *Athen*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe, the Countrey people driven to flye, with Wives, Children, and Cattell, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, & the siege of *Plataea* their confederate Citie, which they durst not adventure to raise; besides some small overthrowes received. The *Lacedemonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrey of *Attica*, and therein abide, untill victuals began to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Governours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which waited as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilst they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Towne of *Plataea*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that Warre, the *Lacedemonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was thoroughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equal to such harme as they themselves might, and did receive. The Confederates began to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*, perceiving well that *Athen* was plentifully relieved with all necessities, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subject unto that Estate; and therefore these invaders tooke but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territory was the whilst afflicted. Wherefore they began

began to set their care to build a strong Navie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skillfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans received at *Pylus*.

AMONG other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they received at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Cercyra*, waiting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrary windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head Land and Ide. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificial fortification, was supplied by the natural strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Countrey adjoining was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subjection; yet was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by the neare neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedemonians*, and as many of their bond-slaves as could escape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence made daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the mid-way betweene them and *Cercyra*, make them able to surround all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navie to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grievous losse at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vain made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land; finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the haven, placing foure hundred and twenty choyce men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell that leads into the Port; but so narrow, that onely two ships in front could enter betweene the Ile and *Pylus*; likewise but seven or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Iland and the Main. Having thus taken order to shut up this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stufte, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke up the piece on all sides. But in the meane season the *Athenian* fleet hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entering the haven, did break and sink many of their enemies vessels; took five, and so intored the residue to run themselves a-ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the campe (as was their custome in great dangers) to advise what were best for the publike safety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Ile, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were; That the *Lacedemonians* should deliver up all the ships which were in the coast, & that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the *Athenians* against the campe: That a certaine quantity of Bread, Wine, and Flesh should be daily carried into the Ile, but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedemonian* Embassadors to *Athen*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly voyd in all: That when the truce was expired, the *Athenians*

Athenians should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors coming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedemonians* did sue to them for peace, advising them to make an end of warre, whilst with such reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For in stead of concluding upon even termes, or desiring of meet recompence for losse sustained; the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had bin taken from them by the *Lacedemonians* long before this warre began, refusing like wife to continue the treaty of peace, unless the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendred unto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they should, according to their covenant, restore the ships which had been put into their hands. Whereunto answer was made; that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye have assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so far overweighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedemonians* driven to use many hard meanes, for conveyance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them; the *Lacedemonians* were so far from waisting *Attica*, that they suffered their owne Country to be continually over-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendevous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

§. V.

How the Lacedemonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peace that was not well kept.

Therefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace, which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with continuance of good successe, that having sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gain or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had been merely through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour unto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battell which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedemonian* forces, were both slain; which two had most bin adversaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedemonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navie which they had received at *Pylus*, were faine to proceed lamely in the war, against such as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new favour should revive the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a consideration of their present estate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unless they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoid. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty yeares well nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joining with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so unwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedemonians* could ever fare prevaile upon it, when they had little else to doe.

This

This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by waisting the Territory of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* should have bin brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whose sake the war was undertaken, have bin so firmly knitt to the *Lacedemonians*, that they should for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mony, and means to raise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme that the *Peloponnesians*, wanting wherewith to maintaine a Navie, could do unto them; yea, as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither war nor peace; their daily travels, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* were glad to use the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much ado they procured, as seemed equal and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travell was little effectuall.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedemonians* should restore first. These had wonne more Townes upon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to breake in as enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had bin rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to give some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retaine others, which they had gotten in the Warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever articles were drawne, and concluded, for their security, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, untill such time as they might receive the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedemonians* entered into a more freight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have sued for peace at their hands, as soone as things were once compounded betweene *Athens* and *Sparta*; did shew themselves plainly unwilling to give care to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deserving in the late war, or found so troublesome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) was little worse than friendship. It bred great jealousy in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive such a conjunction betweene two so powerfull Signiories: especially one claife threatening every one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Countrey, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This imprecision wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebans*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently throwne upon the *Lacedemonians* their unjust friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies; as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely used the advantage.

§. VI.

§. VI.

Of the negotiations and practices held betwene many States of Greece, by occasion of the Peace that was concluded.

THe admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of *Sparta* as unrefutable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bin so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, upon termes not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not only abated, but (as happens usually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, & yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune should have bin so great, as should have drawne that Citie to relieve it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall make, being overlayed by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather chiole to live in captivity, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Lacônia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as utterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit down, and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive basely of those men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other lesser Cities joyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whose ability to doe much, they conceived a strong beliefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish envie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers, which we know to be wanting in our selves.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envie at the greatness of *Athenes* daily encreasing the *Lacedæmonians* had entered into the present Warre. But these *Corinthians* did only murmur at the peace, alledging as grievances; that some townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Maninæans*, who during the time of Warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependancy upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discover themselves; feare of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The *Argives* feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their sailes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under; giving for that purpose unto twelve of their Citizens a full and absolute commission to make alliance between them and any free Cities of Greece (*Athenes* & *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all commers; the *Maninæans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entered into this new confederacy; some incited by private respects, others thinking it the wisest way to doe as the most did. What inconvenience might arise unto them by these courses, the *Lacedæmonians* easily discerned; & therefore sent Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the mischief had bin hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their present advantage over *Sparta*. They had caused all Citie which had not entered yet into alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*; and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselves concerned with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, forasmuch as it had bin agreed between the Spartans and their associates, that the consent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with *Athenes*) should binde the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no divine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the Spartans had first begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without

provision

provision of restitution; and that the very clause alledged by the Embassadors, did acquire them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, forasmuch as they had sworn unto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against *Athenes*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason and religion to use all means of upholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no lesse to be accounted a divine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any thelike accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haste to joine to themselves with *Argos*, and caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* and *Athenes* were in a manner left to themselves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being also upon the point to have entered into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which caused this hasty confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*; as the *Maninæans* and *Eleanes*: these did firmly betake themselves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and these would rather have followed the Spartans than the *Argives* in war, yet rather the *Argives* in war than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the society of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different formes of government, used in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse having ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to besinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truck with *Athenes*, and yet were unprepared for War. They fought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all Greece at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had shewed against them more stomach than force; but gave them to understand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athenes* had lately made with *Sparta* & her dependants; yet finally they granted unto these *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired; but into private confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the Spartans, That the one should not make peace nor war without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seene the great advantage which absolute Lords have, as well in peace as in War, over such as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath bene so constantly followed as *Sparta* was by so many States, and some of them little inferiour to it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsive means gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up such places as were agreed upon; of which the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of *Parasæte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof unto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover *Pylus*) unless that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes*; which thereupon they were constrained to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement between them and *Athenes*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the towne of *Parasæte*, till first they had utterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the

the *Athenians*. This was sought to have bin excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who comming to *Athens* (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had bin detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to salve the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemie of *Athens* should nestle in *Panaetæ*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale with tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but used such base conclusions as stood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having destroyed a Towne that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeare, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the War, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendered to them by Covenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whose Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him desire War, as the meane whereby himselfe might procure some honourable employment; used all means to set the quarrel on foot, whilest the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendered ought save their prisoners, and pretence enough to use that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, untill they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles wherto they were bound, even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But *Alcibiades* wishing a speedy beginning of open war, sent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to understand how fitly the time served for them to affociate themselves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them security against all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the first confluence of many Estates unto their society, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disabilitie. But these sudden apprehensions of vaine joy, were suddenly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately bin conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had sought security from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noysed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadors, accompanied with the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensive and defensive between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to stick upon a little more, but rather by giving full satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens*, with full commission to make an end of all controversies, did earnestly labour in the Councell-house, to make the truth of things appear, saying, that their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panaetæ*: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grie-

ved the *Lacedæmonians*, to see things fall out in such wise as might give to the *Athenians* cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had absolute commission. Wherefore they desired that *Pylus* might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aside. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather, because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was dashed on the sudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their citie, and advised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie and yield to nothing, unless they could draw them to unreasonable conditions. The Embassadors believed him, & fashioned their tale in the assemblie of the people, as he had advised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthening themselves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whose honest meanings had so ill bene seconded, with good performance) were now so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadors, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevail with them, that the businesse was put off, untill he himselfe, with other Embassadors, might fetch a better answer from *Sparta*.

It may also seeme a great wonder, how so poore a trick of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of so great importance, when the *Spartan* Embassadors might have cast the load upon his owne shoulders, by discovering the truth: But the gravitie which was usually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindered them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might well have bene thought unskillful men, had they professed themselves such as would say and un-say for their most advantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a fowre message to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the *Lacedæmonians* should take the paines to re-build *Panaetæ*, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them understand that otherwise the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argives*, and to their adherents: The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forsake the *Thebans*, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was suffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seeme to have effected nothing) sweare a-new to keepe the Articles of the league betweene him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon receipt of the Embassadors, a new league was made betweene the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantineans* and *Eleans*, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it selfe chiefly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their owne. (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by misfortunes, than in sundrie passages betweene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whose Amitie, they had lost sundrie of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the *Athenians* by the treatie of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they lost in warre;

all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the accessse of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellows had found businesse wherewith to set the *Athenians* on worke, and make use of this conjunction. For, presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infect each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their severall friends.

By these occasions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themselves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their ensignes. One victorie which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meere valour in a set battell, near to *Maninæa*, against the *Argive* side, helped well to repaire their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yielded them no great profit. The civill dissention arising shortly after within *Argos* it selfe, between the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefest Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amitie of the *Athenians* in expresse words, and forced the *Maninæans* to the like. But in short space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the *Athenians* as closely as before.

Besides these uproles in *Peloponnesus*, many affaires were made to raise up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewise in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whose forces and readinesse for execution, prevented some things, revenged other, and required all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing wearie, they began to be quiet; retaining still that enmitie in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open Warre.

§. VIII.

The Athenians sending two Fleets to sacke Siracuse, are put to flight, and utterly dispersed.

DURING this intermission of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of subduing *Sicily*, whither they sent a Fleet so mightie as never was set forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their Fleet, was driven to banish himselfe, for feare of such judgement, as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed people; partly by the invasion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*, whilst the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of *Persia*, who supplied the *Peloponnesians* with mony.

Neither was the successe of things in *Sicily* such, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that war. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged *Siracuse*, the chiefest Citie of all the Island, and one of the fairest Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in sundrie battells by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with strong aide from *Peloponnesus*, it came to pass that the *Athenians* were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their Fleet was shut up into the haven of *Siracuse*, and could not issue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very ill in *Sicily*, so did they at home stand upon hard terms; for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had bene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly journeyes into *Attica*, which having pillled and foraged, they returned home; did

now by counsell of *Alcibiades* (who seeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Towne of *Decelia*, which was near to *Athens*, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the Country round about, and some times give alarme unto the City it selfe. In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the *Athenians* was very strange, who leaving at their backs, and at their own doores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into *Sicily*, to invade a people no lesse puissant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a prosperous event makes foolish counsell seem wiser than it was; which came to passe many times among the *Athenians*, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was said to turne unto the best. But where unfound advice, finding bad prooffe, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the *Athenians*, which better might have served to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the *Siracuzans*, was finally (together with the other part of the Navie, which was there before) quite vanquished & bard up into the haven of *Siracuse*, wherby the camp of the *Athenians*, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driven to break up, and flye away by land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed and quite overthrowne, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe well deserved fell upon the *Athenians*, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Priodorus* Generals, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in *Sicily*, whereas indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made Warre. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this unhappy enterprise, did rather chuse to hazzard the ruine of his Country by the losse of that Army, wherein consisted little lesse than all the power of *Athens*; than to adventure his own estate, his life, and his honour upon the tongues of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his tryall resolved to condemne him, by retiring from *Siracuse*, when wisdom and necessity required it. For (said hee) they shall give sentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give care to any that would speak in our behalfe, but altogether hearken to suspitious and vain rumors that shall be brought against us; yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to do what reason willerth, not what opinion expecteth; and to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report & censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a precedent and pattern whereby offence beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily have over-mattered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight; he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to have the camp break up till seven and twenty dayes were past. His timorousnesse was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his *Athenians*, or might pretend lesse evill to the slothfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I think that any Astrologer can alledge this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armes destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cæsar* the Roman, he who slew *Julius Cæsar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, hee retrying, the broken remainder of *Cæsar*'s Army defeated by the Parthian Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answer that he stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retreat, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a faire example to that good rule.

Sapiens dominabitur astris.

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governours of understanding, when he intends evil to the multitude; and that the wickedness of unjust men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of those who might have done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Armie in Sicilia.

The losse of this Armie was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little lesse calamitie to that Estate, than was the subversion of the walls, when the Citie about seven yeares after was taken by *Xenander*. For now began the subjects of the *Athenian* Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced under their obedience, others held out; some for feare of greater inconvenience were set at libertie, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kinde of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell out very unseasonably, that the principall men of *Athens*, being wearied with the peoples insolencie, tooke upon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the government into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the forme of an Aristocratic in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this innovation, being slaine at *Athens*, the Commonaltie were so dismayed, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but every man was afraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall fear the Majestie of *Athens* was usurped by foure hundred men, who observing in few the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely such as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than onely to approve and give consent: for whosoever presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murder. By these meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new authoritie, which nevertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was in the Isle of *Samos*, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred usurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the *Persian* King had promised to the *Lacedaemonians*, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made unprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first bene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whilst his service done unto that State was not growne to be the object of envie. But when it appeared that in Counsell and good performance he so far excelled all the *Lacedaemonians*, that all their good success was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearied of his vertue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yielded her selfe to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends she could not forbear to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the *Spartan* treacherie, conveyed himselfe unto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-royes affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to advise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the *Lacedaemonians*, that they should quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to helpe the weaker side, and let them one consume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the *Persian*. By this counsell he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the onely Favourite of so great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) he laboured greatly to recon-

reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turne it upon the common Enemy. Some of the foure hundred approved his motion, as being wearied of the tyranny whereof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being little regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, fought to acquit themselves of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedaemonians*, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authoritie & the greatness of their citie, if they might; but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or satisfaction at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made sundrie overtures of peace to the *Lacedaemonians*, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the warring multitude; especially considering that the Citie of *Sparta* was governed by an Aristocraticie, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All these passages between the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedaemonians*, were kept as secret as might be. For the Citie of *Athens*, hoping without any great cause, to repair their losses, was not inclined to make composition, from which upon juster ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the *Athenians* (not unknowne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And upon this hope king *Agis* did sometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received some small losses. Likewise the Navie of *Peloponnesus* made shew of attempting the Citie, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have bin regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather have forborne to present unto the Citie, or to the countries near adjoining, any terror of the war. For the dissention within the walls might soon have done more good than could be received from the fleet or armie without, which indeed gave occasion to set the Citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by means of these troubles, were faine to resign their authority, which they could no now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repell forraign Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themselves, from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of government a full restitution of the soveraign command unto the people, or whole bodie of the Citie, but only to five thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their authoritie began) had pretended to take unto them as assistants, herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the commonalty, who seldom assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed, that *Alcibiades* & his companions should be recalled from exile, and that the army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades won many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile, made their Generall, and again deposed.

This establishment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with some good success in the wars. For the *Lacedaemonians* were about the same time overthrowen at Sea, in a great battell, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydos*, his arrivall with eighteen ships, gave the honour of a great battell to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly destroyed the fleet of the *Lacedaemonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ransom their Citie, and fortified *Chrysolopolis*. Hereupon letters were sent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the distrust of the Armie, in these few words: *All is lost; Mindarus is slain; the Souldiers want victuals; we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedaemonians* in fight by land at *Chalcidion*, took *Selymbria*, besieged & won *Byzantium*, now called *Constantinople*, which even

in those dayes was a goodly, rich & very strong Citie. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high admirall of all the Navie.

But this his honour continued not long: for it was taken from him, and he driven to banish himselfe again, only because his Lievtenant, contrarie to the expresse command of *Alciades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second banishment of *Alciades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the first; and the losse which thereupon they received, was (though more heave to them, yet) lesse to be pittied of others, than that which ensued upon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought revenge upon his own Citie; now, as inured to adversitie, he rather pittied theirurie; who in time of such danger had cast out him that should have repaired to their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after injurie received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alciades*, arrived at the Fleet, he presented battel to *Lysander* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, who was not so confident upon his former victorie, as to undertake *Alciades*: himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had bin under his Lievtenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Navie, then did *Alciades* withdraw himselfe to a Town upon *Hellepont*, called *Bizantie*, where he had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The battell at *Arginusæ*, and condemnation of the victorious *Athenian* Captaine by the people.

AFTER this time, the *Athenians* receiving many losses and discomforts, were driven to flye into the Haven of *Mytelæ*, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege, necessitie enforced them to manall their vessels; and to put the uttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battel. This battell was fought at *Arginusæ*, where *Callicratidas*, Admirall of the *Lacedemonians*, losing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have bin expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chiefe over the *Athenian* fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happy a victory, have received great honor of their Citizens. But contrariwise, they were forthwith called home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and sunk, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them up, they might have saved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very just answer, That they pursuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, under sufficient men, to save those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meal-tub, had bin intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very strange, that upon such an accusation maintained with so slender evidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrey should be overthrowen. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save only *Socrates* the wife and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much ado relieved by other vessels in the storme: but the Captains which were absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was overpast, this judgement was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themselves from the infamie of injustice; but the divine Justice was not a sleep, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The battell at *Ægos-Potamos*, wherein the whole State of *Athens* was ruined; with the end of the *Peloponnesian* war.

THE *Peloponnesian* fleet under *Lysander*, the year next following, having scoured the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Hellepont*, where (landing souldiers) it besieged and took the town of *Lampsacus*. Hereupon all the navie of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourscore saile, made thither in haste, but finding *Lampsacus* taken before their coming, they put in at *Sestos*, where having refreshed themselves, they failed to the river called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the river of the *Goats*, being on the continent opposite to *Lampsacus*: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at *Lampsacus* in the harbor. The next day after their arrival they presented fight unto the *Peloponnesians*, who refused it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; & thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemy, and returning to their own harbor when it drew towards evening.

The Castle of *Alciades* was not far from the Navie, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his countreymen, if they could have made use of it. For he had waged mercenaries, & making war in his own name upon some people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, & obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, & shewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not soon fore-see and prevent it. For they lay in a roade subject to every weather, neither near enough to any town where they might furnish themselves with necessaries, nor so far off as had bin more expedient. *Sestos* was the next Market-town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners resorted, flocking away from the Navie every day, as soon as they were returned from braving the Enemy. Therefore *Alciades* willed them either to lie at *Sestos*, which was not far off, or at least to consider how neare their Enemy was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to their Generall, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so far despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not bin for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedemonians*, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their fleet. And like enough it was that he might so have done by transporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his confederates, and others his Followers, over the Straights, who assaulding the *Peloponnesians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercie of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counsell no better than hath bin rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how evill it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himselfe by the advantage of his Haven, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his manner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their doings, related unto him what they had seene. Therefore understanding in what carelesse fashion they romed up and down the country, he kept all his men a-board after their departure, and the fifth day gave especial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* dis-embarking, as their custome was, and walking towards *Sestos*, they should forthwith returne, and hang up a brazen shield in the Prov, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse, made all speed that strength of Oares could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies about their ships, nor many near them, and all in great confusion upon the newes of his approach.

Insomuch that the greatest industrie which the *Athenians* then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gave over *Athens* as desperate, and made a long flight into the Ile of *Cyprus*; all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seven and wentie years, with variable successe concluded in one houre, and the glorie of *Athens* in such wise eclipsed, that she never afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this victorie, *Lysander*, having taken such Townes as readily did yeeld

such ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the Citie standing as it did in that so sudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessity of the times did require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give judgement in particular causes, to whose judgement the Lawes themselves, by which the Citie was to be ordered, were become subject. But these thirtie, having so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserve it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in trust.

Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellows, as were odious to the Citie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved, who considered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themselves, how easie a thing it would be unto these thirtie men, to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbors of the peace, or what else they listed, when condemnation without true triall and proofe had beene once well allowed. Having thus plausibly entred into a wicked course of government, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authority. Wherefore dispatching two of their own companie to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keep the Citie free from all rebellious motions: to which purpose it behoved them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired to the *Lacedæmonians* to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintaine. This motion was well approved, and a Guard sent, the Captaine of which was so well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons, invaded the principall men of the Citie, sending armed men from house to house, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of government: whereby there was such effusion of blood, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirtie) seemed very horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellows to bethinke themselves, and provide for their owne securitie, and his destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Captaine of the discontented (which were almost the whole Citie) and redeem his own peace with their ruine. Wherefore they selected three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them some part of publike authority, the rest they disarmed; and having thus increased their own strength, and weakened their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the blood, not only of their private enemies, but of such whose money, or goods, might enrich them, & enable them for the payment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, upon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his detestation of so wicked intent, then did *Critias*, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall, accuse him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, & (whereas one main privilege of the three thousand was, that none of them should suffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but have the accustomed triall) he took upon him to strike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, & so reduced him under the triall & sentence of that order. It was well alleged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the catalogue, than any other mans; upon which consideration, he advised them all to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding: but every man choosing rather to preserve his own life by silence, than presently to draw upon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting silence as consent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poison.

§. III.

The Conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposing.

AFTER the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie began to use such outrage, as exceeded their former villanies. For, having three thousand (as they thought) firme unto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, depossing them of lands and

and goods, and caused them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their lives. This light of the citizens procured their libertie, and the general good of the citie. For the banished citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into consultation, and resolved to hazard their lives in setting free the citie of *Athens*. The very thought of such a practice had bin treason at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventie men, or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who with their Captaine *Thrasibulus* took *Phyla*, a place of strength in the Territorie of *Athens*. No sooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than seek means to prevent further danger; assembling the three thousand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by assault, they intended to besiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormie weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the citie, which above all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horse, to wearie out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying siege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thrasibulus* were increased from seventy to seven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon those guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twentie. These finally, but prosperous beginnings, added more to the number of those in *Phyla*, who now with a thousand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the suburbs of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their comming the thirtie had resolved to fortifie the Towne of *Eleusine*, to their owne use, wherein they might make an easie retreat, and save themselves from any sudden perill. It may well seeme strange, that whereas their barbarous maner of government had brought them into such danger, they were so far from seeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwise, to assure themselves of *Eleusine*, they got all of the place who could beare arms into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though under form of Justice) murdered them all. But, *Salutem tutum per scelera est iter*, the mischiefs which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of safetie, than by extending their crueltie unto all, seeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When *Thrasibulus* and his fellows, who as yet were termed conspirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thousand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to assault it; but in this enterprise *Thrasibulus* had the better, & repelled his enemies, of whom though there were slain to the number of seventy only, yet the victory seemed the greater, because *Critias*, and one other of the thirtie, perished in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the stout defence of *Piræus*, together with some exhortations used by *Thrasibulus* to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirtie were deposed. Nevertheless there were so many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirtie in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet form of government could be established. For Embassadors were sent to *Sparta*, who craving aide against *Thrasibulus* and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power sent to their assistance, both by land and sea, under the conduct of *Lysander*, & his Brother; whom *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raising an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had bin the most bitter enemies to *Athens*, refused to follow *Pausanias* in this expedition; alleging that it stood not with their oathes, to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should annexe the Territorie of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pausanias* took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings of *Lysander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in some small skirmishes against them of *Thrasibulus* his party, made a shew of war, finally wrought such means, that all things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and such others, as were like to give cause of tumults, being sent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, having withdrawn themselves to *Eleusine*, were shortly after found to attempt some innovations, whereupon the whole Citie rising against them, took their Captains, as they were coming to Paric, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the Citie returned to her former quietnesse.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus the younger.

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his brother.

THe matters of Greece standing upon such terms; that no one estate durst oppose it selfe against that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Persia*, having in his fathers life time very carefully prosecuted the war against *Athenis*, did send his messengers to *Sparta*, requesting that their love might appear no less to him, than that which he had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the *Athenians*. To this request, being generall, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a favourable answer, commanding their Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all service that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discovered himself, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the kingdom of *Persia* should have bin the recompence of his deserts; or that he perishing in battell, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the *Greeks* the waies, which under the *Macedonian* Ensigns, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withall the weaknesse of the *Persian*, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mightie kingdom, whose house was not yet come. The love which *Parysatis* the Queen-mother of *Persia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest favour of the people, and readie desires of many principall men, had moved this young Prince, in his fathers old age, to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before bin shewed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old kings favour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in *Asia* the lesse, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The nearest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the kings Deputies in the lower *Asia*, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, trechery, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, using by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that *Queen Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Parysatis* had used the best of her endeavour to that purpose, alledging that (which in former ages had bin much available to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilst his father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned king. All which not sufficing, when the most that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoining: then did this *Tissaphernes* discover his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily beleevd, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly delivered, and sent backe into his owne Province.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entrie into the War.

THe forme of government which the *Persian* Lieutenants used in their severall Provinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; usually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held only

at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, whatsoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being settled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers love, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the means which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat whilst yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than onely questionable. Hereupon hee first began to quarrell with *Tissaphernes*, and seized upon many Townes of his jurisdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truly paid by *Cyrus* the accustomed Tributes out of those places, was well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, & cowardize despised, although he durst not adventure to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Milesians* were about to give up themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preserve his reputation, and keepe the towne in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his desire. In levying Souldiers he used great policie; for he tooke not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countreies adjoining, whose lives were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Greecian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessalie*, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their severall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and ready in armes upon the sudden. *Cyrus* having sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greeks*, who very readily came over to his assistance, being thirteen thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very easily have forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be employed in the accomplishment of higher designs. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the lesse, not subject to the *Persian*, had invaded his Territories, hee raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speede marched Eastward, leaving *Tissaphernes* much amazed, who had no leisure to rejoyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus took his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

THe tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the *Queen Stratra*, against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the King in great feare was arming the high Countreies in his defence, the danger hastened upon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increased, by the repaire of his Countrymen, though most strengthened by the access of seven hundred *Greeks*, & of other four hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the *Queen of Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks*, by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a bravely fled amaine, the victuallers & baggagers forsaking their cabbins, & running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a joyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed

by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were preft to the warre againft their will and difpofitions, whereas his Armie was drawne along by meere affection and good will. Nevertheleffe he found it a very hard matter to perfwade the *Greekes* to paffe the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cilicia*, to feeke excufes, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his own great enemy, lay by the River, againft whom he requested them to affist him. By fuch devices, and exceffive promife of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where fome of the *Greekes* confidering, That who fo paffed the River firft, fhould have the moft thanks, and might fafely returne if the reft fhould refufe to follow them; they entred the Floods, whereby were all finally perfwaded to do as fome had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they refolved to feeke out *Artaxerxes*, wherefoever he was to be found. The King in the meane time having raifed an army of nine hundred thoufand men, was not fo confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thoufand men, had under-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a ftrong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to feeme impregnable, had quitted the paffage, and retired himfelfe toward the Kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who defpairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedaemonian* fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Army. I doe not finde that this cowardife of *Abrocomas*, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe, till five dayes were paff after the battaile, received either punishment, or difgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himfelfe, were all made of the fame metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermoft bounds of his Kingdom, untill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perfwaded not to abandon fo many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of ftrength, and (which in the fharpe difputation of Title to a Kingdom is moft available) would have grown fuperior in reputation. By fuch advice, the King refolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be fecure, being fully perfwaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having caft up a Trench of almoft fortie miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eightene foot deepe, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing fo fafe, as to be farre diftant from his enemies.

§. IIII.

The battaile betwene *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*.

THE Armie of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evill wayes, and fcarcitic of victuals, was much encouraged by perceiving this great feare of *Artaxerxes*; and being paff this trench, marched carelefly in great diforder, having beftowed their Armes in Carts, and upon Beasts of carriage; when on the fudden one of their Vant-cursors, brought newes of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, & had ranged their battailes in good order upon the fide of the river *Euphrates*, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they faw not till it was after-noon. But when they faw the cloud of duft raifed by the feete of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, & perceived by their neere approach how well they were marfhalled, comming on very orderly in f Silence, whereas it had bin expected, that rufhing violently with loud clamours, they fhould have fpent all their force upon the firft brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were fo unequal in diftance, being all embattailed in one body and fquare, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the middeft of his own, did not with the corner, and utmoft point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greekes* begin to diftruff their owne manhood, which was not accuftomed to make proofe of it felfe, upon fuch exceffive oddes. It was almoft incredible, that fo great an Armie fhould be fo eafily chafed. Nevertheleffe, it quickly appeared, that thefe *Persians*, having learned (contrary to their cuftome) to give charge upon their

their enemies with Silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a ftrong charge with courage. Upon the very firft offer of on-fet, made by the *Greekes*, all that beaftly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the froke, or ftaying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and fithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did fmall hurt that day, becaufe the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This bafe demeanour of his enemies gave fo much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that fuch as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainly, the Title had bin affured unto him that day, had not he fought how to declare himfelfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him void, was about to encompass the *Greekes*, and to fet upon them in the reare, he advanced with fixe hundred Horfe, and gave fo valiant a charge upon a Squadron of fixe thoufand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, faying the Captaine thereof *Artageses*, with his owne hands, and putting all the reft to flight. Hereupon his whole company of fixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chafe, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King flood in troupe, uncertaine whether to fight, or leave the field, could not containe himfelfe, but faid; *I fee the man*: and prefently with a fmall handfull of men about him ran upon his brother, whom he ftrake through the Curace, & wounded in the breaft. Having given this froke, which was his laft, he received immediatly the fatall blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart, throwne by a bafe fellow; where-with aftonied, he fell dead from his horfe, or fo hurt, that it was unpoftible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their beft for his fafetie; not caring afterwards for their owne lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Mafter was flaine. *Artaxerxes* caufed the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith ftricken off, and fhewed to his people, who now purfuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and defiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, and utterly difmaied fuch *Persian* Captaines, as were now, even in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all fpeede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greekes*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There hee met with *Tiffaphernes*, who having made way through the battaile of the *Greekes*, was ready now to joyne with his Mafter in fpoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bin fufficient to countervaille all difafters received, the exploit of *Tiffaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would have yielded little comfort. For *Tiffaphernes* had not flaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwife, when he gave upon them, they opening their battaile, drave him with great flaughter through them; in fuch wife, that he rather efaped as out of an hard paffage, than forced his way through the Squadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Mafters of the field, gave chafe to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after thefe *Greekes*, intending to fet upon them in the reare. But thefe good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head againft him; who not intending to feeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purfued unto a certaine Village, that lay under a Hill, on the top whereof hee made a ftand, rather in a bravery, than with purpofe to attempt upon thefe bold fellows any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had fecured his eftate, whom hee would feeme to have flaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone fufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that hee might now preterve well enough, fhewing a manly looke halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore hee advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle difplayed on the top of a Speare. This enfigne might have encouraged his people, had not fome of the *Greekes* efpyed it, who not meaning that he fhould abide fo neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King difcovering their approach, fled upon the fpurre; fo that none remained in the place of battaile, fave onely the *Greekes*, who had loft that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondered that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was purfuing the Army, they thought it was fittest for them,

having that day done enough, to return to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had given them no leisure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the Greekes after the fight; and how Artaxerxes in vaine sought to have made them yield unto him.

IT was now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little or nothing being left that might serve for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleepe. In the mean season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Campe, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceived that the baseness of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainly discovered to the *Greekes*: which gave him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shamefull demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not be long ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolved, to try all means, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had scene: to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there upon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greekes* being advertised that morning from *Arius*, a principall Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would joyne with him, but resolving to stay no longer: they sent answer backe to *Arius*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arius* himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Campe, whose errand seemed to the Captaines very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yeelde their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question *Phalimus* a *Gracian*, waiting upon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the King having slaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middelt whereof hee held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted strength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalimus* that having nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whilst they kept their Armes, their Valour would be serviceable; but should they yeelde them, it was to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalimus* laughed, saying; This young mandid seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if hee thought with his Armes and Valour to prevaile against the great King. It seemes that *Phalimus* being a Courtier, and employed in a businesse of importance, thought himselfe too profound a States-man, to be cheekt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisdom herein failed him. For whatsoever he himselfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an unhoneest message to his own Countreimen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercilesse *Barbarians*) this young Scholler by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprisid by treachery of the *Persians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never scene the warres before, under-tooke the conduct of the Army, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalimus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had bin to *Cyrus*, offering

their service in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have use of them. But the small answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalimus* delivered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilst they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalimus*) must I understand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise war, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace; quoth this politique Embassadour? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than hee came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feed upon their Horses, Ases, and other Beasts, which they roasted with arrowes, darts, and wooden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.

AT night they took their way towards *Arius*, to whom they came at mid-night, being forsaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they bin kindly used, it may well bee thought that some of them should have accompanied *Tissaphernes*, & served as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arius* being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke upon seeking the Kingdome for himselfe, with such assistance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutual assistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having sworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearisome march, and tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, because he would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the *Grecians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Country, should bee very fearefull: but it is almost past believe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to doe, should make the *Persians* flee out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should crave peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free access for Embassadors, to treat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the general passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battle, because the *Greeks* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the dignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

§. VII.

How Tissaphernes, under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the Greekes.

HERETO the *Greekes*, relying upon their own vertue, had rather advanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any Straights or termes of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtile Foxe *Tissaphernes*, who circumventing the Chief Commatiders by fine sleights, did mischievously entrappe them, to the extreme danger of the Army: He told them, that his Province, lying neere unto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, & their Countreimen at home, would not bee unthankfull for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse

the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not onely brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backs: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gave chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suite I have good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cause ye have borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to afford them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having sworn, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the King to take leave, and end all businesse, came unto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty dayes, which *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministered great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, which alone sufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arius*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greekes* than formerly he had bin. This caused many to advise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward, than to relye upon covenants, and sit still whilst the King layed snares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilst they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith hee saw no reason why the enemy should have clogged himselfe if hee meant mischief, having power enoughto do them harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatness and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no enforcement, or base respect, was like to have drawne it from him. But his fallhood was such, both in substance and in successe, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyer*. A lyer may finde excuse when it growes out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weaknesse. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the fallhood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own strength against the divine Justice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captaines, whom hee subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himselfe the meane to draw in all the rest. The businesse was contrived thus: Having travailed some dayes together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity, appearing betweene *Tissaphernes*, & *Arius*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to roote out of *Tissaphernes* his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of Confederacie, which had past betwene them, shewing how religiously he would keepe it; and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receive by the helpe of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their love should appeare to him not unfruitfull, if he would make use of their service against the *Myssians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infect his Province; or against the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause hee desired him, that whereas all divine and humane respects had linked them together, hee would not give place to any close accusation or suspicion, whereby might grow sudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithlesse *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministered faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore hee told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to minde how many wayes hee could have used to bring them to confusion, without perill to himselfe, especially by burning the country, through which they were to passe, whereby they might needs

needs have perished by meere famine. For which cause he said that it had bin great folly, to seeke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his owne love to them had moved him to worke their safetie, not onely for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance; but for that hee might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place; where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information sought to raise dissention betweene them. *Clearchus* himselfe being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of *Tissaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had bin to some common Faire. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a signe was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slaine. Forthwith certain bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greekes* as they met, and riding up the very Campe of the *Gracians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely wounded, informed them of all that had bin done. Hereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have assailed their Campe. Anon they might perceive the Embassadors of *Tissaphernes*, among whom were his own brother, and *Arius*, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Army, saying, that they brought a message from the King, which *Arius* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured: & finally, that the King required them to surrender their Armes, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his servant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed upon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadors, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it was well that hee was in such sort punished: but he willed them to send backe *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be advised how to answer the *Persian*. Hereunto the Embassadors knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. *Clearchus*, & the other four were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by whose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amisse to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He saw his Province wasted by the *Greekes*, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aid of men and money, he did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant unto those parts, who took it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not doe, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; & so hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flee from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let us returne to the prosperity, wherein he triumphed without great cause, having betrayed a braver man than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischief upon the whole Armie.

6. VIII.

How *Xenophon* heartened the *Greekes*, and in despite of *Tissaphernes* went off safely.

Great was the heaviness of the Souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders; and no lesse their feare of the evill hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadness of the whole Army to be such as hindered them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to advise the under-

under-officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whose familiar friend he had been, to bethinke themselves of some means, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serve for to give them hope, and above all, perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order set downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the losse of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, to hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than he had bin wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* provide slings, wherewith hee over-reached the enemy; and finding some Horses fit for service, that were employed among the carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compasse, who had bin accustomed to the point blanke. By these means so did he bear off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chase with that band of fittie Horses, which being well backt with a firm bodie of footmen, and secured with troupes of the light-armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemy to lie a-loof. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with these resolute men, did possesse the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betook himselfe to that course, which was indeede the surest, of burning the Countrey. With great sorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some advised to defend the Countrey, as granted by the enemy himselfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be ashamed to doe that which was the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsel was, that being neare unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemy to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Countrey, passing over some high mountains which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to seek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the *Carduchi*.

ENTring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountered with many difficulties of wayes, but much more afflicted by the fierce inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselves against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, were no way inferior to the *Greekes* in daring, but only in the Art of Warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers, and used the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrey were of much use against these poore travellers, afflicting them in seven dayes which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Between the Territorie of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreshed themselves one day, rejoicing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove easie. But the next morning they saw certaine troupes of Horses, that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the Kings detroupees in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite banks. To increase these dangers, the *Carduchi*, following upon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within lesse than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discover a Foord, by which the

greater

greater number of them passing over, did easily chase away the Subjects of the *Persian*, and then sending backe the most expedite men, gave succour to the Reare-ward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seem to have inhabited the Mountaines of *Niphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tygrus*, though *Proxenus* place them far more to the East upon the River of *Cyrrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the severity of a Critique. For *Proxenus*, and the whole Nation of Geographers, adde small light to this expedition: only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into *Tygrus*, not much above *Artasagarta*, springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* having passed *Centrites* did arrive.

§. X.

How *Teribazus* Governour of *Armenia*, seeking to entrap the *Greekes* with termes of fained peace, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.

THE Army finding in *Armenia* good provision, marched without any disturbance about fitty or threescore miles to the heads of the River *Tygrus*, and passing over them, travailed as farre further without resistance, till they were encountered by *Teribazus* at the River *Teleboas*, which *Xenophon* commendes as a goodly water, though small, but *Proxenus* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Countrey for the *Persian*, & was great favour with *Artaserxes*, whose Court may seem to have bin a Schoole, wherein the Art of fallshood was taught as wisdom. He desired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As soone as he had made this league, he levied an Army, and besetting the Streights of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendation of being no lesse craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the *Greekes* to make many fires, and scatter themselves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandered about seeking reliefe. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greekes*, taking this captive with them for a guide, sought him out; & coming upon his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the shout which was raised by the Vauit-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Pavilion, wherein (besides many slaves, that were Artificers of voluptuousnesse) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and passing *Euphrates*, not far below the Springs thereof, travailed with much difficulty through deepe snow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found straggling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Countrey, through which they marched, had their wintering houses under ground, wherein was found great plenty of victuals, and of cattaille, which likewise did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, & taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-slaves & taking away (besides other Horses and Cattaille) some Colts that were bred up for the great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Army to *Trabizonde*, through the Countreies bordering upon the River of *Phasis*, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phasis*, neere whereunto the people called *Phasiani Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the *Greekes*

were

were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize upon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his owne. The first upon whose Countreie the *Greekes* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who conveying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, untill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cartails were taken; the people, to avoid captivty, threw themselves head-long downe the rockes, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cartails, which served to feed them, travailing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but strokes. The *Chalybes* were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountered the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after seven dayes journey they escaped from those continuall skirmishes, wherewith they had bin vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence travailing through a good come-Countreie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoining, used them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnius* (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Moschici*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course: and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place had bin sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchos*, wherein stands the Citie of *Trabizond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostility, were requited with the like; for the Army having now good leisure to repose themselves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoile the Countreie thirty dayes together, forbearing onely the Borderers upon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabizond*, a Colony of the *Greekes*, situate in the bottom of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Army began at *Trabizond* to provide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of *Synope*, and there persecuted the same purpose.

Having now found an Haven Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, & change their tedious Land-journies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus* a *Lacedemonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promised by meanes of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would provide Vessells to imbarke them. Having thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to use them for their navigation. Left all this provision should bee found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adjoining to cleare the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give care, being desirous to returne by Sea: but the Countreie fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabizonde*: the other tooke Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessells were stayed to increase the fleet. After long aboade, when victuals began to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere unto the Campe was already quite wasted, they were faine to imbarke their sicke men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Army tooke their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greeke* Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand & sixe hundred men. From hence they passed through the Countreie of the *Mesynaci*, who were divided

* *Mesynaci* a Nation of Pontus Cappadocia.

divided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to joyne them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was *Cotiyora*, a *Greeke* Towne likewise, & a Colonie of the *Synapians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* were; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sicke men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were unwelcome to *Sinope*, whence Embassadours were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, & threatening to joyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, that meere necessity had enforced the Army to teach those of *Cotiyora* good manners in so bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deal with them & the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lend assistance. Upon this answer the Embassadours grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew, and commanding the Towne of *Cotiyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many & great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessells as might serve to imbarke every one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

* *Cotiyora* a Port-Towne in the same Region.

* *Sinope* a Port-Towne in *Leucosyria*, a Colonie of the *Mesynaci*.

§. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the Armie; and how it was imbarked.

Hitherto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme unity; which now beganne to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with private respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, & the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable worke to build a City in those parts, which were soone like to prove great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissiance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countreie, divining of his successe by the entrailles of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom he employed had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battaile in ten dayes: he therefore, having preserved his money carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversitie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, were sore afraid, lest the poverie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should give successe to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Army with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered mony to some of the Captaines, who thereupon undertooke to give the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for *Greece*. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Trachis*; another offered to lead them into *Cherronefus*. *Xenophon*, who desired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward, & hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their journey end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpose, was hereby staied from out-running his fellowes, and driven to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than flood

food with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and affraid, when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now resolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Navie whilst they were in good readinesse, to depart, but to keep the money to themselves. The Captaines therefore, who being disappointed by these townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, & signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, & saying to *Phasis*, where they might seize upon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to worke the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspicion of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherefore assembling the Companies, he gave them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redresse. A general inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadors from *Cyrus*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadors were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have bin sought, for that the *Greeks*, having now their fleet in a readinesse, did soon weigh Anchors, & set saile for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to give the Army pay as soon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great dissension and distraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by *Xenophon*.

THE nearer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their desire to make provision for themselves, that they might not returne home empty-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captaines as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedemonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who forsooke the army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatened ill successe to his government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedemonian*. It seems that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yielding to such tokens as forbade him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth whersoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cherisophus* had bin General all but fixe or seven dayes, when hee was depozed, for having bin unwilling to rob the Towne of *Heraclea*, which had sent presents to the Campe, and bin very beneficiall unto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had failed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea; one seditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get som what for themselves; telling them that all their provision would be spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other necessities could not be had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicenes*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicenes* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*,

as being General, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vain, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Left therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and lesse discretion were sent; who in such wise delivered their information, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Walls. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them *Arcadians* and *Achaens*, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, chusing new Leaders out of their owne number. Above 10 four thousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captains, failed into the Port of *Calphas*, which is in the mid-way between *Heraclea* & *Byzantium*, with purpose to assaile the *Bythinians* on the sudden. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and four hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have bin spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of *Byzantium*, to meet him at the mouth of the River *Calphas*, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to convey him over into *Greece*; for which cause he rooke his way thither by 20 Land, leaving to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of *Heraclea*, & *Thracia* *Asiatica*, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the Propont. The Mutiners who had landed at *Calphas* by night, with purpose to take spoiles in *Bythinia*, divided themselves into ten Companies, every Capitaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, five or six miles from the Sea; in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered: and so was that part of the Country surpris'd on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of 30 Rendezvous was an high piece of Ground, where some of them arrived, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and 30 defeated, only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the *Thracians* which had slip't at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Country, and finding the *Greeks* loaden with booty, took the advantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill wheron they encamped. One great advantage the *Thracians* had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retreat from these *Arcadians* & *Achaens*: who wanting the assistance of horse, & having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand merely upon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds received, the Darts & Arrows of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, & 40 enforced to crave parley. Whatsoever the Articles of composition were, the *Thracians* yielded to all; but pledges for assurance they would give none, without which the *Greeks* well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew ought of any *Grecian* Army, passing along those parts: & receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discover, & to scowre the waies; the light armed foot-men 50 tooke the hill tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoever they found combustible: whereby the whole Country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terror of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five mile of the *Arcadians*, encreasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* coming thither in 60 very good order, to have given battell, found that his device, to affright the *Thracians*, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the *Greeks* were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, & perceived by signes that they had taken the way to the Port of *Calphas*, in which journey he overtook them. They embraced him and his, with great joy: confessing that they themselves had

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thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night; wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid left he had forsaken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and joyne with him. So they arrived at the Haven of Calpas, where it was decreed, That whosoever from thenceforth made any motion to dis-joyne the Army, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon; and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasions of the War between the Lacedæmonians and the Persians.

THe Haven of Calpas lay under a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Olives. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing lest *Xenophon* should finde some device to have seized himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to live at home; neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found advantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure: so long they were enforced to abide in the place till victuals failed; neither would the Captaines lead them forth to forrage the Country, until the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the Hæracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprife he found ill successe, so the whole Country lying in wait to entrap him, and an Army of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the Satrap, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, and the assistance of these Bythinian Thracians, which troupes falling upon the Greeks that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew five hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine there by. The newes of this overthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that survived, and brought them safe to the Campe; upon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greeks to remove their Camp to a place of more strength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure travell, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the Thracians, and their assistants. In this journey his demeanour was very honourable. For having given buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discovered, lying on the tops of the hills adjoining, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough and trouble some, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; & letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarians, he would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the campe, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the uneasy returne, which might serve to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish unto the Enemy a faire and easie way, by which he might flye from them. These persuasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not suddenly be conveyed away,

to the discretion of the Greekes, who at good leasure gathered the Harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of Asia. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoyle of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony in the Port of Calpas, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. Wherefore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great booty, which they carried away unto Chrysopolis, a city near unto Chalcedon, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in Phrygia to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, lest their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visite his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the Lacedæmonian Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waite them over into Europe; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to give the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at Byzantium. So were they carried out of Asia at the intreaty of the Persian, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Rivers, that he not onely denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their lives to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to require his injurious dealings, they seized upon Byzantium, which by *Xenophons* persuasion they forbore to sacke; I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of Asia, and stirre up the Greekes to thinke upon greater enterprises, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkable action which the time afforded. For the Roman Warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italy; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedæmonians ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lacedæmonians made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already sowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countreys of Asia. For the Townes of Ionia which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the Ionians besought the Lacedæmonians to lend them aid, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their request. For a power was sent over, under conduct of *Timbro* a Spartan, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of Xenophons Army, to make Warre upon Artaxerxes.

IT seems that the Lacedæmonians did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* tooke their favour shewed unto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the Persian worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baseness of those effeminate Asiaticques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, upon termes of extreme disadvantage; then was all Greece filled with desire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt forces

forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Susa, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to Babylon; and further, finding no power that was able to give them resistance, in all that long journey of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourescore and one, a very painful march of one yeare and three monthes. Nevertheless, the civil distraction wherewith Greece was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the Theban war, which kindled with Persian gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, drew back out of Asia the power of the Lacedæmonians, to the defence of their owne Estate; leaving it questionable, whether *Agessilas* having both the same and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in Asia, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behaviour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable achievements. For how highly soever it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other wars, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countreys lying neare the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophon*'s owne journey, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retreat of *Conon* the Briton with fixe thousand men from Aquileia, to his owne Countrey, through all the breadth of Italy, and length of France, in despite of the Emperour *Thiodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agessilas* and his wars in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.

Thimbro receiving *Xenophon*'s men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to revolt from the Persian, who were many, and some of them such, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the government of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Master did love him. The manging of the warre begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a Spartan, who behaved himselfe as a good man of War, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countreys of Asia was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chiefe command in those Wars against the Greekes; *Dercyllidas*, who did beare a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischievous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corrivall thoroughly beaten, though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes*, and forthwith entred *Eolis*, which was under the jurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few dayes, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrey of *Eolis* had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a Dardanian had bin Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein he behaved himselfe so well, that he not only was beloved of the people under her government: but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certaine Townes adjoining; and sundry times gave assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars against the Mytians and Persians. For shee had in pay some Companies of Greekes, whose valour by her good usage, did her great service. But somewhat before the arrivall of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found means to fiske her, and kill her sonne of seventeen yeares old; which done, he seized upon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denyed entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not only rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foule treason threatened, whereby the wicked villaine was driven into termes of almost utter desperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One only Towne stood out foure dayes (against the

will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governour striving in vaine to have kept it to the use of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, Gergethe and Scepsis, which the Traytor held, who tearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadors to *Dercyllidas*, desiring leave to speake with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which, he issued out of Scepsis, and comming into the Camp, made offer to joine with the Greekes upon such conditions as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward Scepsis. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vaine to strive against the Army, and the Town-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who to remaining but a few houres in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerva*, & then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward Gergethe. *Midias* did not forsake his Company, but followed him, earnestly intreating that he might be suffered to retaine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized upon, as belonging to one that had beene subject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the Greekes: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas* having in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in Bythnia, to which end he tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the truce being recontinued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of Bythnia, the neck of Land joining Cherronea to the Main, was fortified, being foure or five miles in breadth; by which means eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde Thracians, and made fit and able to victual the Camp. Likewise the Citie of Atarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from Sparta, to divert the Warre into Caria, where was the seat of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not unsafe to recover all the Towns of Ionia; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearly office) being appointed to joine with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus*, having respect to the Kings service, came to assist his private enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into Caria, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these Persians were desirous to keepe the Warre from their owne dores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the Ionians from the spoile and danger of the War, by transferring it into Caria. For which cause he passed the River of *Meander*, and not looking to have beene so soon encountered, marched carelessly through the Country: when on the very sudden the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discovered, consisting of Persians, Carians, and some Mercenary Greekes, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battell. The odds was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in advantage of ground: for the Persian had a great multitude of Horse, the Greeke very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the Ionians, together with the Islanders and others, of such places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselves to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their looks, that they meant not to be more bold than wife. Only *Dercyllidas* with his Peloponnesians regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsell of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last until *Tissaphernes* might receive answer from the King, & *Dercyllidas* from

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the Greeks in Asia might enjoy their owne liberty and lawes; but contrariwise on the other side, That the Lacedæmonians should depart Asia, and leave the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the Greeks from the present danger, and to gaine time unto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to avoid the War by procrastination, which he durst not adventure to finish by tryall of a battell.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontent of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.

IN the meane season the Lacedæmonians, who found none able to withstand them in Greece, began to call the Eleans to accompt for some disgraces received by them during the late Warres, when leasure was wanting to the requitall of such petty injuries. These Eleans being Presidents of the Olympique games, had set a fine upon the City of Sparta, for Non-payment of which, they forbade them to come to the solemnity; and publicly whipt one of them that was of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindered *Agis* King of Sparta, from doing sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points used great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no business that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usuall pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of such Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than mere Vassals of the Lacedæmonians. In their late Wars with Athens, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to work very slowly: but having now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present successe to their desires. Two years together they sent an Army into the Countrey of the Eleans: the first year an Earth-quake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwayes forbid the prosecution of any enterprize in hand) caused them to retire: the second year, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily revolt, and the City it selfe was driven to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her owne Walls throwne downe. Only the Presidentship of the Olympian games was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greeks were assitant to the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Corinthians and Boeotians, whose ayd having bin of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian War, as the force of Sparta it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their unequal division following the victory; which gave to Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes and Corinth, onely security against Athens, but such a security as was worke than the danger. For when the equall greatnesse of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-wealths to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the Warre to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Nevertheless, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§ IV. The

§. IIII.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His Warre with Tissaphernes. How Tissaphernes was put to death; and the Warre diverted into another Province, through perswasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successeur. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.

Agesilaus newly made King of Sparta, was desirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected upon those of Asia; and therefore procuring a great Army to join with that of *Dyrclidas*, he took his way in great pompe to Aulis in Boeotia, a Haven lying opposite to the Iland of Eubœa; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all Greece to the war against Troy, many Ages before) had imbarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant also to doe sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Countrey, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were so unable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himselfe and his Countrey in a new Warre; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Ephesus, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberty all the Greek Townes in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making provision for the War, and getting supply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*; whilest *Agesilaus* was busie in settling the estates of his confederate cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the coming downe of these forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* received a plain message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forthwith depart out of Asia, or make good his abode by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that hee was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and sending word to all the Townes which lay betweene him and Caria, that they should provide victuals & other necessaries for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* beleve, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horse, in which part of his forces the Persian had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies off foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plains of *Maander*, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heave foot-army, not suffering them to passe into that Countrey which was fittest for their service. But the Greeks left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke a great spoile without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the Greeks, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiving by that tryall how hard it would be to prevaile, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to increase that part of his forces. By which meanes having enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted, he entred upon the Countrey of *Tissaphernes*, as soone as the season of the year would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plaine of *Maander*, without assistance of their infantry, he gave them battell, and had a great victory, taking their campe, in which he found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heavie upon *Tissaphernes*, who either upon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battell, or following some other business, was then at Sardis. For which cause his Master having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greeks, were taken out of the way, he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a Persian, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and successe him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much over-weening of his owne wisdom, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himselfe most perfect; for supposing

posing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation he should one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them wearie of *Asia*; he did not seeke to finish the war, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found such meanes whereby the danger it selfe might have beene avoided: as not loving to have warre, whilest by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* took at his first possession of the low Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agessilus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had been Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the *Greekes* enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, upon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agessilus* referred to the Council of *Sparta*; in the meane season he was content to transerre the war into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a strange maner of Warre, both on the offensive and on the defensive part. For *Agessilus* having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbear his severall Provinces, at the entreatie of the Lieutenants: and those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were subject like wife to the same Crowne of *Persia*, so long as their owne government could be preserved free from waite and danger. The cause of this disorder on the *Persian* side, I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuchs, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so usual that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Provinciaall Governour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrey, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as every one was desirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure, so no man was carefull to assist his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe & his; but sat still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not bin uneasy to recompence the spoile of one Countrey, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

§. V.

The War and Treatie betwene Agessilus and Pharnabazus.

Agessilus having thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred Phrygia, burning and wasting the Country without resistance. He tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant drave him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not twin Cities and Places of strength, which might have increased his power, and given assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him some that were discontented and stood upon bad termes with the great King; whom he lost againe as easily, by means of some sleight injury done to them by his under-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himselfe in any Towne, for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neare as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not uneasy to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of *Sparta*, in the times of their most necessity, had been so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love which had been such, that besides many other hazards of this person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driven to run a shore at *Abydus*, adven-

adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could finde any ground, and fight on horse-backe against the Athenians) together with his faith which had never beene violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him, That having War with his Master, they were enforced against their will, to offend him. *Agessilus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time only Deputy to *Ariaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against him, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, That the Armie should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilest employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agessilus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary businesse elsewhere; but because his Country would yeeld great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the Lacedaemonians changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards required their unthankfulness with full revenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Persian.

IN the meane while *Tithraustes*, perceiving that *Agessilus* meant nothing lesse than to returne into Greece, and let *Ariaxerxes* rest quietly in Asia, tooke a wife courtesie, whereby the Citie of *Sparta* was not onely driven to looke to her owne, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her owne Territory. He sent into Greece fifty talents of silver, to be employed in raising war against the Lacedaemonians; which treasure was by the subtile practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principall men of the Thebans, Argives and Corinthians, that all those Estates having formerly borne secrete hate to that of *Sparta*, were now desirous of nothing so much, as of open war. And lest this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faine and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedaemonians into Armes, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time layd claim; but the Phocians either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly mony for it. This mony the Locrians were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phocians not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recovering a great deale more than their owne; which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an invasion made upon Phocis, wasting that Country in the maner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between Thebes & *Sparta*, & the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, bin concealed. For when the Phocian Embassadors came to *Sparta*, complaining of the violence done by the Thebans, & requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, & ready consent to their suit; it being the manner of the Lacedaemonians to deferre the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, & then to discover so their indignation in cold blood. At this time they had very good opportunity to worke their owne wils, having no other war to disturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of Asia no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they sent *Lyfander* to raise all the Countries about Phocis, and with such forces as he could levie, to attend the coming of *Paulanias* King of *Sparta* (for *Sparta*, as hath bin shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. *Lyfander* did as he was appointed, & being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from Thebes. *Paulanias* likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians (who refused to assist him in that enterprize) meaning to joyn with *Lyfander*, & make a speedy end

of the war. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the *Thebans* to seeke what helpe they could abroad, for as much as their own strength was far too little to make resistance against such mightie preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwise affected in heart than they durst utter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little available, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should doe as little hurt as they could by which manner of tergiversation, the *Corinthians* did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the safest course, to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their partie strong. To this end they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompensed with friendship lately showne in their refusal of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants against the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of *Athens* to her former estate and dignitie. *Thrasibulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requittall of the courtesie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* should not only refuse to aide the *Lacedæmonians* in this Warre; but that it should assist the *Thebans*, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest *Pausanias* lay still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; *Lysander* being desirous to doe somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to *Halimtus*, where though *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was slaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victorie did encourage the *Thebans*, so the comming of *Pausanias* with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were soon revived by the strong succour which was brought from *Athens*, in consideration of which, and of the late battell, *Pausanias* durst not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie into *Tegæa*, where he ended his daies in banishment.

§. VII.

How Agesilaus was called out of Asia to help his Country. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, assisted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recovers the mastery of the Seas, and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

THIS good successe, and the confederacy made with Athens, gave such reputation to the *Thebans*, that the *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, and *Acarnanes*, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to give battell to the *Lacedæmonians* as neare as they might, to their owndores; considering that the force of *Sparta* it selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of *Sparta* perceiving the danger, sent for *Agesilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promising his friends in *Asia* to return speedily to their assistance, passed the Streights of *Hellepont* into Europe. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had given battell to the *Lacedæmonians*, & the remainder of their Associates; but with ill successe. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the *Argives* & *Thebans* returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken & defeated by the *Lacedæmonians*, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the *Lacedæmonians*, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battell meeting *Agesilaus* at *Amphipolis*, were by him sent over into *Asia*, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had since his departure seen the Spartan Fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admirall slaine. The same man, whose endeavour had brought the Athenians into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the *Lacedæmonians* with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power

power of *Athens* grew strong at Sea, when the Citie was dispoyled of her old reputation, & scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the king his Master, to have the *Greeks* divided into such factions as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not need any more to seeke peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefices, at their hands, who unpovoked, had sold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the Athenian with eight ships, who had escaped when the Fleet of *Athens* was surprized by *Lysander* at *Ægos-Potamos*; giving him the command of a great Navie, wherewith he required the losse received at *Ægos-Potamos*, by repaying the *Lacedæmonians* with the like destruction of their fleet at *Cnidus*. After this victory Conon sailed to *Athens*, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a Navie, and so much Gold as encouraged the Athenians to rebuild their Walls, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signiory which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians lose all in Asia; the Athenians recover some part of their old Dominion.

NEVERtheless, the *Lacedæmonians*, by many victories at Land, maintained for some years the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agesilaus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the *Thessalians*, who were accounted the best riders in Greece. He wasted *Bœotia*, and fought a great battell at *Coronea* against the *Thebans* and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshall *Gylis* foraged the Country of *Locris*: which done, he returned home. The gain of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the *Thebans* did in the battell of *Coronea* vanquish the *Orchomenians*, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount *Helicon*, opening way perforce when *Agesilaus* charged them in the returne from the pursuie. Likewise *Gylis* was slaine with a great part of his Army by the *Locrians*, and some other exploits by the *Lacedæmonians* performed against the *Corinthians*, were repayed with equall damage received in the parts adjoining; many Towns being easily taken, and as easily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was such, that the *Thebans* themselves were drawne by the losse of the haven of *Corinth*, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, General of the Athenian forces at *Lechæum*; whereupon the *Theban* Embassadors being sent for, and willing to doe their message, required only in scorn, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into *Corinth*. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incursions, wherein the *Achæans*, Confederates of *Sparta*, felt most losse, their whole State being endangered by the *Acarnanians*, who held with the contrary side, untill *Agesilaus* repayed these invaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought upon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the *Acarnanians*, that they were driven to sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, upon which the successe of all depended. For when the Townes of *Asia* perceived that the *Lacedæmonians* were not only intangled in an hard War at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having lost their Fleet at *Cnidus*; they soon gave eare to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should use their own lawes, if they would expell the Spartan Governours. Only the City of *Abydus* did stand firm, wherein *Doryllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Townes about *Hellepont*, in the Alliance of the *Lacedæmonians*; which he could not do, because the Athenian Fleet under *Thrasibulus*, took in *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of *Lesbos* to their acknowledgement of *Athens*.

§ IX. The

§. IX.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Lacedæmonian. Of sundry fights and other passages in the Warre. The peace of Antalcidas.

ABOUT this time the Spartans began to perceive how uneasie a thing it would be, to maintain the War against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craved peace of *Ariaxerxes*, most basely offering not only to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to leave them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Islanders and every Town in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Country would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stir against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being so broken and rent into many small pieces, could neither have disquieted the Persian, by an offensive War, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left ease for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with envie, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to returne to Athens, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weak, than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe joyned together against the Lacedæmonians, did by their severall Embassadors oppose themselves unto it, and for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the Lacedæmonians yet more, than by interposing himselfe to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his Lieutenent into the low Countries, did seek to repay the harme done by *Agesslaus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Timbro* was sent into Asia to make Warre upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the War being scattered about, all the Isles and Townes on the firme Land, grew almost to the manner of Pyrracy and Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Timbro* was slain by *Struthas*, & in his place *Diphodas* was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. *Dercylidas* was removed from his charge at Abydus, because he had not impeached *Thrasibulus* in his enterprises about Hellepont; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surpris'd & slain in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the Athenian. *Thrasibulus* departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was slain by the way at Aspendus. The City of Rhodes had long before joyned with the Lacedæmonians, who erected there (as was their manner) an Aristocratie, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens; whereas contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the Sovereignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselves, by erecting in the town of their Confederates a government like unto their own: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour Sparta, and the Commons to incline to Athens. The people of Ægina roved upon the coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Army in Ægina, and besiege their Towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, the Islanders began a-new to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships again, that returned beaten, having lost foure of thirteen. The losse of these ships was soon recompensed by a victory which *Chabrias* the Athenian Generall had in Ægina, whereupon the Islanders were faine to keep home, and leave to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well seeme strange that the Citie of Athens, having but newly raised her wals; having nor by any fortunate and important battell secured her estate from dangers by land; but only depending upon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried unto different ends, had often discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a fleet and an army to Cyprus, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the mastery of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Island lying in the eie of *Pyræus*, had ability to vex the coast of Attica. But as the over-weening of that City did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compass; so the infolency and shamelesse injustice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a desire to keep themselves far out of fight, and to seek employments at such distance

distance as might secure them from the eyes of the envious, and from publike judgments, out of which few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Countrey could well have spared: with which he returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby arose neither thanks to himselfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their owne Haven. For *Telentius*, a Lacedæmonian, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a strong hope of surprizing the Navie of Athens, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tavernes. Wherefore he sailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entering at the breake of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboard to make resistance: by which meanes he tooke many ships laden with merchandizes, many filher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or foure Gallies; having sunke or broken, and made unservicable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenent of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many officers that favoured the Lacedæmonians were placed in the lower Asia; by whose assistance the Fleet of Sparta grew victorious about Hellepont; in such wise, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giving freedom to all the Cities of Greece, and dividing the Countrey into as many severall States as were petty Boroughes in it. Thus *Ariaxerxes* having bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controversies between the Greeks, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his own good. The Tenor of *Ariaxerxes* his decree was, That all Asia and *Cyprus* should be his own; the Isles of *Ceamos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be subject to Athens; all other Greeke Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at libertie; and that whosoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it should make war, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the Lacedæmonians by revolt of their Confederates, and the necessitie of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the war, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the Thebans) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the Lacedæmonians taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compell the Argives to depart out of *Corinth* (which under pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to leave *Boeotia* free, of which Province Thebes had alwaies held the government; the Thebans themselves being also comprehended under the name of the *Boeotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw down their own Citie, and to dwell in villages: alledging that they had formerly bin accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having bin ill affected to Sparta in the late War. By these courses the Lacedæmonians did hope that all the firme Towns in Greece would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

§. X.

The war which the Lacedæmonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason; and Olynthus by famine.

WHILEST these wars, which ended without either victorie or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greece, the Citie of Olynthus in Thrace was grown so mightie, that she did not only command her neighbour Towns, but was also become terrible to places farre remote, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macedonia, together with Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the

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Olynthians;

Olynthians, who following the usuall pretence of the *Lacedamonians*, to set at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of *Acambus* and of *Apollonia* being nearest unto the danger of those intrenching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedamonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which only it wanted: wherefore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did found of compulsion, protesting that either they must warre upon *Olynthus*, or become subject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hastie levie of men, two thousand being presently sent away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilest these two thousand gave such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Army following them, surprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betraied into the hand of *Phabidas* the *Lacedamonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them; which caused the *Lacedamonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phabidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so farre over-weighted honesty, that the deed was approved, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the government of the citie; by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the *Thebans* were compelled to serve the *Lacedamonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This access of power having strengthened the *Lacedamonians*, caused them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithstanding the losse of one great battell, and some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe unto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedamonian Garrison.

AFTER this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a means to shake off their yoke, and gave both example and meanes to others to do the like. One of the banished men found by conference with a Scribe of the *Theban* Magistrates, coming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrey was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for feare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid betweene these two, that soone found very good successe, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men forooke *Athens* privily, and entered by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where spending the next day secretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and so passed undiscovered unto the house of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemne feast being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidas* promised the Governours, who were insolent and lustful men, that he would conveigh unto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheered them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that hee could not make good his promise, unless they would dismiss their followers, because the Gentlemen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loose behaviour, slew them all up on the sudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselves to come to the Governours upon businesse, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedamonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the prison, slew the Goaler, & set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was

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a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plaine truth, all the people took armes and besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide unto the Towns adjoining, whence a few broken troupes coming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their COUNTRYMEN, but procured some *Athenians* to joyn with them, and thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yielded, more through feare than any necessitie, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the successe arrived at *Sparta*, an Army was raised forth-with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bin taken from the *Lacedamonians*, and not a town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own libertie. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilsome Winters journe, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Thebes*, to infect the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*, which failing to take, he wasted the countrey adjoining, and drove away Cattell, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were so before very carefully seeking how they might possibly with-draw themselves.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battell of Leuctra, to the battell of Mantinea.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens joyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battell of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.

THE *Lacedamonians* were men of great resolution, and of much gravitie in all their proceedings; but one dishonourable rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commodity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by insufficient over-weening men, it seldom failed to bring upon them instead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and losse. And so it befell them in these enterprises of *Phabidas*, upon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* upon the Piræus. For, howsoever *Agesslaus* did spoyle the Countrey about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to looke abroad, saying to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponnesian* Warre, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Navie; afflicting so the *Lacedamonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bin very likely that the end of this warre, should have soone come to a good end, which nevertheless, being persecuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the Citie of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had bin dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themselves, whilst engaged in such a war, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affairs of

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Greece,

Greece, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the War, to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treatie of peace: which came to passe, being so wrought by the courageous wisdom of *Epaminondas*, who understood far better than his Countermen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedemonians* and *Athenians* did soon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the *Boeotians*; *Agessilas* required them to sweare in their own name, and to leave the *Boeotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the Citie of *Sparta* should give example to *Thebes* by setting the *Lacedemonians* free; for that the Signorie of *Boeotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truly spoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Agessilas* bearing a vehement hatred unto those of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of *Asia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to achieve by the *Persian* war, did now passionately urge that point of setting the *Boeotians* at libertie; & finding it as obstinately refused, he dashed the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta*, lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there slain at *Leuctra*, and so with him the flower of his Armie. This battell of *Leuctra*, being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it self, as for the death of the King, and many citizens of *Sparta*, but especially, for that after this battell (between which and the conclusion of the general peace there passed but twenty daies) the *Lacedemonians* were never able to recover the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe unto the little Region of *Boeotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading & command of many people & estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an Armie of three score and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much doe the afflictions of an hard war, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the distressed, and guide them into the way of conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxurie, retchlesseffe, and many other vices or vanities, made rustie and effeminate.

§. II.

How the *Athenians* took upon them to maintain the peace of *Greece*. New troubles hence arising. *Epaminondas* invadeth and wasteth the Territories of *Lacedemon*.

THE *Athenians* refusing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedemonians*; did nevertheless finely give them to understand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which *Agessilas* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left unperfected, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*; where the generall libertie of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified under the stile of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh garboiles. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure, did (as it were) in despite of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themselves with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondency with the *Lacedemonians*; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedemonians* durst not give impeachment to the *Mantineans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called in forraigne help. Then was an Armie sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegæa*, against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agessilas* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the

the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponnesus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their coming, abstained from giving battell to *Agessilas*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found believe if any had foretold it. Almost 600. yeares were spent, since the *Dorians*, under the posteritie of *Hercules*, had seized upon *Laconia*, in all which time the sound of an enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie. Ten yeares were not fully past, since all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region 10 which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke upon, nor the mightie forces of *Athens*, and other enemy-States had dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoake whereof the women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedemonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserve the Town, setting at libertie as many of their *Heilotas* or Slaves as were willing to beare Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians* to give them succour. From *Corinth* and some towns of *Peloponnesus* they received speedie assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battell, having re-built the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient inhabitants, whom the *Lacedemonians* many 10 ages before had chased away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The Composition betwene *Athens* and *Sparta* for command in warre against the *Thebans*; who againe invade and spoyle *Peloponnesus*. The unfortunate presumption of the *Arcadians*.

THIS journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Armie, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, 10 and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had become a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have served under the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authoritie should be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five daies, the *Lacedemonians* other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was 40 more regarded than the common profit; which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies 50 so unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, who foraged the Countrie without resistance. But as the Articles of this league betwene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and having 50 found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of bodie, in courage, or in good Souldieriship, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatness they should strengthen their owne yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For a motion of generall peace having bin made (which tooke not effect, because the Citie of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedemonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth,

were overthrowen in a great battell, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§. IV.

The great growth of the Theban Estate, Embassages of the Greeks to the Persian, with reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.

THE Thebans especially rejoyced at the Arcadians misfortune, considering, that without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proved foill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoever they tooke in hand, and were become not only victorious over the Lacedemonians, but patrons over the Theſſalonians, and moderators of the great quarrels that had risen in Macedonia; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried Philip the son of Amyntas, and father of Alexander the Great, as a hostage unto Thebes. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they sought meanes of alliance with the Persian King, to whom they sent Embassadour the great and famous Captain Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxerxes to grant unto the Thebans all that they desired; whereof two especiall points were, That *Messene* should remaine free from the Lacedemonians, and that the Athenians should forbear to send their ships of warre to Sea; only the latter of these two was somewhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of Greece did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the king having found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in Greece, did upon many weightie considerations resolve to binde the Thebans firmly unto him; justly expecting, that their greatnesse should be on that side his owne securitie. The Athenians had bene ancient enemies to his Crowne; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the Persian to the purchase of a great Estate in Greece, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (sundrie grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the Lacedemonians being followed by most of the Greeks, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by *Darius Nobus*; were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indiscretion brought them on their knees. The Lacedemonians being victorious over Athens, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conquest of Asia, from which though by the commotion raised in Greece with Persian gold, they were called backe, yet having renewed their power, and settled things in Greece, it was not unlikely, that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprife, had not they bene impeached by this Theban Warre. But the Thebans contrariwise had alwayes discovered a good affection to the Crown of Persia. They had sided with Xerxes in his invasion of Greece; with *Darius* and the Lacedemonians against Athens: And finally, having offered much contumelious Aggression when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of Sparta. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to looke abroad; whereupon if perchance they should have any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good haven townes; which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did wholly condescend unto the requests of Pelopidas, as farre forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower Asia. The ill means which the Greeks had to disturbe Artaxerxes, was very beneficiall to the Estate of Persia shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Provinces. For had then the affaires of Greece bene so composed, that any one Citie might without impeachment of the rest have transported an Armie to assist the revolting Satraps, or Vice-royes of Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, & Phoenicia; humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruine, which the divine Counsell had deferred unto the dayes of Alexander. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Provinces, wanting

ting a firme body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed, and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate Asiaticques wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forsaking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, and purchase withall his own promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a sudden storme, rashly commenced, idly followed, and foolishly layd downe, having made a great noyse without effect, and having small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reigne of Artaxerxes, from the Warre of Cyrus to the invasion of Egypt, I find nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitlesse journey against the Cadusians excepted) worthy of any mention much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could afford unto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which *Parryſtain* the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had been the greatest enemies to her sonne Cyrus, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyson and mischievous practices she had satisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth she wholly applied her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perswasion, which Princes not endued with an especiall grace, doe readily entertain: That his owne will was the supreme law of his subjects, & the rule by which all things were to be measured, and adjudged to be good or evil. In this imaginary happinesse Pelopidas, and the other Embassadors of Greece, both found & left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treaty with them, being altogether to his owne advantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicity to him & his, or (at the least) a full security of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternitie layd by mortall men in this transitory world, like the Tower of Babel, are either shaken from heaven, or made vaine and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the Thebans, & other Estates of Greece that had sent Embassadors to the Persian. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the Thebans made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all controversies that might arise, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being solemnly published at Thebes, in the presence of Embassadors, drawne thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was required for observation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatory answer was made by the Embassadors, who said, that they were sent to heare the articles, not to sweare unto them. Hereby the Thebans were driven to send unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the Corinthians had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with Artaxerxes gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own swords.

§. V.

How all Greece was divided between the Athenians and Lacedemonians on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THE condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. Athens and Sparta, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envie of the others greatnesse drawne all their followers into a cruell intestine Warre, by which the whole Countrie, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces against the Thebans, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, & Achaians, followed the party of these ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits received, or in

dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authorities they could not suddenly aspire without some injurie and much envie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike, and many victories in few years had filled with great spirits; and being so mightie in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside excepted) under such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of mere Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had beene alwayes bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre under them in valour, having beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all, which caused them to suspect and envie nothing more than the greatness and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leasure to bend her whole force against them; but firmly joyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult warre. As the *Argives* were, in harred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates & Leaders, the *Lacedemonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to send an Armie into *Peloponnesus*, before such time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*, which was very strange, and seemed no lesse to the *Athenians* themselves, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did neverthelesse accept this new Confederacie, nor relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoever these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedemonians*, they should hereby be drawn somewhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any meanes stay the coming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Isthmus*, and had beene adverse to *Thebes*, was now, by millions of this grievous warre, driven to become Neutral) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Armie, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principall men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of employing it to publike uses. In compounding the differences growne upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the money which had come into their hands, procured the Capitaine of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Countreymen, as people desirous of innovation. This was done: but the up-roare thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Capitaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to judge of their fidelitie, by the assistance which they should give him, in that war which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*, who needing not the aide of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought means to settle the affairs of their Countreie, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forth-with send to *Athens* for help, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadors to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedemonians*, who feared nothing more than the coming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best provisions, would be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had beene accustomed unto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their owne estate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yeeld to the *Arcadians*, that the

the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be given, for the time, to that Citie in whose Territorie it lay.

§. VI.

A terrible invasion of *Peloponnesus* by *Epaminondas*.

Certaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm content, and uniform care of the common safetie. For, beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Messenians* prepared with all their strength to joyn with *Epaminondas*; who having lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Armie coming from *Athens* would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon such of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which caused the *Lacedemonian* Capitaines to fortifie *Mantineia* with all diligence, and to send for *Agesslaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that finall force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good espial upon his Enemies, that had not an unknowne fellow brought hasty advertisement of his purpose to *Agesslaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantineia*, the Citie of *Sparta* had suddenly bin taken. For thither with all speed and secrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwithstanding any defence that could have bin made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Agesslaus* in all flying haste got into it with his companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedemonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a faire advantage upon *Mantineia*. It was the time of Harvest, which made it very likely, that the *Mantineans*, finding the war to be carried from their walls into another quarter, would use the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their corn, and turning out their cattell into the fields, whilst no enemy was neere that might impeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantineia*, sending his horsemen before him, to seize upon all that might be found without the Citie. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were scattered abroad in the country, far more intent upon their harvest businesse, than upon the war, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being unable to recover the Town, were in a desperate case; and the town it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemy should have taken all their provision of victuals, with so many of the people as had not over-deerly bin redeemed, by that Cities returning to societie with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* coming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantineia*, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, & people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any courageous adventure to deliver those who otherwise were given as lost. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good horfemanship had alwaies bin given to the *Thebans*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour so wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this war upon no necessity of her own, but only in desire of relieving her distressed friends, they issued forth of *Mantineia*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselves, or their horse with meat, and giving a lustie charge upon the enemy, who as bravely received them, after a long & hot fight, they remained masters of the field, giving by this victorie a safe and easie retreat to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Bavians* arrived in the place soon after this battell, whom the *Lacedemonians* and their assistants were not far behind.

§. VII.

The great battell of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

Epaminondas considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinea* having failed, the impression of terror which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soon vanish, unless by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, & leave some memorable character of his expedition; resolved to give them battell, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associates, and to leave the *Spartians* as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battell, wherein victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacrity of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his own desire; he made shew of declining the enimie, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in so great and sudden a danger, the enimie ran to Arms, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that dayes service urging them to doe as well as they might. The *Thebans* Armie consisted of thirte thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedemonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantineans* (because the war was in their Countrey) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedemonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and others of lesse account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their own battell, oppositeto the *Lacedemonians*, having by them the *Aradians*, the *Eubaeans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thessalians* with others, compounding the main battell; the *Argives* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could joyn, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yielding to the enimie either in courage or skill, were overlaid with numbers, and so beaten upon by *Thessalian* slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retreat was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselves together, and did not fall back upon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to have given them over, and withall discovering some Companies of foot, which had bin sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battell in the reare, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean season the battell of the *Athenians* had not only to doe with the *Argives*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* Squadron of Horse came up to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedemonians* and *Thebans* meet, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; so that equall courage and equall losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: unless perhaps the *Lacedemonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to prevaile, as having borne the first brunt and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeares, cannot be thought to have gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obstinate stiffnesse of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Boeotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them give one foot of ground: taking a choice companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a Squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranks, and cleave the whole battell in despite of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may justly be said to have carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Masters of

the ground whereon the battell was fought, having driven the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their owne flight, finding them behind their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremonie regardable only among the *Greeks*, and served merely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the enimie could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battell; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for trial of their abilitie and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedemonian* Squadron, and forced it to give back in disorder, was furiously charged on the sudden, by a desperate Companie of the *Spartians*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he never thelesse with a singular courage maintained the fight, using against the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received so violent a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the yron and a peece of the truncheon in his breast. Hereupon he sunk down, and was soon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his bodie,) but much more inflamed with revengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heave mischance, did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the travell of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physicians, that when the head of the Dart should be drawn out of his bodie, he must needs dye. Hearing this he called for his shield, which to have lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought unto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victorie; answer was made, that the *Boeotians* had won the field. Then said he, It is faire time for me to dye; and withall sent for *Solidus* and *Diophautes*, two principall men of War, that were both slain; which being told him, He advised the *Thebans* to make peace, whilest with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a General. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* were two faire daughters, in whom his memorie should live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrey: for he equalled all others in the severall vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Justice and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wise dome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertue; in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warlike Valiant; a Politique, a Bountifull, or an industrious, and a Provident Capaine. Neither was his private Conversation unanswerable to those high parts, which gave him praise abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular case, and of much mildnesse: a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence, Master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keepe love. To these graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had ever more bin an underling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battell of Mantinea. The voyage of Agefilaus into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and Pompey the Roman.

THis battell of *Mantinea* was the greatest that had ever beene fought in that Countrey between the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were undertaken against forraine enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all *Greece* was interested, which never had more able Souldiers, and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for victorie with greater care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding the issue being such as hath bin related, it was found best for every particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, every one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new league; which caused the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindered not the rest from proceeding to conclusion, considering that *Sparta* was now too weak to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gave some breath and refreshing to all the Countrey, so to the Cities of *Athen* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seeke after wealth by forraine employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agefilaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenarie, to serve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntarie, with such forces as he could raise, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same service. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amiramus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius*; *Nothus*, having retained the Countrey, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and forraine invasions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not onely to assure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoining, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprize might have been, had it not fallen by Domestickall rebellion, it is uncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it selfe had soon come to nothing, if *Agefilaus* had not proved a false Traitor, joyning with *Neitanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebelle with that Armie which the mony of *Tachos* had waged. This falshood *Agefilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his own Countrey, though it seeme rather, that he grudged because the King tooke upon himselfe the conduct of the Armie, using his service onely as Lievtenant, who had made full account of being appointed the General. How soever it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled unto the *Persian*, who upon his submission gave him gentle entertainment; and *Neitanebus* (who seemes to have beene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Atendis* had set up another King; to whom all, or most of the *Egyptians* yielded their obedience. But *Agefilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed so far, that he left *Neitanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good service done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of silver, with which bootie sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in Warre, free from covetousnesse, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust, and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him

him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Persia* should be overthrown, with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Estate by meere necessitie to grow war-like, and able, to the utter dishonour of *Sparta*, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnes. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemne gravitie of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, That as *Pompey* made great warres under sundry Climates and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agefilaus* had at one time or other some quarrell with every Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Asia*, and meddled in the businesse of the *Egyptians*, in which varietie he went beyond all his Predecessours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never tooke. Herein also they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrey by his owne Lordly wilfulness. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; *Thebes* resemblance was neerer than the equalitie. Indeed the freedome of *Rome* was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had informed to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire stood, the form of Government onely being changed: But the libertie of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it selfe, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Agefilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious Warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of *Sparta* was presently lost; and the freedome of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon, upon the death of *Agefilaus*, give up the ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Countrey was seized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie passages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertii.

T t t

THE



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE HISTORIE
OF THE WORLD;

Intreating of the times from the reign
of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that
Kingdome, in the race of
ANTIGONUS.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip the father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.

HHe *Greekes*, of whom we have already made large discourse, nor as yet wearied with intestine War, nor made wise by their vaine contention for superiority, doe still, as in former times, continue the invasion and vastation of each other.

Against *Xerxes*, the greatest Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their libertie, with as happy successe as ever Nation had, and with no lesse honour, than hath ever bin acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a trial and experience, more than fortunate, against those nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatsoever could be spared from their own distraction at home, they transported over the *Hellepont*, as sufficient, to entertaine and buse them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfall, and perish by the hands and harmes which they least feare; so fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip of Macedon*, of whom we are now to speake, they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fast-growing greatness of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, have served them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glorie of their *Persian* victories, wherewith they were pampered and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the *Macedonians*, because those Kings and States, which fate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas* the father of *Philip*, so much weakened them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Greeks* persuaded themselves) in any one age, likely to recover

recover their owne, much lesse to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosphie to consider, That all great alterations are frommelike, sudden, and violent; and that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once swollen, fast-running, and enraged. No, the *Greekes* did rather imploy themselves, in breaking downe those defences, which stood betweene them and this inundation, than seek to rampire and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Levell of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Orosius*: *Græciæ Civitates imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes perdidērunt*; The Cities of Greece lost their command, by striving each of them to command all.

The Kingdome of *Macedon*, so called of *Macedon*, the sonne of *Ofris*, or, as other Authors ascribe, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the East, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-west, by *Thessalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the familie of *Temenus* of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argives*; who are listed as followeth. About some fixe yeares after the translation of the *Assyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*, *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrey, the weather being raynie and tempestuous, he espied a great herd of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, halting them to their knowne place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had also by another Oracle bin directed, to follow the first troupe of beasts, that should either lead him, or flie before him; He pursued these Goats to the Gates of *Edessa*, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entered their Citie without resistance, and possesit it. Soone after this, by the overthrow of *Cisseus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the rest of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twentie yeares. *Cænus* succeeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve yeares. *Tyrinus* followed *Cænus*, and ruled eight and twentie yeares.

Perdiccas the first, the son of *Tyrinus*, governed one and fiftie yeares: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, *Sole*, *Thophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others, affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himself, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Successors, at *Æge*: assuring them, that the Kingdome should so long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is said, that because *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the posteritie of the *Temenide* failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*.

Argæus succeeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie yeares.

Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight and twentie yeares.

Europus followed *Philip*, and governed fixe and twentie yeares: in whose infancie the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victorie, they pursued the same, to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former losse, or to lose at once both their Kingdome and their King, they carried him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void of honour and compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his servants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The like is reported by *Aimanius* of *Clotarius* the son of *Fredegunda*.

Alcetas succeeded *Europus*, and ruled nine and twentie yeares.

Amyntas the first succeeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fiftie yeares; He lived at such time as *Darius* *Histaspes*, after his unprosperous returne out of *Scythia*, sent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name requied *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yielding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as you have heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, slain by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the sonne of *Amyntas*, and his Successor.

Alexander surnamed the Rich, the sonne of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and

fortie years. He did not only appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the *Persian* Embassadors, by giving *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Babares* of the blood of *Persia*, but by that match he grew to great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Asia*, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the *Persian* Armie; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas* and *Philip*.

Perdiccas the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Phloponnesian* war, and reigned in all eight and twentie years. The wars which he made were not much to remarkable: the storie of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first fixe Books. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young; and *Archelau*, who was bafe borne.

Perdiccas the third, being delivered to the custodie and care of *Archelau*, was at seven years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misadventure. But *Archelau* stayed not here: for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Uncle *Alcetas* the son of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Alcetas*, his Cousin German, and enjoyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himselfe foure and twentie years.

This *Archelau*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he fought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelau* and *Orestes*.

Archelau the second succeeded his father, and having reigned seven years, he was slain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose by *Crataeus*.

Orestes his younger sonne was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royall blood of *Macedon*, & had the same measure which *Archelau* had measured to his Pupils; for *Æropus* murdered him and usurped the Kingdome, which he held some fixe years: so the same who denied passage to *Agessilaus* King of *Sparta*, who desired after his returne from the *Asian* expedition, to passe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

This Usurper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one year, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preserved, when *Archelau* the Bastard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his uncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) foure and twentie years; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the *Thracians*; and by his brother *Argæus*; encouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years dispossessed of *Macedon*: but on the other side, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours near 40 the *Ægean* Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

Amyntas the second had by his wife *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had also by his second Wife *Gygæa*, three Sons; *Archelau*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by their brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Protomie* surnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie *Alorum*, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphecrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of money) to leave his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the *Illyrians*, who had subjected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alexand* against *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres* in *Thessalie*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*, to draw the *Thebans* to his assistance, entred into Confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Countrey, with whom hee also left *Philip* with divers other principall persons, for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in love with her Son-in-law, who had married her Daughter

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her son, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Protomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof he held *Macedon* for three years, but was soon after slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pleg; *Diod. lib. 16.* That *Amyntas* his father delivered him for hostage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet living) was first ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Perdiccas the third, after he had slain *Alorites* his bafe brother, governed *Macedon* 10 five years, and was then slain in a battel against the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Justine* affirmeth that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* *Just. lib. 17.* did.

§. II.

The beginning of Philips reigne: and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein hee found it intangled.

Philip the second, the youngest son of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, having bin instructed in all knowledge requisite unto the government of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an escape from *Thebes*, returned into *Macedon*, in the first year of the hundred and fifti Olympiad, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourscore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a son, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of war. Yet his fruitfull ambition soon over-grew his modestie, and he was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withall, the absolute rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, the necessitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, besides the incursions 30 of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did set up in opposition *Pausanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*, sons of the late Usurper *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. These heave burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightiest by mony, and by faire promises unloaded himself of so many of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thousand *Macedonians*, beside those that were wounded and taken prisoners; & that the *Pannonians* were destroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all sides & quarters of his Countrey: yet after he had practised the men of war of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the *Athenians* his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recoverie of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then pursue 40 *Argæus* the son of *Æropus*, set against him by the *Athenians*, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retreat from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battell: which *Argæus* lost, having the greatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and libertie to returne into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* 50 for that present, and for this clemencie he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*.

§. III.

The good successe which Philip had in many enterprises.

Now had *Philip* leisure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, his irreconcilable enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with

so prosperous success, as he slew *Bardilis*, King of the *Thyrians*, with seven thousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the *Thyrians* held in *Macedon*; and withall, upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*, he pierc'd that Country, and after a maine victory obtained, he enforc'd them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hastned speedily towards *Larissa*, upon the river *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, of which Town he soone made himselfe master; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made use in time following. Now al- though he resolv'd either to subdue the *Thessalians*, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of *Thrace*, lest while he invaded *Thessaly* and *Greece* towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, seated on the famous river of *Strimon*, which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*, and won it. He also recovered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*) the City of *Crenides* (sometime *Datus*) and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof *Saint Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein *Philippi* stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* affairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make fixe hundred thousand French Crownes.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the *Thracian* shores of the *Athenian* Garrisons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his fathers malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to listen unto him, he gave them the City of *Pydna* with the territory, meaning nothing lesse than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the Greekes, he tooke the faire occasion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Thessaly*, from the tyrants *Lycophron* and *Timphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Tebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and *Pheres* restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after fatten the *Thessalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his service.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian War which first drew Philip into Greece.

About this time, to wit, in the second yeare of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battell of *Maninea*, and about the eighth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concur to- wards the execution of eternall providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengefull hatred by the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*, conceived against the *Phocians*, not only teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the *Greekes* themselves, beating downe their owne defences, to give him an easie passage; and bearing themselves, to give him victory without perill, left nothing unperformed towards their owne slavery, saving the title and imposition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their victory at *Leutres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the generall Estates of *Greece*, in which at that time, they sway'd most, they caus'd both the *Lacedemonians* and *Phocians* to be condemn'd in greater summes of money than they could well beare; the one for surprizing the Castle of *Cadmea* in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of *Delphos*. The *Phocians* being resolv'd not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and encouraged by the *Lacedemonians*: and for refusal were expos'd as Sacrileggers, and accus'd to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The *Phocians* perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Capaine of their owne, cast the same dice of hazzard that *Cesar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance.

chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an ungracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolv'd to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollo's* ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worke could not befall them than already was intended; they resolv'd to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commision to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was ten thousand talents, which in those dayes serv'd them to wage a great many men; and such was their success in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battels against the *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe headlong over the Rocks.

In the meane while the Cities of *Chersonesus*, both to defend themselves against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepar'd to get them into his hands, and at the siege of *Mecheon* lost one of his eyes. It is said, That he that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof After *Philippo*; After to *Philip*: for so he was called that gave him the wound. This Citie he even'd with the soile.

Plutarch in Philip.
Strabo l. 8.

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Thessalians* engag'd in the holy war, entred *Thessalie* with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hop'd so to enterraine the *Thessalians* at home, as they should not find leasure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into *Thessalie*; but both the *Thessalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being present) were utterly overthrowne by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations lost. From *Thessalie*, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards *Boeotia*, and with the same victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Boeotians*, and took from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforc'd his Armie, returned with all speed into *Thessalie*, there to find againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountered by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation suffic'd not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie overthrown, fixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which sail'd alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein devour'd ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driven out of *Thessalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian war. The ambitious practices of Philip.

From hence *Philip* resolv'd to invade *Phocia* it selfe, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, they retrencht his passage at the Straits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrell'd with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had woo'd to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very strong, and had evermore both brav'd and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is said, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sons by *Gygaa*: but *Philip* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determin'd to rid himselfe also of the rest) the two younger held themselves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cause of the war, *Justine* affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might serve his turne, all his affections, and passions, how divers soever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and therein converted. For

For he neither forbore the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie: he esteemed no place strong where his Affe loaden with gold might enter; nor any Citie or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne Walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gave them two overthrowes ere he fate down before the Citie it selfe: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Lafthenes* from their people, and from the service of their Countrie and common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the inhabitants for slaves by the drumme. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was he advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he should make his assaults with silver speares*: Whereupon *Horace* well and truly said,

Horacum, Od. 16.

Diffidit Urbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit amulos
Reges muneribus.

By gifts the Macedon clave Gates asunder,
And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of *Greece* his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of *Spain*;) So when in the contention between the Competitors, for the Kingdome of *Thrace*, he was chosen the Arbitrator; he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie and Justice, but with a powerfull Armie, and having beaten and slain both Kings, gave sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

§. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian warre.

THE war still continued between the *Phocians* and the Associates of the holy war: the *Bæotians*, finding themselves unable to subsist without some present aid, sent unto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, & sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the war, and to waste the strength of *Greece*. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and fourescore thousand crownes: but when with these supplies they had still the worst against the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within *Bæotia* it selfe, they then besought *Philip* of *Macedon* that he would assist them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obey his Commandements in war.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to give the law to both, & so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards *Bæotia*, where being arrived, *Phallemus* who commanded the *Phocian* Armie, fearing to shooke with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into *Peloponnesus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercie of the Conqueror; and for conclusion he had the glorie of that war called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten years; and, besides the glorie, he posselt himselfe of *Orchomenus*, *Coronea*, and *Ceræa*, in the Countrie of the *Bæotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the *Phocians* into servitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabit, reserving unto himselfe the yearly tribute of three score talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the same of pietie for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the

Amphyziones,

Amphyziones which the *Phocians* had, with the superintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* sacriledge.

§. VII.

How Philip with ill successe attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

Philip, after his triumphant returne into *Macedon*, by the Lievtenant of his Armie *Parmenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the *Ilyrians* and *Dardarians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterprize against the *Perinthians* stayed his furie. *Perinthus* was a Citie of *Thrace*, seated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Sestos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great strength, and a people resolved to defend their libertie against *Philip*, where the *Athenians* encouraged and assisted them. *Philip* fate downe before it with a puissant Armie, made many faire breaches, gave many furious assaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continual assaults to wearie them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the *Persian* with mea and mony, and succoured from *Byzantium*, which stood upon the same sea-coast, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoeuer was wanting to their necessitie. But because those of *Byzantium*, by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gave them often and readie helpe, *Philip* removed the one halfe of his Armie, and besieged it, leaving fiftene thousand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could: But to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that undertake divers enterprises at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly desired into which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred three score and ten Merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his son *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was also unprosperous in that enterprize: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mæsia*, set on him in his return, wounded him, and rooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip overthrowing the Greekes in the battell of Cheronæa, was chosen Capitaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.

AMONG these Northern Nations (part of which he suppress, and part quieted) he spent some eight yeares; and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he was by his great advantage invited againe by the *Grecians* to their assistance. For the Citizens of *Amphissa* having disobeyed the decree of the *Amphyziones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aide to the *Amphissionians*, the rest were not of themselves able to constrain them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that *Philip* was not long in resolving upon this enterprize; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other dissuasion than a masting power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirtie thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, won *Plataea*, and brought into subjection all that Region.

The rest, and especially the *Athenians*, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storme would fall on themselves, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawne the *Thebans* to joyne with them) to leave the enjoying of their estates

estates and their freedom to the chance of one battell, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them deare. It is true, that he could far more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than make them such as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving passion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but he could not transforme the Macedonians into Persians, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in disgrace, and not employed: in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountr'd, although some thousand of the Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* so shining a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despite of all the Nations interjacent) into Persia, India, and Egypt; so it cut to the ground, and gave end and dare to all the Grecian glory: Yea their liberty (saith *Curcius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for ever lost.

Now this advised King (never passionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might obtaine the Sovereignty over all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General against the Persians, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go those Athenians that were taken at this battell of Cheronara, as he also forbore to attempt any thing against their Citie: but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garrison of Macedonians. And being soon after according unto the long desire which he had nourished of this Sovereignty, by the general States at Corinth, stiled the first Commander of all the Grecians, and contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and under the Commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same over the Hellespont into Asia, to begin the War. Of his enterprise against Persia, he sought the successe from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he received such another convertible riddle, as *Cræsus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discern and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so *Philip*'s ambitious desire to invade Persia, abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatened, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into Asia, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of Epirus; to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall persons of the Grecian Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents: but this was indeed the feast of his Funerall. For having refused to do justice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons; this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so soule afe, as when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater, he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived fixe and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Justine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death she boldly avowed, by the honour she did unto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

§. I X.

What good foundations of Alexanders greatnesse were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities and issue.

Now although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastered all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seenne the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection; yet hee was here.

herein happy that he lived to see his son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe bin ancie-witnesse of his resolution and singular valour in this last battell.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laid so soundly for him, with so plaine a pattern of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For, besides the recovery of Macedonia it selfe, in competition between him and the sonnes of *Alepus*, the one assisted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and besides the regaining of many places posselt by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the over-throw of *Olynthus*, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritime Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedom, and the subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his sonne, and had bred up for him so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the Warre, were no lesse worthy of Crownes, than himselfe was that was a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungratefull to so great vertue, impiously murdered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmenio* never did any thing worthy of renowne: as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this favour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satifie those that were grieved, than to suppress them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with *Aradani* and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their evil speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well spoken of: and this was shortly proved, for after *Philip* relieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence, that he was a better Phyfician for evil speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his son are remembered by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Cassiodorus* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Erwinus*, his wife sayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held Macedonia in his owne right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heir thereof; for *Amyntas*, the son of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philip* base son *Arideus*, her Uncle by the Mothers side: both which *Olympias*, *Philip*'s first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Arideus* by extreme torments: *Eurydice* she strangled.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the Molossians (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of Epirus, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death slaine at Sardis, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Andata*, an Illyrian, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before. By *Nicasipolis*, the Sister of *Jason*, Tyrant of *Phæris*, he had *Theffalonica*, whom *Cassander* after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterward by her father-in-law *Antigonus* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a daughter called *Eurota*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers breast.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue. He had also two Concubines, *Arfnoe*, whom after he had gotten with childe, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie* King of Egypt, called the Sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine, a pub-

a publike Dancer, he had *Aridaus*, of whom we shall have much occasion to speake hereafter.



CHAP. II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great.

§. I.

A briefer rehearsal of Alexanders doings, before he invaded Asia.



Alexander, afterward called the Great, succeeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and enriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reign over the *Macedonians* foure hundred and seventeen years after *Rome* was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of *Philip* his father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympus* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the most magnificent of the world) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three severall victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and foreshewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppressed, began to consult about the recovery of their former libertie, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexanders* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected feverie increased courage in those, who could better resolve to die, than to live slavishly. But *Alexander* gave no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tombe, and the celebration of his Funerals; he first fastened unto him his own nation, by freeing them from all exactions & bodily slavery, other than their service in his Wars; and used such Kingly austeritie towards those that condemned his young years, and such clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselves of the crueltie of his disposition, as all affections being passed at home, he made a present journee into *Peloponnesus*, and so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-Generall against the *Persians*, upon which war *Philip* had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his Armie, to recover some places on Asia-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the *Persian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts & imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind arising, for he receiveth advertisement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedemonians*, had united themselves against him, and, by assistance from the *Persian*, hoped for the recovery of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of *Persia*: the devile he used was more subtil than profitable; for hee caused it to be bruited that *Alexander* was slaine in a battaile against the *Triballes*, and brought into the assembly a companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, that himselfe was present, and wounded in the battaile. There is indeed a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a daies defined by falsehood and knaverie) that devised rumors and lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are sometimes mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarms in the Wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the successe as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that finde themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, doe at other times neglect their duties; when they are upon true reports, and

in occasions perillous, summoned to assemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Vencers of such trumpery, and for them, feare upon necessary occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour unlooked for, and losse of time, was not only very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly & famous *Grecians*, of whose assistance he thought himselfe assured, his present undertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to strive against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which he purpoeeth to recover: and it no lesse becommeth the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

Heretofore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himselfe, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. Hereupon all flagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moved, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadors to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resolving; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Grecians*. Wise men are not easily drawn from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolved to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Gets*, *Agrians*, and other salvage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not onely other of his Predecessours, but even *Philip* his Father: withall which, after divers overthrowes given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithstanding this good successe, hee could not yet finde the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the *Greekes* had enjoyed it over-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hastneth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirty thousand foot, all old souldiers, & three thousand horse, before the City, & gave the Inhabitants some daies to resolve, being even heart-sicke with the desire of passing into Asia. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw blood of the *Grecians*, by whom he hoped to serve himselfe elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phenix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailing, they are charged at the back by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of foure hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terror of the other *Grecian* Cities.

Many arguments were used by *Cleandus* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbear the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to beleve that they were rather misse-led by giving hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his successeur. He also brought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea that his Ancestour *Hercules* was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour hee bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timocles*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him ravished, he threatened to take her life unless she would confesse her treasure: she led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to looke into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and flod him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had received into their city so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped

escaped and fled unto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second revolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines; wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had not this fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Gracians* betooke themselves to the service of the *Persian*, whom after a few dayes he invaded.

§. II.

How Alexander passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the River of Granicus.

When all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellepont*, and being ready to disimbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waite in their own Territorie, or to burne, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the future to possess. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neere unto *Troy*, where he offered a solemne sacrifice upon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, hee put to death without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, nor sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present & future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soon after withered, & rooted up; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himselfe, as having stiled him his servant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himselfe King of Kings, & the Kinsman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence: that they should sinke his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike unto *Aethiopia*, or some other unhealthfull part of *Africa*.

In this sort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together and brought in one heape into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that took more care how to embroider with gold and silver their upper garments, as if they attended the invasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and Steele against the sharpe pikes, swords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I say, besides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled every of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and jewels of *Persia*, both which they needed; so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to constrain them in assembling themselves for his service; but their owne feares and cowardise, which in time of danger had most power over them,

they onely then obeyed, when their rebellion against so servile a passion did justly and violently require it. For, saith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prallum capit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires*. As the well-practised Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one feares it: for we must understand, that in fight it more avails to have beene accustomed unto the like, than only to have rud- strength. What manner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that write his story, that is was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondered at. For at the River of *Granicus*, which severeth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Persians* sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and scale from the Level of the water. Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it seemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twenty thousand *Persian* foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kill'd in the backe, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horsemen, or after *Plutarch*, two thousand and five hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at so small a rare, as with the losse of foure and thirty of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountered two of the *Persian* Commanders, *Spiriadates* and *Rhasaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how often it then resemble truth, that such resistance having beene made, yet of *Alexanders* Army there fell but twelve Foot-men, and two and twenty Horsemen?

§. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.

The winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terrour upon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all invasions, where the Nations invaded have once beene beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will soone have perswaded themselves, that such an enemy upon equall termes and even ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therefore *Machiavells* counsell, That he which resolveth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One passage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country bee distracted; and yet lightly some one place will bee found that is defended every weakly. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, where shall we find that ever they kept out an invader? Yet are they such as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travaile over them; but they give no security to those that lye behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The townes of *Lombardy* perswaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the French King from descending into the Duchy of *Milan*: but whilst these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in those Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arrival. What shall wee say of those Mountaines, which locke up whole Regions in such sort, as they leave but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Silicia*, and those of *Thermopyla*, have seldome beene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldome (if ever) have they beene attempted in vaine? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of *Thermopyla*;

Thermopylae; *Cyrus* the younger, & after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how strongly soever they had bin locked and barred, yet were those Countreys open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-side. The defence of Rivers how hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all histories that beare good witness. The deepest have many Forodes; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boates, in case he be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. Hee that hath men enow to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enow to beate his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come over, to his losse, than by striving in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainly, if a River were sufficient defence against an Army, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is divided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had bene safe enough against the *Romans*, invading it under conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the foords. Whereby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like provision by Sea, that surely believing nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the *Brittaines* were men stout enough, the *Persians* were very dauntless.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the River of *Gramick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by some safer meanes. For, having beaten them upon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leaving no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such unable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magnesians*, which were rendred unto him. The inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrey, hee received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their owne lawes. For he observed it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus nullis clementia summa*; It is commodious unto such as lay the foundations of a new Sovereignty, so have the same of being mercifull. He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, & by force mastered *Halicarnassus*, which because it resisted obstinately, hee razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had bene cast out of all that she held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her selfe unto him, and adopted him her son and successour; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, & obtained all the Sea coasts, and subjecting unto him *Pisidia*, he directed himselfe towards *Darius* (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Province of *Asia* the lesse, bordering upon the Sea, his first victory layed under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and settling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new Captaine in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenus* seated on the River *Alexander*, which was abandoned unto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after forty dayes was given up: for so long time he gave them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenus* he past on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a city called *Gordium*, the Regall seat, in former times, of King *Midus*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undoe, he cut it asunder with his sword. For there was an ancient propheticke did promise to him that could untie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the propheticke, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the east, he tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Leibos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captaineis, giving them such order as he thought to be most convenient for that service; and delivering unto them fifty Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyle gotten, he sent threecore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Attica*. From *Celenus* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguiri*, standing on the same River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there hee mustered his Army, and

then entred *Paphlagonia*, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedom of tribute: where he left *Cains* Governor with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, which heartned him greatly to passe on towards him; for of this only Capaine he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfulls of men against multitudes of equall bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearfull passions of his owne followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits have bin stirred up in sundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Universall*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have bin undertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not have discovered the River of *Indus*: as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountered by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desert places, and the meer length of tedious journeyes could make, were like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, discover as brave a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact pattern of an able Commander, must looke upon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountering worthy Captaineis, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldome live to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardie & well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile Nations, compounding the body of a grosse unweildie Empire. Wherefore these *Purus Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring so seldome, that I can find no instance of both in one, save onely that brave *Roman, Caesar*.

Having thus farre digressed, it is now time that we returne unto our Easterne Conqueror; who is travailing hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile; upon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well advised himselfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaineis in the Warres, as he doth of the spoiles, shall never be long followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weak in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and silver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defensible; and withall, as *Curtius* noeth, hee began overlate to prise and put in execution the Counsell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres advised him to waste all the provisions for Men and Horses, that could not be lodged in strong places, & alwayes to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an invading Army is best broken, by delays, change

of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more often on the cold ground. These and the like sudden alterations bring many diseases upon all nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and sleepe, &c., refusing to give or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have saved his owne life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest encouragements given by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and last fatal battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of *Persia* at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded *Greece* & fought abroad, in being beaten, lost only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greekes*, & fighting at home, by being beaten, lost his Kingdom. *Pericles* though the *Lacedamonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athenes*, yet could not be drawne to hazard a battaile: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because wee read Histories to informe our understanding by the examples therein found, wee will give some instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their owne Countries, to charge an invading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brink of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave *Casur* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaine he adventured to fight at *Pharsalia*, he lost the battaile, lost the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conquest of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsells which promise surety in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of *France* made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by waisting the Countrie, & forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of *Alva* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the boisterous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrary to the advice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Countrie, and could not be perswaded to linger the time, and stay their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. *Philip of Valois* set upon King *Edward* at *Chesvie*; and King *John* (when the *English* were well-neere tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have beene waited to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great fury, neere *Poitiers*, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fifth of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; & though the *English* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to forbear blowes, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *English* could never get his inheritance by smooke; and it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to say of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice. The course which *Memnon* had proposed, must in all appearance of reason have brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more shamefull to return, or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* & *Paphlagonia* bin wasted whilest *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arfenes*, Governor of that Province, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage: or if the place could not have bin maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leisure have bin so thoroughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have beene broken, by seeking out miseries by painfull travaile.

But *Arfenes* leaving a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to waste & spoile the Countrie; or rather, as may seeme, to finde himselfe some worke, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from *Alexander*. Hee should rather have adventured his person in custody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would have beene conveyed into strong Townes. So should his Army, if it were driven

driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himselfe with his horse-men have had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cause to wish for *Alexanders* coming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arfenes* made all haste to joyne himselfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and to thinke that surely their Generall, who gave as lost the Countrie behind their backs, had exposed themselves unto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing else but to dull the *Macedonian* swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they saw that *Arfenes* himselfe could well forebear) they speedily followed the foot-steps of their Generall, gleaming after his Harvest. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had beene alienated from the *Persian* side by their indiscretion.

§. IIII.

Of the unwarlike Army levied by *Darius* against *Alexander*. The unadvised courses which *Darius* took in this expedition. He is vanquished at *Issus*; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made prisoners: Of some things following the battaile of *Issus*.

IN the meane season *Darius* approached; who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Justin* musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; *Plutarch* at fixe hundred thousand.

The manner of his coming on, as *Curtius* describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to set out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own safety, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and sumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire, which the *Persians* worshipped, attended by their *Priests*, and after them three hundred and threescore and five young-men, answering the number of the dayes of the yeare, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawne with white Horses, with their Riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the *Summe*: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garnished with silver and gold; & then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelve severall Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others language; and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them: in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Persians* called immortall, because if any died, the number was presently supplied: & these were armed with chaines of gold, & their coats with the same metall imbroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearle; bautes, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withall, or to perswade them that it were great incivility to cutt and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said: *Sumptuosus indus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in praelio oporteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur*; Let no man thinke that he exceedeth in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the *Roman* *Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought against the *Sannites* in that farall battaile, wherein they all sware either to prevail or dy, thirty thousand of them having apparellled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aside all feare: *Non enim cristas vulnera facere, & per pila atque arata scuta transire Romanum pilum*; For these plumed crests would wound nobody, and the *Romane* pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shelds.

To second this Court-like company, fifteene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparellled like Women (belike to breed the more terror) & these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinmen. Then came *Darius* himselfe,

himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cur in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serve, but they served their turnes of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin, portable and currant coyne. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged-Eagle of the same metall: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sat, had a covering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with silver, and their heads gilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* blood, for feare of marring their beauty. Hee had for the proper Guard of his owne person, two hundred of the blood Royall; blood too Royall and precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more service) and these were backt with thirty thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led four hundred spare horses for the King, which if he had meant to have used, he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by *Sisgambis* the Kings Mother, and by his wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-backe, with fifteene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses and Eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled. By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bin *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troope was far fitter to behold those sports than to bee present at battailes. Betweene these and a company of slight-armed slaves, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this fort came the *May-game*. King into the field, incumbered with a most unnecessary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of divers Nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to bee marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could nor but have encouraged the nakedst Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimity, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatsoever else hath bin wont to move and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches. The rich ships are boarded upon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly invaded. Our *English* nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royalls of plate, and Pilliolets; which, had they bin put to it upon the like disadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Country, they would have turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had bin brought without reason to the Butchery and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwayes adventurous, so plenty is wont to shunne perill, and men that have well to live, do rather studie how to live well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il y a rien a gagner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Sooth-saiers, he would have satisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and never have looked into the intralles of Beasts for successe. For leaving the description of this second battell (which is indeed no-where well described, neither for the confusion & hasty running away of the *Asians* could it be) we have enough by the slaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe us what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threecore thousand *Persian* footmen were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as *Curius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, forty thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred & fourscore of all sorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleeve, that this small number rather died with the over-travaille & paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate & the basest of the World) had had any

any favour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers; they would never have sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honour beene valued by them at nothing, and a banished *Gracian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrey, whom in passing by they would devoure, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they intended to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse squashed with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little account of the delicate *Persians*, loving their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and worse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of treasure to do it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Gracians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miserable successe like to follow.

But this discourse was so displeasing to *Darius* (who had bin accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truths) as he commanded that this poore *Gracian* should bee presently slaine: who while he was a funding in the Tormentors hand, used this speech to the King, That *Alexander*, against whom he had given this good counsell, should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon *Darius* for despising his advice.

It was the saying of a Wife man: *Desperata ejus Principis salus est, cujus aures ita formate sunt, ut altera quæ utilita, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat; Tunc Princes sœcietis in a desperate case, whose eares judge all that is profitable to be too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is unpleasant.*

For liberty in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; *Libertas consilii est ejus vita, & essentia, quæ crepta consilium evanescit.*

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the *Gracian* Souldiers that served him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men bin able to have opposed the fury of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Gracians*, under their Capitaine *Amyntus*, held firme, & marched away in order, in despite of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what brave retraits have bin made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served, hath bin broken.

At the battaile of *Ravenna*, where the Imperials were beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken & undismayed; whom when *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victory not entire by their escape, hee was over-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminenti mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soever it be, not standing in consider of the danger, which the mischance hanging over their heads, may bring:* and as truly of those that know the warres but by heare-say; *Quid valentes sunt & prevalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeed comes, they get them gone.*

These *Gracians* also that made the retreat, advised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plaine of *Metopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, hee might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battailes, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marshalled & conducted. But this counsell was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inviron the *Gracians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work alwayes by

by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give nor discern of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a streightned piece of ground, neere unto the City of *Iffus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the advice of *Parmenio* staid there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrowne, his Treasures lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Gracians* his followers had perswaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, to their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* mastered his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Drissibulus* the Historian, that he embraced the wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also *Darius* Treasures (not lost at *Iffus*) was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullion* five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chiefe Capraines, (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phenicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yielded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritime Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lievtenant in *Asia* the lesse, overthrowne the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, & others lately revolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, & in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten, foure thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retreat at the last battaile, forsaking both the party of *Darius* & of *Alexander*, & led by *Amintas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdomes.

Alexander to honour *Ephesius*, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdom of *Zidon*. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royall blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could beare his prosperity with the same moderation, & quiennesse of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompany, and could not governe his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranfome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornfull answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leafe; the one a resolved, well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdaind the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

§. V.

How Alexander besieged and won the Citie of Tyre.

Alexander coming neere to the City of *Tyre*, received from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankfully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice

sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was defended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adjoining, now abandoned and desolate. To bee short, *Alexander* resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, hee filled the passage of the Sea betwene the Iland and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea upon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torne asunder; yet with the helpe of his Navie which arrived (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, & of the great losse of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first fury, to bee hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and referred for slaves (saith *Diodore*) thirtene thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that served *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by shipping unto their owne Citie.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the City, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprize & a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled up the channell, that lay between the Iland and the Maine.

The government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lievtenant under *Parmenio*; *Ephesus* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How Darius offered conditions of peace to Alexander. Alexander wins Gaza; and deals graciously with the Jewes.

In the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the losse of the last battaile to the streightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him by threatening to encompass him in the plaine Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to passe the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other fearefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enow of that nature to present unto another. All the Kingdomes betwene the River of *Alis*, and the *Hellefont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had possessed him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, & that he having passed the Sea it selfe, disdaind to thinke of resistance in transporting himselfe over Rivers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, hee would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and coming before *Gaza*, *Geis* a faithfull servant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, & defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, so at the siege wherof *Alexander* received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a stone. Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was forc't to send for a new supply unto *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, & to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, & taken *Betis*, (whom *Josephus* calleth *Babemisi*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assaultants, he bored holes through his feet, and caused him to be drawne about the street, whilst he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himselfe, disdaind to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And

And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles* , who did the like to *Hector* ? It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes somewhat to cover her deformity.

Lib. 11. cap. ult.

From *Gaſa* (saith *Josephus*) he led his Army towards *Jerusalem* , a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well knowne unto him while he lay before *Tyre* ; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Jaddus* the high Priest, being subject and sworn to *Darius* , had refused him. The *Jewes* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to resist, committed the care of their estates and familie to *Jaddus* , who, being taught by God, assured out of the City covered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich ornaments, & the people in white garments, in a manner so unusuall, stately and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Josephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophetic of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Josephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon* , when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia* , he saw in his sleepe such a person as *Jaddus* , and so appalled, professing one and the same God; by whom he was encouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phenicians* , (who hoped to have sacked and destroyed *Jerusalem*) he gave the *Jewes* all, and more than they desired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their owne lawes, and to exercise and enjoy their owne Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander winnes Egypt: and makes a journie to the Temple of Hammon.

From *Jerusalem* *Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt* , and entered it, where *Darius* his Lievtenant, *Aspac* , received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis* , with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see that the King of *Persia* , who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valiantest man he had but the command of one City, and to the vilest toward the government of all *Egypt* . When he had set things in order in *Egypt* , he began to travaile after God-head, towards *Jupiter Hammon* ; so foolish had prosperity made him. He was to passe over the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous shewre of raine fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme despair. All men that know *Egypt* , and have written thereof, affirme, That it never raines there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, & he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast deserts, that a flight of Crows flew before the army; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Army was cast backe, guided them over those pathlesse sands to *Jupiters* Temple.

Arrian. lib. 3.

Arrianus from the report of *Ptolomy* , the sonne of *Lagus* , saies, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be a-like true. But many of those wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that have writtne the storie of *Alexander* ; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battell of *Issus* ; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnassus* , fore-shewing the treason of *Aeropus* , practised by *Darius* to have slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrians* made their defensive engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of blood; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaſa* , out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West *Indies* have many such pretty

pretty tales; telling how they have been assisted in battell by the presence of our Lady, & by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly beleieve. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battell at *Novara* , all the Dogs which followed the French Army, ran from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulci* and *Tremouille* , Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these imperiall Switzers utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius* , for he bounds it to by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, between whom & the Territory of *Hammon* , the Region *Thebais* , or the superiour *Egypt* , with the Mountains of *Lybia* , & the River of *Nilus* , are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called *Naffamones* , who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoyle of shipwrack: whereas the temple or grove of this Idoll hath no Sea neare it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of *Lybia* ; these *Naffamones* being due West from it, in the South part of *Marmarica* .

Ptol. Af. Tab. 3.

When *Alexander* came neare the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiters* son. And so he was flattered (as some think) defective in the Greek tongue; For whereas he meant to say *O padium* , he said *O paidios* ; that is, *O Son of Jupiter* , in stead of *O deare Son* : for which Grammaticall error he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spread, that the great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Persius* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle, The one when he was employed against *Gorgon* , The other against *Anteus* and *Busiris* ; and seeing these men had derived themselves from the gods, why might not hee? By this it seems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himselfe one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beleife of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle; that it should be pleasing to *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bosse carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams head, I see that many wise men have troubled themselves to finde out; but as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius* , or *Liber Pater* (who lived saith *S. Augustine* , in *Moses* time) *Ea que de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripserunt, non sunt nimium curiosè percellenda; We must not over-curiously search into the fables which the Ancients have written of their gods.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospel beganne to be preached in the World, the Diwell in this and all other Idols became speechlesse. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar* , and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witness.

There is found neare his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third African Table sets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wels of like nature, and because it is reported by *S. Augustine* , by *Diodore* , *Herodotus* , *Pliny* , *Metastolus* , *Arrianus* , *Curtius* , and others; and indeed our Barmes in England are much warmer in the night than in the day.

§. VIII.

How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very unskillfully by the Enemy.

From the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis* , where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Pthammon* , who, belike understanding that he affected the title of *Jupiters* Son, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in general; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children save good men.

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Ang. Poll. 1.

Curt. 4.

He gave the charge of the severall Provinces of Egypt to severall Governours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Romane Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the government of Egypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of Alexandria upon the Westermost branch of Nilus. And having now settled (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the kingdome of the lesser Asia, Phœnicia and Syria, (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards Euphrates, which passage though the same was committed to *Maçus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a river for the swiftnesse thereof called by the Persians, The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it selfe tels us, might *Darius* easily have repelled the invading Macedonian: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved not, but lay in the bottome, were so round & well polished by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the river, otherwise than by joyning their hands, and entercealing their armes together, making one weighty and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable help, the Channell was so deep towards the Eastern shore, where *Darius* should have made head, as the foot-men were enforc't to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts over their heads to keepe them from being moistned, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of *Homer*,

*Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.*

The mindes of men are ever so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of misgovernment have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortall diseases: So had the Empire of Persia at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Fever, and thereby become franticke and without understanding, foreshewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eastern shores of Tigris, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place; where *Maçus* (who had charge to defend the Passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with uneven forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forsooke the advantage which no valour of his enemies, could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seene, that fearfull and cowardly men do ever follow those wayes and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true that he set all provisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might serve themselves over Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse, when unseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in fight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This *Maçus* might have done some dayes before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of Horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their foot out of fight and far behind.

§. IX.

The new provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the battell of Arbela.

Darius, upon *Alexanders* first returne out of Egypt, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Arians, Scythians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather served to make up the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrians* had

numbered them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse four hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius*, who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foot, & near fifty thousand horse, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing hee had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or four hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those fair plains of Assyria, to have overcome the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a rule in the Philosophy of the War;

In omni praelio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent præferre victoriam; In every battell skill and practice do more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.

While *Alexander* gave rest to his army after the passage over Tigris, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for a certain preface of their overthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* his father, and would needs be called the son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish; For he not only enforc't them to make war against Worlds of enemies, but against Rivers, Mountaines, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, & to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moone was a certain preface of good successe; for, that it was naturall they never imparted to the common people, but reserved the knowledge to themselves, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small foole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious observation *Caesar* made good use, when he fought against *Arivissus* & the Germans: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainly lose the battell, *Caesar* forc't them to abide it, though they durst not give it; wherein having their minds already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romans, the whole Army in effect perished.

These Egyptians gave no other reason than this, That the Grecians were under the aspect of the Sun, the persians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obscured. This judgement of the Egyptian Priests being noyed through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though devised since, was well observed then: *Exercitum terrori plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captaine lead his Army to the fight, when it is possessed with master of terror.*

It is truly observed by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we finde it in all stories, and often in our owne, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreames, and prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neare the Persian Army, certaine letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the Grecians, perswading them for great summes of money, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the advice of *Parmenio* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppressed with sorrow, and wearied with travell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who upon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* kingly respect towards her, from the day after being taken, he desired the immortal Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once againe before the last tryall by battell offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up and resigne all Asia the lesse, & with Egypt, all those kingdoms between the Phœnician sea, & the River of Euphrates; That he would pay him for the ranfome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, 30.

thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his sonne *Ochus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had, *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be removed, advised with his Councell, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between Euphrates and Hellespont was a faire addition to Macedon; that the retaining of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, & the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of ablage to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatening of others than himselfe: who to assure themselves of what they had usurped upon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so far into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his owne flattery, and of extreme cruelty. *Ycas*, as *Seneca* hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Persian Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoever he had bestowed upon the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne natural clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their Master; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius* to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithfull) resolve in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and overt force, but as a Traytor by secret and base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his owne, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over Euphrates, which he had already past, he would then beleve that he offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the War which he had made, all those kingdoms as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battell which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into Asia to give, & not to receive; That the heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The battell of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

WITH this answer the Embassadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, & sends *Maeneus* to defend a passage, which he never dared yet so much as to hazard. *Alexander* consults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not move terror in the Macedonians being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steale the victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe that made good *Alexander*'s resolution, though the counsell given by *Parmenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci necessarii cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam sentire*. Notwithstanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers and trenches himselfe upon a ground of advantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surprise had stood with his Army in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gave his men rest and store of food; for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam famem intrinsecus magis*

magis pugnat, quam ferrum externus; Souldiers do the better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than Steele without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, & seven thousand horse; these belike were of the European Army: for he had besides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out of those Regions. Heuled but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battells upon the River of Granick and in Cilicia, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus augeat, & adversariis ansari*; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from those that have been beaten.

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battell, fought at Gaugamela; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometimes to the Persians, sometime to the Macedonians; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexander*'s Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune her selfe was long unresolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retreat. But in conclusion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead Macedonians, in all this terrible daies work, saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number slaine; of the Persians there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*) thirty thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if we belevee *Diodorus*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battells, the Persians upon the first charge ran away, and that the Macedonians pursued? For if of those foure or five hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had cast but a dart or a stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as sixe or seven hundred men in three notorious battells. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of Euphrates, & had armed but fifty or three score thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades, (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for *Alexander* to have past that River so easily, much lesse the river of Tigris. But as a man whose Empire God in his providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so far into the bowels of his Kingdome, as all hope and possibility of escape by retreat being taken from the Macedonians, they had presented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constrain his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that invaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the battell of Arbela, The yeilding of Babylon and Susa.

DARIUS after the rout of his Army recovered Arbela the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retreat into Media, perswading them that the Macedonians, greedy of spoyle and riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Susa, and other Cities filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, should rather have sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so neare the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leisure; but being overcome, he knew it impossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himselfe, at the overthrow he had in Cilicia, cast the Crowne from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Et praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi*; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.

From Arbela Alexander tooke his way towards Babylon, where Mazæus, in whom Darius had most confidence, rendered himselfe, his Children and the Citie. Also the Captain of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt frankincense upon Altars of silver as Alexander passed by, and delivered unto him whatsoever was committed to his trust. The Magi (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Captain in great solemnitie to entertaine their new King: after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Between these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, Alexander caused his Macedonian foot-men to march. When he entered the Castle, he admired the glorie thereof, and the abundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fiftie thousand talents of silver uncoyned. The Citie it selfe I have elsewhere described, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a Wall of fourescore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-borne with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princesses might walke privately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie foure and thirtie dayes, consuming that time in banquetting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softened the minds of the Macedonians, not acquainted till now with the like delicacies, as the severe discipline of war, which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painefull travell, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order Alexander brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certaine selected Judges to have deserved best in the late war. For before this time the Macedonian companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall Monluc) that the title and charge of a Capitaine hath bin bestowed on every *Pique-Bœuf* or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captaines of foot had a thousand Souldiers under one Ensigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of Francis the first, the title was honorable, and the kings were lesse charged, and far better served. K. Henry the eighth of England never gave the commandment of any of his good ships, but to men of knowne valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While Alexander was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe; for Antipater sent him sixe thousand foot and five hundred horse out of Macedonia; of Thracians three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; and out of Greece four thousand and foure hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of Babylon, could hardly be brought againe, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure; To change from soft beds to hard boards.*

He left the Castle and Citie of Babylon, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his owne Captains, to wit, Agathon, Minetus, and Appollidorus; to supply all wants, a thousand talents: but to grace Mazæus, who rendered the Citie unto him, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over all, and tooke with him Bagistines that gave up the Castle, and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left Babylon, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on towards Susiana Persia, the same which Ptolomy, Herodotus, and Elianus call *Memnonia*, situate on the river *Euleus*, a Citie sometime governed by Daniel the Prophet. Abulites also, Governour of this famous Citie, gave it up to the Conqueror, with fiftie thousand talents of silver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of Darius. In this sort did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kings treasures. And herein was Alexander well advised, that whatsoever titles he gave to the Persians, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if Darius (as yet living) had beaten the Macedonians but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of Persia would have returned unto their naturall Lord. Those that are Treasurers

Diodor. speaks
of more than
forty thousand
talents in bullion,
and of nine
millions of
gold, subdividing
Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis,
jama exopt.

to their owne Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Fortresse of weight, by the rendering whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the French had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of Spaine, was trusted with *Fonterabe*, in the yeare 1523.

While Alexander spoiled Arbela, Mazæus might have furnished the King from Babylon; and while he stayed foure and thirtie dayes at Babylon, Abulites might have holpen him from Susa: & while he feasted there, Tiridates from Persepolis might have relieved him; for the great masse of Treasure was layd up in that City. But who hath sought out and so friendly fearedfull adversity? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, doe in all changes of fortune only consult the conservation of their owne greatnesse.

The government of Susa, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own Macedonians, making Abulites, who rendered it unto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done Mazæus and others, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldies in Garrison to assure the place; and Darius mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is said that Charles the first, having promised Charles of Bourbon the government of Marfeilles, if he could have forc't it, and whereof he made sure accompt, told some of his nearest Counsellors, that he meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise, because hee should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Matter) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

§. XII.

How Alexander came to Persepolis and burnt it.

FROM Susa Alexander leadeth his Army toward Persepolis, and when he sought to passe those Mountaines which sunder Susiana and Persia, he was soundly beaten by Ariobarzanes, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pyle Persidis*, or *Suseide*; and after the losse of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forc't to save himselfe by retreat, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a Lycian, living in that Country, discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly in view of Ariobarzanes, who being enforc't to fight, upon even ground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon he fled to Persepolis; but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the Macedonians, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King Francis the first, in the year 1515, finde a way over the Alpes, the Switzers underraking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not saved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill payd for their hard lodging on those Hills.

Foure thousand Greeks, saith Curtius (Justinus numbers them but at eight hundred) having bin taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselves to Alexander now in sight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, eares, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their Country-men, but by their voyces; so each of these Alexander gave three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of Darius his false-hearted Grantes, hearing of Alexanders approach, made him know that Persepolis was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoyle the Kings treasure. This City was abandoned by many other Inhabitants upon Alexanders arrivall, and they that stayed followed the worst counsell: for all was left to the liberty of the souldiers, to spoyle and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the ballance with Persepolis, would have weighed it downe. Babylon indeed, and Susa, were very rich; but in Persepolis lay the bulke and main store of the Persians. For after the spoyle that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and silver, and other Jewels; there remained to Alexander himselfe one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand Macedonians

Macedonians in Perſepolis, which he had done in Suſa, & gave the ſame formall honour to the traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Alcalites*; but he that had the truſt of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thouſand horſe and certain troupes of choſen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time thoſe parts of Perſia, which the Snow had covered; a fruitleſſe and fooliſh enterpriſe, but as *Senecca* ſaies: *Non ille ire vult, fed non poſſe ſtare: He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to ſtand ſtill.* It is ſaid and ſpoken in his praife, That when his Souldiers cryed out againſt him, becauſe they could not endure the extreme froſt, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the ſnow, that *Alexander* forſooke his horſe, and led them the way. To But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to ſhew how well himſelfe can endure it? His walking on ſoote did no otherwiſe take off their wearineſſe that followed him, than his ſometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirſt, that could leſſe endure it. For mine owne little judgement, I ſhall rather commend that Captain that makes carefull proviſion for thoſe that follow him, & that ſeeks wiſely to prevent extreme neceſſity, than thoſe wiſeleſſe arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæſar* made, or the beſt of the Roman Commanders, that the proviſion of victuals was their firſt care. For it was a true ſaying of *Coligny*, Admirall of France; *That who ſo will ſhate that beaſt (meaning War) muſt begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to Perſepolis, where thoſe Hiſtorians that were moſt amorous of his virtues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquiſhed, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he ſmothered in carowing cups all the reputation of his actions paſt, and that by defending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greateſt King, into the company and familiarity of baſe Harlots, he began to be deſpiſed both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perſwaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he cauſed the moſt ſumptuous and goodly Caſtle and Cite of Perſepolis to be conſumed with fire, notwithſtanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a diſhonour to deſtroy thoſe things by the perſwaſions of others, which by his proper verue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a moſt ſtrong perſwaſion to the Aſians, to think hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts: for they might well believe that he which demoliſhed the goodlieſt Ornaments they had, meant nothing leſſe than (after ſuch vaſtation) to hold their poſſeſſion. *Per vinolentiam crudelitas ſequitur; Cruelti doth commonly follow drunkenneſſe.* For it ſo fell out ſoone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

§. XIII.

The Treafon of Beſſus againſt Darius. Darius his death.

About this time he received a new ſupply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde *Darius* in Media. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and laſt Army, which he meant to have increaſed in Baſtria, had he not heard of *Alexander* coming on, with whom (truſting to ſuch companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thouſand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calls together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds unto them his reſolution, who being deſperate of good ſucceſſe, uſed ſilence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his clefeſt men of Warre, who had ſometime lived with *Philip* of Macedon, brake the yce, and proceſſing that he could never be beaten by any adverſity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firme confidence, that all the reſt were of the ſame condition (whereof they likewiſe aſſured *Darius* by the like profeſſation) he approved the Kings reſolution. Two only, and thoſe the greateſt, to wit, *Naburxanes* and *Beſſus*, whereof the latter was governour of Baſtria, had conſpired againſt their Maſter; and therefore adviſed the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to purſue it by ſome ſuch perſon for the preſent, againſt whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburxanes* uſed, and

and in concluſion adviſed the election of his fellow Traitor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that the warres ended, the Empire ſhould againe be reſtored to *Darius*. The King ſwollen with diſdain, preſt towards *Naburxanes* to have ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the Baſtrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburxanes* with-drew himſelfe, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull ſervant, perſwaded him to be adviſed and ſerve the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leaſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yeelded unto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thouſand Greeks, which had in all the former battels ſerved *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retreat in ſpight of the Macedonians, offered himſelfe to guard his perſon, proteſting againſt the Treafon of *Beſſus*; but it was not his deſtiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the Warre gave him faithfull counſell, but hee enclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the Greeks, with *Patron* their Captaine, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diviſion of his faithfull ſervants. *Beſſus* had drawne unto him thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the lovers of the World and themſelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, ſafety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with paſſion, as thinking himſelfe unable to make head againſt theſe ungratefull and unnaturall Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull ſervant to depart from him, and to provide for himſelfe. In like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his Eunuches; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Perſians being moſt baſe cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the Baſtrians, notwithſtanding that they had foure thouſand Greeks to joyne with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelfe, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like and King-like, to have dyed in the head of thoſe foure thouſand Greeks, which offered him the diſpoſition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himſelfe on the ground, and ſuffering himſelfe to be bound like a ſlave by thoſe ambitious Monſters that laid hand on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcovered; & to adde deſpight and deriſion to his adverſity, they faſtned him with Chaines of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinarie Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Naburxanes* perſwaded themſelves to redeeme their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a priſoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themſelves kings by his ſlaughter, and then to defend themſelves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was againſt the nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange villanie, yea, though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards Baſtria, and durſt not abide his coming, haſtened after him with a violent ſpeed, and becauſe he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horſe-back certain ſeleſted companies of them, & beſt armed, & with fix thouſand other horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treafon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſooke him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Heere upon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being diſcovered by *Beſſus* his Reare, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelfe. But the unfortunate King reſuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor Servants that attended his perſon. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the reſt to the mercie of the Macedonian ſwords.

Polyſtratus

Macedonia is in Persepolis, which he had done in Susa, & gave the same formall honour to the traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse and certain troupes of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had covered; a fruitlesse and foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest flere: He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to stand still.* It is said and reported in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his horse, and led them the way. ¹⁰ But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himselfe can endure it? His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drieke did quench their thirst, that could lesse endure it. For mine owne little judgement, I shall rather commend that Captain that makes carefull provision for those that follow him, & that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those wildeffe arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the Roman Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admirall of France; *That who so will finish his death (meaning War) must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carousing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, to the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle and Citie of Persepolis to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* ²⁰ the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the Asians, to thinke hardly of him, and thereby alien their hearts: for they might well beleieve that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possi-
Sen. Epist. 4. *Per violentiam crudelitas sequitur: Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkennesse: For it so fell out soone after, and often, in Alexander.*

6. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius his death.

ABout this time he received a new supply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde *Darius* in Media. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in Bactria, had he not heard of *Alexander* coming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbered at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore calst together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds unto them his resolution, who being deperate of good successe, used silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime lived with *Philip* of Macedonia, brake the yce, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburxanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was governour of Bactria, had conspired against their Master; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburxanes* used, and

and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdain, prest towards *Naburxanes* to have slain him, but *Bessus* and the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburxanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull servant, perswaded him to be advised and serve the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yeelded unto. *Bessus* makes his submission, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thousand Greeks, which ¹⁰ had in all the former bartels served *Darius* with great fidelity, and always made the retreat in spite of the Macedonians, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the Warre gave him faithfull counsell, but hee enclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the Greeks, with *Patron* their Captaine, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the division of his faithfull servants. *Bessus* had drawne unto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

²⁰ Now the day following *Darius* plainly discovered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himselfe unable to make head against these ungrateful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull servant to depart from him, and to provide for himselfe. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all save a few of his Eunuches; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Persians being most base cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the Bactrians, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand Greeks to joyne with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man follows. It had been far more Man-like and King-like, to have dyed in the head of those ³⁰ foure thousand Greeks, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a slave by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefites bestowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his present adversity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungrateful hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; & to adde despight and derision to his adversity, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold, and so drew him ⁴⁰ on among their ordinarie Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburxanes* perswaded themselves to redeem their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselves kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon to strange villanie, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards Bactria, and durst not abide his coming, hastened after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-back certain selected companies of them, & best armed, & with six thousand other horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forooke him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by *Bessus* his Reare, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himselfe. But the unfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and slew two poor Servants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercie of the Macedonian swords.

Polystratus

Polystratus a Macedonian, being by pursuie of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to move, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne blood: And by a Persian captive which followed this *Polystratus*, he understood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he caſt not out his last sorrowes unheard, but that by this Macedonian, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no lesse unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his own honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after wear Crownes. He also having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, & Children, desiring the immortal gods to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, where-with to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§. X IV.

How Alexander pursued Bessus, and tooke into his grace Darius his Captaines.

IT was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their travels were neare an end, every man preparing for his returne. Hercof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength, was, that *Bessus*, a most cruell traytor to his Master *Darius*, having at his devotion the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should return) make himselfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In conclusion he wan their consents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certain Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with fixe thousand horse in Parthenia, he enters not without some opposition into Hyrcania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. He passeth the river of Zioberris, which taking beginning in Parthia, dissolves it selfe in the Caspian Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound Parthia & Hyrcania, where hiding it selfe under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riseth again, & followeth its former course. In Zadracarta or Zeudracarta, the same Citie which *Ptolomy* writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselves to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approved and constant faith to his master *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand & five hundred Greekes, the remainder of all those that had served *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themselves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the Lacedæmonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having slaine himselfe. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joynd with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§. X V.

Of Thalestris Queen of the Amazons; where by way of digression, it is shewed, that such Amazons have been and are.

HERE it is said that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queene of the Amazons, came to visite him, and her suit was, (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made with child by him: which done (refusing to follow him into India) she returned into her owne Country.

Plutarch

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himselfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to *Lyfismachus* (then King of Thrace) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laugh't at by the King for inserting such newes of the Amazons; and *Lyfismachus* himselfe had never heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, tooke upon him to write his acts; which to amplify, he told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the river of Indus; saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we beleeve & know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we give credit unto writers making mention of such Amazons, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether orno there were any such kind of people. *Julius Solinus* seares them in the North parts of Asia the lesse. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one on the River Thermoodon, the other neare the Caspian Sea; *Lucas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas* appehant; Which the people call *Sauromatidas*. The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*), who hath commented upon *Mela* *illas proximos Amazonibus fuisse*; It is certaine that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazons. *Ptolomy* sets them farther into the Land North-wards, neare the Mountains Hippici, not far from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in Asia it selfe toward India, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us. Where they governed a people called the Pandæans, or Padæans, so called after *Pandæa* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derive themselves. *Claudian* affirms, That they commanded many Nations: For he speakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

*Medis levibusque Sabæis
Imperat hic Sexus: Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbari a pars magna jacet.*

*Claudianus
Pergineus.*

Over the Medes, and light Sabæans reignes
This female sexe: and under aimes of Queen,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of Thermoodon, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, neare Heraculum.

Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom he tells us that the Scythians call *Aorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into Asia the lesse, sackt Ephesus, & burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manetho*, & *Aven-tinus* report, which they performed forty years after Troy was taken. At the siege of Troy it selfe we read of *Penthesilea*, That she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

Athenæus 1. 13.

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of Thermoodon, speaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, & of their overthrow.

Plutarch in the life of *Theseus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiope* Queen of the Amazons by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theseus*, though some affirme, That *Theseus* himselfe got her by stealth, when he came to visit him aboard his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all confessing, That such Amazons there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speaks of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to ayde the Albanians against the Romans, by whom after the battell, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he saith farther, That these women entertain the Gelæ and Lelæges once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

But

Hill. Ind. part. 1.
c. 28.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the year 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed fixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the *Indies*; That he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by *Ulrichus Schmidel*, that in the year 1542. when he sailed up the Rivers of *Paragua* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that country, called *Scherever*, inhabiting under the Tropique of *Capricorne*, who gave his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breasts, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany them for one month. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in Africa, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperours, all the East Indian *Portugals* know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justifie mine owne relation of these *Amazons*, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (since the *Spanish* discoveries called *Amazons*) that 10 these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxurie: and how he further pursued Bessus.

NOW as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Persopolis*: so at this time his prosperitie had so much over-wrought his vertue, as he accounted clemencie to be but basenesse, and the temperance which he had used all his life time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becoming the instructers of his youth, than the condition and state of so mightie a King as the World could not equal. For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him, he wore the robes and garments of the *Persians*, and commanded that his Nobilitie should doe the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtisians, and Sodomitall Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested manners of the *Persians*, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicitie, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soever it were, could not be but 40 fearful unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearfull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyrannie he vaunted to have delivered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and nearest unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornfull discourse; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of so many travels, more impoverished in their vertues, than enriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions so reserved, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose judgments he was most jealous, and 50 making it knowne to the Armie, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all alreadie gotten, might not with themselves (so farre engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his owne, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved 60 most

most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painefull travailes, and with their blood, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, whom he had established in his former government over the *Arrians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he fought him out; but the *Rebell*, hearing of his coming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong winde, won the passage over an high & unaccessable Rocke, which was defended against him with thirteene 10 thousand foot. For the extremity of the Flame & smoake forced them from the place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civill warre of *France*, certaine Caves in *Langudoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let down by an yron chaine, & a waighy stone in the middist, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendered themselves, with their plate, money, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three years before my arrival in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrey-people, who did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding 20 their flying from the smoake, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *John Borlomeus* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by having the grasse fired behinde him; but the smoake being timefully discovered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of sixteene of his men. I remember these things, but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countries, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne down the grasse and fedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy than a handfull of straw set on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conspiracie against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

ALEXANDER was, after he parted hence, no where rested, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of *Satibarzanes*, but in the end hee received the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred foot, and neere five hundred Horse, out of 30 *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described. For having (as all his Historians tell us) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*, from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, upon the *Caspian-Sea*, and thence over the Mountaine *Coronus* unto *Aria*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessary, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, were about to draw *Nichomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecy, when he heard so foule a matter uttered; began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have slaine 40 him for security of his owne life. So, constrained by feare, he made shew as if hee had bin won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke, whose names *Dimnus* to countenance the enterprize, reckoned up to *Nichomachus*. *Nichomachus* had no sooner freed himselfe from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole History: whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least 50 suspicion) should goe to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole businesse, desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised

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to do, but did not. Two dayes passed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himselfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Ceballinus* to address himselfe to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Amorie, who forth-wich brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betwene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealment of the treason, argued his hand to have bin in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, hee asked the T raitor no other question than this: *Wherein have I so offended thee, that thou shouldst thinke Philotas more worthy to be King than I? Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himselfe, that he lived no longer, than to give his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, & charged with the suspition, which his silence might justly breede. His answer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nicomachus*, he judging it to bee but frivolous, did forbear to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, untill he might have better information. This error of his, (if it were only an error) although *Alexander*, for the notorious services of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned & given him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he againe swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Judges. *Currius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How he perswaded himselfe, that he could never finde a better occasion to oppress his private enemy, than by pretending piety, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

See how these great men cloathe their private hate,
In these faire colours of the publike good,
And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And, arm'd with power and Princes jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,
That no one action shall seeme innocent:
Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made
As accessories unto ends unjust:
And even the service of the State must lade
The needfull ft undertaking with distrust;
So that base vilenesse, idle Luxurie,
Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had resolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in which he was apprehended, hee called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him, he cryed out upon the King in these words: O *Alexander*, the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were urged against him by *Alexander* himselfe (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) & this was not the least (nor the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieve for those that should live under such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in dispyght. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Theefe; where he heard himselfe, and his absent Father, the greatest Captaine of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, *Hellor* and *Nicanor* having bene lost in the present Warre. He was so greatly oppress'd with griefe,

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as for a while he could utter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he fanke under chofe that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdain'd the language of his owne Country, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his mercilesse enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so sharply invighed against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For not his enemies onely were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contending among themselves, which of them should exceede in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus* desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming unwilling to adventure himselfe with meane and base Companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amintas*, & some others; but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have encouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeece, as *Philotas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any such practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforced by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldom able to beare her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not alwayes deservring it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the extremity of resistlesse and unnaturall torments, deviled by his proffert enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephesion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would have slaine him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and blood, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their eares, that were fare more mercilesse than death it selfe.

Or this kinde of judicial proceeding S. *Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur: & cum quaeritur utrum sit nocens, cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas penas: non quia illud commississe detegitur, sed quia non commississe nescitur? what shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilest yet it is in question whether he be guilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie: not because he is knowne to have committed the offence, but because others doe not know that he hath not committed it?*

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment; the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Hemolau*, who after ward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in blood, the greatest motive of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Crudelitas est minime humanum malum est, indignum amitti animo; serina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjectio homine, in silvestre animal transire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so milde a spirit: It is even a bestly rage to delight in blood and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.*

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Currius* makes a doubt, whether the confession that *Philotas* made were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeece; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truly, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now, while the Kings hands were yet wet in blood, he commanded that *Lysicles*, sonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had bene three yeares in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were dismiss'd. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had served

with great fidelity as wel *Philip of Macedon* the Kings Father, as himself; *Parmenio*, that first opened the way into *Asia*; that had deprest *Artaban* the Kings enemy; that had alwayes, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no lesse prudent in counsell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloved of the men of War, and, to say the truth, he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Sonne, though not upon the King, (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten years) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had possest themselves of his affection, it was resolved that he should be dispatched. *Polydamus* was employed in this business, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, slew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, miliriae domique clari viri; Multa sine Rege prosperè, Rex sine illo nihil magna rei gesserat; This was the end of Parmenio* (saith *Curtius*) who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.

Lib. 7.

6. XVIII.

How Alexander subdued the *Bactrians*, *Sogdians*, and other people. How *Bessus* was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the *Scythians*.

WHen these things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Arasians* or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (sometime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governour, then he subdued the *Arachosians*, & left *Menanto* command over them. Here the Army, sometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, consisting of twelve thousand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he past through some cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foot of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, & peopled it with seven thousand of his old *Macedons*, worne with age & with travailes of the war. The *Arians*, who since he left them were revolted, he subdued againe by the industrie and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he resolves to finde out the new King *Bessus* in *Bactria*. *Bessus*, hearing of his coming, prepares to passe over the great River of *Oxus* which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governor of *Bactria* abandoned by *Bessus*. The *Macedonian* Army suffereth for want of Water, inasmuch as when they came to the River of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinatly, than *Alexander* had lost in any one battaile against the *Persians*. And it may well be; For (as *Chrysides* did after object unto him) he fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons, but their shadowes. Hee found on the banks of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forc't to sew together the Hides that covered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe over his Army; which *Bessus* might easily have distrust, if hee had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army as far off. He had formerly complained against *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other passages, and yet now, when this traitorous slave had stiled himself a King, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a slave. And therefore those that were neereest unto him, & whom he most trusted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own safety, and by the memory of *Bessus* his Treason and cruelty against *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his necke like a mastiffe Dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to his enemy.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arrived at a certaine Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of *Greece*; whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Country-language. These most cruelly after they had received him with great joy) he put to the sword, & destroyed their City. At this place he received *Bessus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the rest that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxartes*, *Darius* his brother, to be tortured.

But

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assailed his Campe; in repelling whom he received a shot in the legge, the arrow head sticking in the flesh, so as he was carried in a Horse-litter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foot.

Soone after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Peronidinus* takes to be *Samarachand*, the regall City of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compasse threescore & ten furlongs (*Curtius* saith.) Here he received the Embassadors of the *Scythians* (called *Avians*) who offered to serve him.

The *Bactrians* are shortly again with the *Sogdians* stirred to Rebellion, by the same *Spitamenes* & *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the traitor *Bessus*. Many Cities were revoltedly defended against him, all which, after victory, he defaced & razed, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the necke, which stricke him to the ground, and much disabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, against whom he employed *Menedemus* with three thousand foote and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults *Alexander* marched on (if we may beleeve *Curtius* and others) till he came to the river of *Tanais*; upon whose banke he built another *Alexandria*, threescore furlongs in compasse, which he beautified with houses within seventeen dayes after the wals built. The building of this City is said to have bin occasion of a war between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpose to keepe him under. I doe not well understand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in such terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeite sicknesse for very feare, should nevertheless make suite for peace: neither finde I the reason why *Alexander* (not intending the conquest of those Northerne desarts, but only the defence of his owne banke) should refuse to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory described; in pursuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly mistaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs betweene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* past over, while *Menedemus* was employed in the recovery of *Samarachand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*, is neere two thousand miles distant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, & the way desart and unknowne. So that *Alexander* had (besides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga* & many others to swim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Army that followed him, if he had imployed all the time that he lived in *Asia* in that travaile.

Wherefore it is enough to beleeve, that the *Asiaticke Scythians*, making some offer to disturbe the erection of this new City, which was like to give some hinderance to their excursions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defensive Armes, easily chased some ten or twelve miles; which is the substance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journey; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that wast Country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other businesse than to set up a monument.

Threescore of the *Macedons* are said to have bin slaine, and one thousand one hundred hurt in this fight; which might easily be in passing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeede it is hardly possible to set down the numbers of such as perish in battell: yet *Cæsar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath bene so inquisitive into the greatnesse of their own successe, that writers have bene able to deliver such particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawfull to set down what we finde; especially when it serves to give light to the businesse in hand. The small number which the *Macedonians* lost; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usuall in *Curtius*, who forbears nothing that may set out the greatnes of *Alexander*) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulsion of a few roving *Tartars* (the like being yearly performed by the *Moscovites*; without

Bbbb 3

any

any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himself of those *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill newes that *Menedemus* was slain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and layes waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repaire this losse he received a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lydia*, & *Syria*; with all which, & the old Army, he returns towards the South, and passeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof he built fixe Townes neere each other for mutuall succour. But he findes a new start-up-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers, that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had fought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred young men, & promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could finde way to creepe up to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirty of their men, & then made a signe to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being shewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yeelded simply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kinred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily have beene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarke*, joyning to *Garnsey*, & of that government, was in *Queen Marius* time surpris'd by the *French*, and could never have beene recovered againe by strong hand, having cattell and corne enough upon the place to feed so many men as will serve to defend it, and being every way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the Great *Turke*. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this fort regained. He anchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard; whereto (with condition that they should not come a-shore with any weapon, no nor so much as with a Knife) the *French men* yeelded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carcase, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* received them at their landing; and searching every of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rockes with great difficulty; some part of the *French* tooke the *Flemish* Boat & rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, & what else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set upon the *French*; they run to the Cliffe and cry to their Company aboard the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth sometimes helpe well to picce out the Lyons-skin, that else would be too short.

§. XIX.

How *Alexander* slew his owne friends.

After these *Sogdian* & *Scythian* Warres, we reade of *Alexanders* killing of a *Lycian*, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Macedonia*, and the Country about it, to *Chrys*, and how he slew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, & derided the Oracle of *Hammon*:

for

for therein he toucht him to the quicke, the same being delivered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. *Chrys*, indeed, had deserved as much at the Kings hands, as any man a living had done, & had in particular saved his life, which the King well remembered when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yet to say the truth, *Chrys* his insolvency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgot whom he offended, so the King in his (for neither of them were themselves) forgot whom hee went about to slay, for the griefe whereof he tare his owne face, and forrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would have slain himselfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceeding mischiefs are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas viria, sed protrahit; Drunkenness both kindles & layes open every vice; it removes out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto badde attempts; where wine gets the mastery, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkenness indeed rather discovers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, & had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, & his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* also seized upon his fellow-conspirator *Dataphernes*, & delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie-Rebels, disposed of the Provinces which he past over, & went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Traine. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, & destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who submitted himselfe unto him, feasted him greedily, & presented him with thirty beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* did disdain, yet none of them durst use any freedom of speech after *Chrys* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs bee honoured as a god: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, he employed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleus* whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the assembly, he told *Cleus*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdain the gift of God-head from his Vassalls; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and upon drinke (for this matter was propounded by *Cleus* at a carousing feast): but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie to be revenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death; not for that he had betrayed the King to others: but because he never would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one *Hermolam* & others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne asunder upon the racke: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est Alexandri crimen aeternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla belorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia: opponitur, & Calisthenem: Quoties dictum erit, Occidit Darium: opponitur, & Calisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenuis viciit, ipsum quoque tenuit novis claustris, & Imperium ex angulo Thraciae usque ad Orientis terminos protulit, dicitur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transferat, ex his quae fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus Calisthenes; This is the eternal crime of Alexander, which no vertue nor felicity of his in warre shall ever be able to redeeme. For as often as any man shall say, he slew many thousand Persians, it shall by replied, He did so, & he slew Calisthenes: when it shall be said, He slew Darius, it shall be replied, and Calisthenes; when it shall be said, He won all as farre as the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unsuccessfull Navies, & extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace to the utmost bounds of the Orient: It shall be said withall, But he killed Calisthenes. Let him have out-gone all the ancient examples*

examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his aſſes make ſo much to his glory, as Cal-
liſtences to his reproach.

§. XX.

Of Alexanders journey into India. The battaile betweene him and Porus.

With the Army before remembred, of one hundred & twenty thouſand foot
& horſe, Alexander did enter the borders of India, where ſuch of the Prin-
ces, as ſubmitted themſelves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the reſt he
conſtrained; killing Man, Woman, and Child, where they reſiſted. He then came before ¹⁰
Niſa built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred unto him. From thence he re-
moved to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits
and Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feaſts for ten dayes together. Now
when he had drunke his fill, he went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*,
Countries ſpoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reaſon whereof, victualls fail-
ling, he divides his Army: *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himſelfe the reſt.
They take many Townes, whereof that of greateſt fame was *Mazage*, which had in it
three hundred thouſand men; but after ſome reſiſtance: it was yeilded unto him by *Cle-
ophe* the Queene, to whom againe he reſtored it; at the ſiege of this City he received a
wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyſperchon*, and a Rocke of great ¹⁰
ſtrength by himſelfe: hee wanne alſo a paſſage upon one *Eryx*, who was ſlaine by his
companie, & his head preſented to Alexander. This is the ſumme of Alexanders doings
in thoſe parts, before ſuch time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*,
he found there *Epheſion*, who (being ſent before) had prepared boates for the transpor-
tation of his Army, & ere Alexanders arrivall, had perſwaded *Omphis* King of that part
of the Country, to ſubmit himſelfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, ſoone upon
Alexanders comming, *Omphis* preſented himſelfe with all the ſtrength of his Country,
& fixe & fiftie Elephants, unto him; offering him his ſervice and aſſiſtance. He made A-
lexander know, that he was an Enemy to the next two great Kings of that part of India,
named *Abiaſares* and *Porus*; wherewith Alexander was not a little pleaſed, hoping ¹⁰
this diſ-union to make his owne victory by farre the more eaſie. He preſented Alexander
with a Crowne of gold, ſo did he the reſt of his Commanders, & withall foureſcore
talents of ſilver coyne; which Alexander not only reſuſed, but to ſhew that he was co-
vetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thouſand talents of his owne treaſure,
beſides other *Persian* rarities. *Abiaſares*, having heard that Alexander had received his
enemy *Omphis* into his protection, reſolved to make his owne peace alſo: For, knowing
that his own ſtrength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other diffe-
rence betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gave, hee thought it an ill
match when Alexander, who had already beaten under foote all the greateſt Princes of
Aſia, ſhould make himſelfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had Alexander none ⁴⁰
now to ſtand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he ſent a commandement, that he ſhould
attend him at the border of his Kingdom, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* he
received this manly answer. That he would ſatiſfie him in his firſt demand, which was
to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknow-
ledgement he was reſolved to take counſell of his Sword. To be ſhort, Alexander reſo-
lves to paſſe over the River *Hydaſpes*, and to finde *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* at-
tends him on the farther bank with thirty thouſand foot, foureſcore & ten Elephants,
and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troope of Horſe. If *Darius* had done the
like on *Tigris*, Alexander had ſurely ſtaied ſomewhat longer ere he had ſeene India. The
River was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and ſwift.
It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well ſhadowed with wood, and
of good capacity. Alexander ſent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army,
ſhrowding the reſt from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawne from his
firſt incamping, ſets himſelfe down oppoſite to *Ptolomy*, ſuppoſing that the whole Ar-
my of *Macedon* meant to force their paſſage there. In the meane while Alexander recovers
the farther ſhore without reſiſtance. He orders his troopes and advanceth towards
Porus, who at firſt rather beleeves, that *Abiaſares* his Confederate (but now the Confe-
derate of fortune) had bin come over *Hydaſpes* to his aide, than that Alexander had paſt it.
But

But he findes it otherwiſe, and ſends his Brother *Hages* with foure thouſand horſe, and a
hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and
two to guide it; but they were at this time of little uſe for there had fallen ſo much raine,
and thereby the fields were ſo moiſtned, as the horſes could hardly trot. The *Scythians*
& *Dahans* had the Vant-guard, who ſo galled theſe *Indians*, as they brake their raines,
& other furniture, overturning the waggons, & thoſe in them. *Perdiccas* alſo gave up the
Indian horſe-men, & the one and the other were forc't to recoile. *Porus* moves forward
with groſſe of his Army, that thoſe of his Vant-guard ſcattered might recover his Reare,
Alexander being followed with *Epheſion*, *Ptolomy*, & *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge
10 the Indian horſe-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenon* or *Cenon* to invade the right;
Antigonus & *Leonatus*, he directed to breake upon *Porus* his battaile of foot, ſtrengthened
with Elephants, *Porus* himſelfe being carried upon one of them, of the greateſt ſta-
ture. By theſe beaſts the *Macedonian* foote were moſt offended; but the Archers & Dar-
ters, being well guarded with the long & ſtrong pikes of the *Macedonians*, ſo galled them,
as being enraged, they turned head, and ranne over the foot that followed them: In the
end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the cou-
rage and ſkillfulneſſe of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victory fell to Alexander, who
alſo farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for beſides the *Macedonians* and other Eaſterne &
Northerne Nations, *Porus* was aſſailed by his owne Confederate and Countrey people.
20 Yet for his owne perſon he never gave ground otherwiſe than with his ſword towards
his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he
became a priſoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he received his eſtate with a
great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander finiſhed his expedition, and returned out of India.

IForbear to trouble my ſelf and others with a frivolous diſcourſe of Serpents, Apes,
& Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in theſe their travailes: or of thoſe pettie
30 Warres which Alexander made betweene the overthrow of *Porus*, and his failing
downe the River of *Indus*. The deſcriptions of places about the head & branches there-
of are better knowne unto us in this Age, by meanes of our late Navigations into thoſe
parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of thoſe Kings
we could in no fort be perſwaded to beleeve, till our own experience had taught us, that
there were many ſtranger things in the World, than are to be ſeene betweene *London*
and *Stanes*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year 1372, and had ſeene ſo much of
the World, and of the Eaſt India, we accompted the greateſt fabler of the World; yet
had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witneſſe
40 the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friars *Guillimins* in *Liege*, where the
religious of that place keep ſome things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de ſon
Excellence, For an honourable memoire of his Excellencie*, ſaith *Guichardine*.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where thoſe many Rivers of *Hyda-
ſpes*, *Zaradrus*, *Aceſines*, and the reſt, fall into the maine ſtreame, are now poſſeſſed by the
great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlaine*, who commands all that tract between *Persia*
and *Indus* towards the Weſt, as alſo a great extent of Countrey towards *Ganges*. In the
mouth of *Indus*, the *Aſcenſion*, a ſhippe of *London*, ſuffered ſhipwracke, in the yeere
1609. and ſome of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the ſame
great Citie (as I take it) which our later *Cosmographers* call *Nagra*, being named of
50 old *Dionysopolis*.

Philotracus in the liſe of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, ſpeaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* &
Hercules into the Eaſt India, tells us, that thoſe two great Captaines (whom Alexander
fought by almeans to out-fame) when they endeavourd to ſubject to them the *Oxydracas*,
a people inhabiting betweene the Rivers of *Hyphaſis* & *Ganges*, they were beaten from
the aſſault of their Cities with thunder and lightning. This may well be underſtood by
the great Ordnance that thoſe people had then in uſe. For it is now certainly knowne,
that the great Kings of the uttermoſt Eaſt, have had the uſe of the canon many hundreds
of yeares ſince, and even ſince their firſt civilitie and greatneſſe, which was long before
Alexander's

Guic. in Diſc. of
the Low Countreies.

Alexanders time. But Alexander pierc't not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of India by fame. The Indian Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfullst King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though Alexander were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not persuade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts beyond *Indus* & *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many persuasive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. Alexander seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a prettie trick, wherewith he hoped to beguile posterity, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than Horses could feede in. He caused all furniture of men & horses to be made larger than would serve for use; & scattered these Armour & Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wounded at by the Savages. Proportionable to these he raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journeys end. This was a ready way to encrease the fame of his bignesse; to his greameffe it could adde nothing save a suspicion, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Acefines*, and there determined to set up his fleet, where *Acefines* and *Hydaspis* encounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those rivers two Cities: the one he called *Nicaea*, & the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horse *Bucephalus*. Here againe he received a fourth supply of fixe thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lieutenants at *Babylon* five and twenty thousand Armour, garnished with silver and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wan many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted: It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Bevis of Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he past downe the River with his fleet, at which time also the newes came unto him of a rebellion in *Babaria*, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embassadors from a King of India, who submitted himselfe unto him. He feasted these Embassadors upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who soone after their dispatch, returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirty Waggon, and to each of them foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants wherof fought against him with poisoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an herb which Alexander dreamt he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a sudden shuffled one upon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie banks of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few daies observed well the course of the Sea, he past out of the rivers mouth some few miles, & after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himselfe, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discover the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixt Book hath written this passage downe the River of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Neere the out-lets of this river, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eightene daies march from thence recovered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Army suffered such

miserie

miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, which he carried into India, not the fourth part returned alive.

§. XXII.

Of Alexanders Riot, Cruelty, and death.

From *Gedrosia*, Alexander led his Army into *Carmania*, and so drawing neere to *Persia*, he gave himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be carefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. For (saith *Curcius*) the Hang-man followed the feast, for *Alpates*, one of his Provinciaall Governors, he commanded to be slaine, so as neither did the exedle of voluptuousnesse qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuousnesse.

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had bin employed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outrageous, as Alexander was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of India, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembering the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them employed, were delivered over to the Hang-man every one rejoicing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discoverie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Fasargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in especiall favour with the King, was neglected, he not only practised certaine loose fellows to witness against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which hee was condemned to die; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused *Phradites* to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. *Cæperat* (saith *Curcius*) esse precepta ad representanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to feed bloud and to beleeve false reports. It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men weary of his government, seeing cruelty is more fearefull, than all adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when he had lived threescore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrey, being an Indian, or sought to prevent the griefe and incommoditie of elder age, it is uncertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing Alexanders death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Fasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he married *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giving her younger sister to his beloved *Ephesion*, and fourescore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thousand young souldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, having lavishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents, and fixe thousand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, & there slaine. Alexander greatly rejoiced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stirre: yet he sent commandement, that they should againe receive their banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the *Athenians*) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolved to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travell of Warre, and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. He used many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest

Arrianus hath a
sure different
description of
Cyrus Tombe.

tempest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine-
threeed, when they have tumbled a while, so are the unconsiderate multitude easilily con-
ducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart,
he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*,
which *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the reb-
ellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great fide-
lity, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainly if
Alexander had not taken counsell of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on
this alteration, and given *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remove, than to have im-
ployed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the Warre
being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition
to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding
his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, doe not
stand in doubt of every man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kinde of kingly
courage, compounded of hardinesse and understanding, which is many times so fearefull
unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to settle things there;
where *Ephestion*, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the
greatnesse of his love, laments his losse, hangs his Physician, and bestowes upon his Mo-
nument twelve thousand talents: After which he returnes to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* also
came not, but sent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to free himselfe. For if we beleve
Curtius (whom *Plutarch* & others gainc-say) *Antipater* by his sonnes, *Cassander*, *Philip*,
and *Tolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gave him poyson; *Thessalus* (who was of the
conspiracie) having invited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a
carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than *Hercules* himselfe, he quitted
the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World have seldom found good, by making their Mini-
sters over-great, & thereby suspicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge
fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals,
will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that streng-
thens it, is the goodnesse & vertue of the Prince, & his liberality makes it more diligent;
so as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that *Antipater*, having commanded
two or three Kingdomes ten or twelve years, knew not how to play any other part;
no more than *Cesar* did, after he had so long a time governed the *Gauls*, where hee
utterly forgot the art of obedience. A most cruell and ungratefull traitor *Antipater* was,
if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the
Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, having bin so lately aded) yet he knew
nothing to the contrary, but that the King had resolved to have given him some other
great government in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance desired
to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

§. XXIII.

Of *Alexanders* person and qualities.

Howsoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more
than his vanity to be esteemed the Sonne of *Jupiter*, with his excessive delight in
drinke and drunkennesse, which others make the cause of his fever and death. In
that he lamented his want of enterprising, & grieved to consider what he should doe
when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cesar* found just cause to deride him, so
if the well-governing of so many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered,
could not have offered him matter more than abundant, to busie his braines withall.
That he was both learned and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis
Bacon*, in his first booke of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently.
His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That
when he gave a whole Citie to one of his servants, He, to whom it was given, did out of
modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That
he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*
Animosa

*Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum sit plurisima. Nihil enim per se quinquam decet. Refers
quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum
& dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubiq; virtutis modus, aq; peccat quod excedit, quam
quod deficit; it seems a brave and royall speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish. For nothing
simply considered by it selfe becomes a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where,
and the like; without which considerations no act can be approved. Let honours be proportion-
ed unto the persons: for whereas vertue is ever limited by measure, the excess is as faulty as
the defect.*

L. d. B. M. 1.

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition ta-
ken by it selfe, not much to be admired; For I am resolved that he had ten thousand in
his Army as daring as himselfe. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended
simply, we should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Theeves, Russians, and
mastiffe Dogs. For certainly it is no way praise-worthy but in daring good things, and
in the performance of those lawfull enterprizes, in which we are employed for the service
of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have
bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferi-
our to *Cesar*, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike
Nation, the naked Scythians excepted; nor was ever encountered with any Army of
which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of Weapons & Commanders, every
one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems
Fortune and Destinie (if we may use those termes) had found out and prepared for him,
without any care of his owne, both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to
the yoke, and Kingdomes that invited and called in their owne Conquerours. For con-
clusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the
Son, gives this judgement of them: *Quod non minores fuerit pestes mortalium, quam innum-
ratae, quae planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio, quam magna pars animantium exarui-
it; & they were no lesse plagues to mankind, than an overflow of waters, drowning all the level; &
or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are scorched up.*

Na. quae ill. 3. 2.

CHAP. III.

The reigne of *Aridæus*.

§. I.

Of the question about succession to *Alexander*.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the Athenian
then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Poly-
phemus*, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in fa-
bles of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the *Macedo-
nians*: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance
ineffectuall, & harmfull chiefly to themselves. The causes where-
of (under the divine ordinance) where partly the uncertainty of
Title to succession in the Kingdom of *Macedon*, partly the stub-
borne pride of *Alexander* himselfe, who thinking none worthy to be his heire, did refuse
to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but especially the
great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals;
a lesson soon taught unto spirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of
a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly beene shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing
in *Macedon* as Protector, assumed unto himselfe the Kingdom, not rendering it unto
Amynas, (the Sonne of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but
only bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond,
and much more by his owne proper strength, he assured the Crown unto himselfe:
Amynas never attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did
Cccc against

against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reign. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, vnlesse (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbad the reign of Women. But the excellent vertue of these two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that Macedon it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in ballance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seat.

Alexander having taken many wives, had issue by none of the principall of them. *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a Persian, had borne unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the baseness of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barre of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) have wrought out their owne ends, under the name of *Alexander's* children.

Cleopatra a filier of *Alexander*, widow to the King of Epirus, & *Aridaus* his base brother (son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may give suspicion, that either Law or Custome had made that sexe incapable of the Sovereignty: *Aridaus* (besides his baseness) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as a King; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better: when the Counsellors having over-laboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was best, were content for very wearinesse to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after King of Egypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the halfe-Persian brood, King *Alexander's* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the Captaines; that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so farre was he from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomy* was called the sonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having used the company of *Arfinoe* *Ptolomeie's* smother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being so great with child. Therefore, whether it were so that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those diffentions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his blood, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himselfe, which could not have come to passe, had all been given to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridaus* before himselfe; and therefore gave such counsell as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his tooke place indeed, though not in forme as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at *Alexander's* empty chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King as *Aridaus*, no wiser than the chaire it selfe. Also the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shewes of dissembling aspirers doe often take checke by the plain dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: so was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the rest, when *Arifonius* another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*; saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be dispofer of his owne purchases: and those tokens of *Alexander's* purpose appeared plaine enough, so long as no man would interpose another construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the estate Royall. He was no stranger to the Royall blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that especially since the death of *Ephesius* (a powerful Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much prooffe of his private valour. But very surly he was: which quality (joynd with good fortune) carried a shew of Majesty:

Majesty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish over-weening did him as great harme, as it had been great happinesse to have succeeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of *Arifonius*, he would needs counterfeit modesty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the lesse envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that faineth himselfe a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly inveighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoever was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoyle, thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The Election of *Aridaus*, with the troubles there about arising; the first division of the Empire.

During this up-roare, mention was made of *Aridaus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, untill at last it grew to the voyce of the Army. *Meleager* having with-drawne himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced *Aridaus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in *Alexander's* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only *Pythion*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaim the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsell which *Perdiccas* at first had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leontius* his Protectors. But this childe was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Pythion* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with fixe hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages, tooke upon them to defend the place where *Alexander's* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in upon them, and enforced them to accept *Aridaus* for their Sovereigne Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captaines, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leontius, who was of Royall blood, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their coming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such gravity, that they departed honeste than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprife. Upon the newes of this attempt, the Campe was in an up-roare, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got to the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprife, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, untill the King by offering to resigne his estate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to set him up at the first.

Perdiccas having now joynd himselfe with *Leontius*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all provision of victuals from the Citie. But after sundry Embassies passing betwene

the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of sedition given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joynd with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. General peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had been in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart give it life; and windy spirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, to tending to his owne disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himselfe, and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously layd. Had *Meleager* given way to seditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a fower of dissention, & thereby with a publike approbation might have bin cut off, as having often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a lesse formall, but more speedy way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, & practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had bin of sundry sorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their severall Capitaines. But at that time the great battell of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was such, as discovered no jesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were allwayes wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custome *Perdiccas* made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridamus* was alwaies governed by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three dayes before, he sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them slaine, in the presence of the King (who should have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especial friends. Having therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to *Aridamus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body having bin seven daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians: no signe of poyson appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridamus*: one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarces of his friends being layd in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in Alexandria, a City of his owne building, in Egypt.

§. III.

§. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

Whilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* & *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece with a war, which the Athenians more bravely than wisely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander* not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few excepted) should be restored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, & therefore thought so to provide, that in every City he would have a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the *Ætolians*, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beate themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well justifie by reason: nevertheless to prevent the worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to *Leosthenes*, a Captaine of theirs, willing him to levie an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their use. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to doe: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian War in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Capitaines. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of Athens declared it selfe, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open War against the Macedonians for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the *Ætolians* and some other Estates, gave battell to the Boeotians, who sided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into Asia to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their desires a farre off, which deceive all mortall wisdom, even when they seem neare at hand. One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the returne of *Craterus* into Macedon; which he then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured unto him, was sent into Macedon to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) & to succeed *Antipater* in the government of Macedon and Greece. The suspicions were strong that he had a privie charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes give out speeches, testifying his owne jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so hee interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having sitten Vice-roy ten or eleven years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envie of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poyson, given by his sonne *Solani*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth until opportunity had changed it into the passion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his sonne *Cassander*: great cause of much feare he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Capitaines of companies lying neare, solicited.

solicited to make haste. Not without cause: For in Macedon there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse; which Mustar was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being employed into Asia. The Thessalians indeed who had long stood firme for *Philip & Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of Greece, furnished him with very brave troupes, that might have done great service, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With these forces did *Antipater* in Thessaly try the fortune of a battell with *Leosthenes*; rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the Greeks, (were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of Athenians, *Ætolians*; and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some Illyrians and Thracians: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also, when once the Thessalians had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a safe retreat into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamia, which was well fortified, and well provided of all things necessary to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battell againe, and upon refusal close uppe the Towne with earth-works, and a wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprize that ever was undertaken by that great City of Athens.

§. IV.

How *Perdiccas* employed his Army.

King *Aridæus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make use of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unquiet condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have bin. The 30 better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicas* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of that name, and tenth king of that Country, had continued faithfull to the Persian Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, even from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who married *Asioffa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the Persians: but what fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the farall Period of 40 so great an Empire, with much wisdom, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the Macedonian in the Persians roome. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Provinces of the Macedonian conquest, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of sure retreat, under the government of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entered Cappadocia, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fiftene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not encountered a stronger, and better trained) won the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much cruelty did he use the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon; and so delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he committed to *Pythion*, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Pythion* was to subdue the Greeks rebelling in the high Countries of Asia. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who, planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their unpleasant habitations, & the rude people

people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the present troubles to seek unto themselves a better fortune. Against these *Pythion* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his, *Perdiccas* discovering, did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giving the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyed it unto *Pythion*s Capraines (his owne creatures) that they should see this commandment executed. These directions for use of the victory, might have proved needlesse; so uncertaine was the victory it selfe. A Capraine of the Rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by *Pythion*, did in the heat of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessity to a hill not farre off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the day to *Pythion*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being master of these Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse whereof *Pythion* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Pythion*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoined to give assistance to that business: and by vertue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the Macedonians cut in pieces all those poore men who had yeelded themselves; leaving *Pythion* as naked as he came forth to returne unto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leisure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded, will appear when the Lami-an War taketh ending.

§. V.

The proceesse of the Lami-an War.

Whe left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himselfe without succours from his friends in Asia. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leosthenes*, and would have yeelded unto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, doe seldom limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extreme 40 miles, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worfe with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingering War the *Ætolians* (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or having business which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their owne Countrey. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found means to fall uppon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slain, and *Leosthenes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulled into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the Greeks in open fight. *Craterus* was long in coming. *Lyfima- 50 chus*, who was nearest at hand in Thrace, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thousand foote, and two thousand horse, against *Saulbas* the Thracian King, who brought into the field above foure times that number; and though *Lyfima- chus*, not without losse had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly solicited by *Antipater*s friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of Phrygia the lesse, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, whether levied out of his province, or appointed unto him out of the maine Army, it is uncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more wil- ling

ling to take in hand the journey into Greece, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, desiring his presence at Pella, the chiefe Citie of Macedonia, and very kindly offering herselfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close don, and very kindly offering herselfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had bin requisite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspicion, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen General by the Athenians in place of *Leophanes*, hearing of his approach, forsook the siege of Lamia, and tooke the ready way to these great Conquerors of Asia, with purpose to give them an evill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should joyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the *Ætolians*) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the ods of 2000. Theffalians; in other things he was equall with him; in cause he thought himselfe Superiour; in the fortune of that day he proved so: for he was a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the Theffalians) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himselfe; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had fought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captaines which dyed in battell, but all, or most of the rest shall follow him the same way. After this day, the Athenians did never any thing futable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished Macedonians were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flee. They betooke themselves to high grounds, unfit for service on horse-back, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Campe, and took the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seek to determine the matter quickly by another battell. But still *Antipater* kept himselfe on ground of advantage, which gave more than reasonable confidence to the Greeks, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquished. This wretchednesse (incorrigible in an Army of volunteers) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the Athenians, labouring to have made themselves once againe Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatall captivity of Greece came on, of which she never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army having made great marches from Cilicia, passed over into Europe, and coming into Tessaly, joynd himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joynd in one, contained fony thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eightene thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoyd the necessity of a battell, untill such time as the Towns confederate should returne unto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in coming, and *Antipater* urgent upon the Greeks, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the Theffalians had the upper hand, and held it, untill such time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made: For the Greeks, as not subject unto the full command of one General, and being every one desirous to preserve his own estate and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtle Artificer, and well understanding their aptnesse to division, refused to hearken to any generall composition, but willed every City to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected; the Greeks choosing rather to abide the coming of their assistants, whose unreasonable carelesnesse betrayed the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Towns in Tessaly, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their owne assured and present calamity.

§. VI. of

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of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. of Demosthenes his death.

THE Theffalians falling off, all the rest soon followed severely, & sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the Athenians and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult: and their feare was not great; the feat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who late still at Athens, devising upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their dores before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace upon some good termes: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, & *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion*, as the most honourable; *Demades*, a strong perswader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*); and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in real effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leophanes*, required of the Athenians, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a Democraticie. But the rascall multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out, that this was a meere Oligarchie, the violent usurpation of a few inchoaching upon the publike right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had bene wont to say, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, & gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspitions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with some others, to be slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, bene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendered their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speake and write, condemne him utterly, calling him a bloudie tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all civill Nations, that the evill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswaded him to leave the place; but not to prevailing, he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little respite as it had bene to write somewhat, secretly tooke poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to doe the last execution upon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battell, howsoever valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great summes given him by the *Persians*, to encourage him, in finding work for the Macedonians at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loved not his Country, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countreyes good; which he did not cease

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§. VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. of Demosthenes his death.

THE Theffalians falling off, all the rest soon followed severely, & sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the Athenians and *Ætolians* held out. Little favour could they hope for, having bin from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who late still at Athens, devising upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their dores before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace upon some good termes: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, & *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion*, as the most honourable; *Demades*, a strong perswader (both of them well respected by *Antipater*); and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisdom, gravity of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the Athenians, that they should wholly submit themselves to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the government of the City to those of most wealth, depriving of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a convenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was given; a number great enough to retain the name and forme of a Democratic. But the rascall multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their livings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giving their voices, cried out, that this was a meere Oligarchie, the violent usurpation of a few inroaching upon the publike right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King *Philip* had beene wont to say, That war to them was peace, and peace war) *Antipater* planted in *Thrace*, & gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspicions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with some others, to be slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, beene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or have surrendered their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speake and write, condemne him utterly, calling him a bloudie tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all civill Nations, that the evill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of *Calauria*; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) find him, and gently perswaded him to leave the place; but not so prevailing, he threatened violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little respite as it had beene to write somewhat, secretly tooke poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to doe the last execution upon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battell, howsoever valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loved money well, and had great summes given him by the *Persians*, to encourage him, in finding work for the Macedonians at home. Neither did he ill (me thinks) in taking from the *Persians* which loved not his Countrey, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countreys good; which he did not cease

cease to procure, when the *Perfians* were no longer able to give him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleeve *Lucian*, who tels us, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to have done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enimie to the *Macedonians*; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a virtuous man, and lover of his Countrey, yet applying himselfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquished) he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

§. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Etolian wars into Asia. The grounds of the first civill war between the Macedonian Lords.

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they strengthened their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the *Etolians*, whose povertie was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athens* had bin. Their Countrey was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fastnesse, into which they conveyed such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for war: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the coming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacie did the *Macedonians* contend against the difficulties of the places, which the *Etolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut up all passages, & utterly debarred them of reliefe, then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight upon equal ground, with unequal numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger & cold, against which they could make no long resistance, or to yield themselves to the *Macedonians*, who, incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave so stubborn enemies in places, which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity, much finess of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These *Etolians* did not as yet want meat: but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of *Asia* into the *Macedonian* Camp, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these *Etolians*, giving them whatsoever conditions they would aske: yet with purpose to call them to severe account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by captivitie, when once they should have settled the affairs of *Asia*; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of *Asia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it served merely as an introduction to all the civill wars ensuing.

The grounds of the *Asiaticque* expedition, which did set the world in an uproare, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Capitaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of *Alexander* & of the whole Armie. Next unto these had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equal, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have consorted with these two, and to have beene with them a third partner in the government of all; to which purpose hee entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which boie him up, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. *Aridius* was a very simple man, yet

yet served well enough to weare the title of that Majesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the dayes of *Alexander*: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weak Princes, and their ambitious officers, who know no other means of preserving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazzle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor Greeks in the higher *Asia* were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of *Cappadocia* were crucified, hath already been shewed. The *Phidians* were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children sold for slaves, and all the rest massacred. The *Isaurians* by this example growne desperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themselves unable to continue the defence, lockt themselves into their houses, and set the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the *Macedonians* from the walls.

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and silver; but *Perdiccas* had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without employment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilst others grew great, and took deep root in their severall Provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into *Europe*, under pretence of bringing the King into *Macedonia*, the fear of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his Vice-Royes (during the time) actually voyd; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatness meet with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held *Egypt* well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in *Macedonia*, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himselfe, or be driven to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then governing in *Phrygia*, a busie headed man, and all affected to the side, was to be looked into and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of War, as deep a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Capitaines. His employments had been lesse than some of theirs, which made him all the lesse respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Judge that sought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not seeme to perceive, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answer, indeed, to make escape; which easily he did, putting himselfe and his Sonne *Demetrius* aboard of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings as finished the *Etolian* War before mentioned.

As the coming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceive their owne danger: so his sight gave *Perdiccas* to understand that his intentions were layd open, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not only for defence, but (as having on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slacke in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertised of these proceedings, and considering how nearely they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his government of *Egypt* he had annexed the Dominion of *Cyrene*, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboyles he celebrated the funeral of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army coming against him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, and his death.

Perdiccas, uncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resolved to set upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keepe to his use, against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Asia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or beleeveth that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his sweet behaviour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolencie, which never failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truly defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjust contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was upon a little Town, called the *Camels wall*: thither he marched by night, with more hate than good speed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himselfe into the place, where behaving himselfe not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, he gave the foile to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse, after a vehement, but vaine, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journey (which was his last) and came to the divisions of *Nile*, over against *Memphis*. There with much difficultie he began to passe over his Armie into an Island, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it, to take up such as were carried away by swiftnesse of water. A great part of his Armie being arrived on the further banke, the channell began to waxe deep; so that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the rising of the water, or sitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of so many Men, Horse, & Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repasse again, as well as they might: for they were too weak for the enemie, and could not be relieved by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the river, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miserable spectacle even to such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim, recovered the Campe, many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giving libertie to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomy*, which did set them in an uproar. *Ptolomy* had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the river had cast upon his side: and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kindred or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it unreasonable to make warre upon so vertuous and honourable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. The sedition growing strong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Pythion* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the victorie upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Pythion* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governour of *Media*, he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to him, had neverthelesse been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentrie, (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ranne upon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud misgoverning authoritie of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived

as great as any, could he have suffered any as great as himselfe; yea, peradventure master of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomy* came into the Campe, where he was joyfully received; he excused himselfe of things past, as not having beene Author, or given cause of the warre, and was easily beleevd: the favour of the Army being such toward him, that needs they would have made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this he refused. It was an Office fit for one that would seeke to increase his greivance with his trouble. *Ptolomy* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbore to accept it, and for their well-deserving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Pythion*, & to *Arideus* the Captain, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the midst of these busineses came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arrived two or three dayes sooner, had been entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings coming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes in the lower Asia.

Before wee proceede in the relation of things happening about the person of the King, it is meet that we speake of those busineses in the lower Asia, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whilst *Perdiccas* was occupied in the Egyptian Wars. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer that he would not; alledging the backwardnesse of his men to beare Armes against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedence given to *Eumenes*, as thinking himselfe the better man. *Eumenes* discovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischief lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that he might stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about sixe thousand horse, giving many priviledges to such as were serviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly passed the Hellespont) for the invasion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him battell. *Neoptolemus* had secretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to performe, hee was shamefully disappointed. For though his footmen, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his battels; yet were his horse driven out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their oath to doe him faithfull service. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their society, who contrariwise offered himselfe as a meane of reconciliation, betwene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loved; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilst these negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, & calling him a Scribe (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voyce were but heard by any Macedonian in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victory was wonne; for

they would all forth-with revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to give him ayd against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be sent. Their owne affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevaile as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the midst of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselves to the Persian fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behaviour, and apparel; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of Asia with discontented eyes, as reproachfull and derogatory to the manners of their native Countrey. So *Antipater* took the way toward Cilicia, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyne with *Prology*. *Craterus* used great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as hee hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines, after a great victory. But he had a wary and well advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall upon him, and with much wisdom fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the meanes of prevention, which his courage did not faile to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such, as much exceeded his own in foot-men, but was inferior in horse-men) & thought it more uneasy to keep the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation of all courses else taught him, & wife managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised & hated among them, (as having bin vanquished by some of them, & forsaken others in plain field, whilst they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; & not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he bin known: but Thracians, Cappadocians & Persians, under the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* & himselfe. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run upon the enemy, and give him no leisure to say, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not faile to execute in his own person: but placing himselfe in the right wing of his battell, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journies, which over-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in surprizing them as enemies) to discover himselfe to his old friends, and fellow souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phenix* a Tenidian, & *Artaabazus* a Persian, had the leading of that side, who mindfull of their instructions, began to give upon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the spoyle to themselves, but the Bear whose skin he felt is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battell was fought gave most advantage to the horse, who encountered very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who as soon as they had discovered one another, could not containe themselves, but with great rage met body to body, & letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first up, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down & fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving slight ones, took such as were deadly, by which he dyed in the place, and was there being halfe-dead, halfe-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose revilings he requited, lying even at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to run away upon the spur, and seek shelter behinde the battels of their force. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carry succour

succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artaabazus* and *Phenix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not unlikely, that he might have either carried the day, or preserved himselfe to a better adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and *Neoptolemus* were slain) did. But whilst he fought to preserve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwayes loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battell fought within ten dayes of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were enraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heavinesse. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended by giving to them the spoyle of such Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meere motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had been Traytors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulness, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their faithhood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late revolt, than by accusing and condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherefore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrell between Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protector. Python resigns his office, into which Antipater is chosen.

Tibon and *Aridaus* being chosen Protectors of King *Aridaus*, and the children of *Alexander*, took the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustaine so important a charge. For *Eurydice* wife to King *Aridaus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking herselfe able to support the weight which fortune layd upon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been shewed) to *Amintas*, who was the right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the only son of King *Perdiccas*, *Philip* selders brother. This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Carya* Queene of the Phrygians, a *Virago* like unto her selfe, had slain her. Shee brought up this *Eurydice* in the same unwomanly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her too curious intermeddling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to advance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Army having shaken off such a raskle-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himselfe upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controul, using the same name, with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers.

Python seeing this, would needs resigne his office, whether upon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the *Queene* into envie, it is uncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthiest man in the Campe, he should be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing sorry at this course; for now she thought to managge the affaires of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the souldiers disappointed both her & *Python* of their contrary expectations; choosing *Antipater*, the only powerful man of *Alexanders* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the *Queen* fretted exceedingly, & began to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord save only the King their Sovereigne. Yet she failed of her purpose, being hindered (as may seeme) by three things: the apparent weaknesse of her husband: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though born of out-landish women) were bred in the Macedonian Camp; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army neare at hand, arrived in few daies at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her self content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work by any close devices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governors of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better: yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their rooms. This done, he took the King, *Queene*, and Princes along with him into Macedonia, leaving *Antigonus* General of the Royall Army: to whom for his good services done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of *Susiana*, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the government of Asia during that War.

§. XI.

Antigonus Lieutenant of Asia, wins a battell of *Eumenes*, and besiegeth him in *Nora*: He vanquishes both the followers of *Perdiccas*.

Here begins the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few yeares overgrowing the rest, wanted little of spreading it selfe over the whole Monarchie. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alceus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: work enough to keep his Army employed in the publicke service, till such time as he might finde occasion to make use of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he undertooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alceus* and *Attalus* refused to joine, having unseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all wayes of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captains as he thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neare him, yet looking so carelesly to himselfe, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reserving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus* presented battell to *Eumenes*; in the heat wherof *Apollonides*, General of the horse to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traitorous practice had brought upon him, pursued the villain, & cut him off before he could thrust himselfe into the troups of *Antigonus* and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the losse of that battell, which disabled him utterly to keepe the field, & left it very hard for him to make a safe retreat. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilst *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battell had bene fought; there he burned (according the manner of the time) the bodies of his owne men,

men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raising up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and so went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the Macedonians (returned to their Campe) great admiration of his brave spirit: so the newes which *Menander* (who was set to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. Hee had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victory, and laden with the spoiles of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should prove a heavey burden to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret warning to *Menander* to flee to the mountains, whilst he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this sleight, letting them to bait their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtresie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborne when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaves, and to ravish their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meere subtilty had avoyded those precious fetters, which would have hindered his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burden some, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than available in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* awhile in following him up and downe, he came to *Nora*: where againe keeping no more about him than necessity required to make good the place, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. *Nora* was a little fortresse in the borders of *Lycania* and *Cappadocia*, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, & so well victualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vaine. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was *Nora* closed up; where *Antigonus* leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, took his journey into *Pisidia*, against *Alceus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captain as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alceus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his coming, so were they too adventurous, in fighting at the first sight, upon all disadvantages: and their folly was attended with futable event. *Attalus* with many principal Captains was taken; *Alceus* fled to the City of *Termessus*, where the love of the younger sort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their cares against all perswasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazzard their lives and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governors of the Town having secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the young men to fall out; & using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon *Alceus*, who unable to resist, slew himself. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without buriall. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the carcase with solemne funerals; having once been minded to set on fire their own towne in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality: but to make an able General, one vertue, how great soever, is insufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomie wins Syria and Phœnicia. The death of *Antipater*.

Whilst these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wan all Syria and Phœnicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying upon the authoritie which had given him that Province, & was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. He had with him *Polyperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the *Ætolians*, which Nation had stirred in the quarrell of *Perdiccas*, prevailing far at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilest *Antipater* was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this *Polyperchon* *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Son *Cassander* of insufficiency in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the government of Macedon and Greece, together with his office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being four-score years old, having alwaies travelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that to *Alexander* in all his greatness was jealous of him, and the successors of *Alexander* did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophicall behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. He had been much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstaine from coming into Macedonia, or entermingling in matters of Estate: yea, at his own death he gave especiall direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soon forgotten; and yet ere long, by sorrowfull experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

Of Polyperchon, who succeeded unto Antipater in the Protectorship. The insurrection of Cassander against him.

Polyperchon was very skillful in the Art of Warre, having long time bene Apprentice in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as hee under-went, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his business more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance upon the stage, he called to counsell all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was revoked out of Epynus into Macedon, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie such as could not by force have bene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefs lay unregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in *Polyperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discern such odds in the quality of himselfe and *Polyperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Capitaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to imply. He should thereby have bene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other: a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himselfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his father, were his owne assured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrats, and others of principall authority, in those Common-weales, whose formes had bene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw in many partakers: it concerned these men in their owne particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised over the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying the betters perforce. Besides all these helps, *Cassander* had the secret love of Queene

Eurydice

Eurydice, who had in private rendred him such curtesie, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the Queenes favour, nor all his other possibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; because he saw *Polyperchon* much revered among the *Macedonians*, and strong enough to suppress him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessity was apparent of raising an Armie, before the business was set on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with fair means. *Protonie* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed *Syria* to his government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene*: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Asia. These two therefore stood in need of a civil war; which *Cassander* well noted, & presumed withall, that the friendship which had passed between his father and them, would avails him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the *Hellepont*, that he might in person advance the business with greater speed. Much persuasion is needlesse in winning a man to what he desireth. *Antigonus* coveted nothing more, than to find *Polyperchon* weak, by raising some commotion in Greece. Yet (as for-malities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memorie of his Father, and all requisite conjurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Protonie* was readie to declare for them, and urging him to a speedie dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaid him with the same coine, saying, that for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not faile to give him all manner of succour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slacke in preparing the common means, leading to their severall ends.

§. XIV.

The unworthie courses held by Polyperchon, for the keeping down of Cassander.

Great necessity there was of timely provision. For, *Polyperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the readie disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Protonie*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the *Grecian* Estate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of Government should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrats and principall Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authoritie, should forthwith be either slain or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankfull nature in *Polyperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose onely bounty had enabled him to doe it? Or what could be said in their defence, who fought to destroy many worthie men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held restrained from stirring against the *Macedonians*; and in opposition to their private enemie, gave the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligne the Empire? But as in mans bodie, through sinnewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrarie hand: so in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more injured by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the maine trunk. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrary religions are invited to helpe against neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn in, to the part in civill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsell against injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; shee hath taught the ameto offer it selfe unto manifest losse in defence of the head: They are depraved affections,

affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ran under the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discern, that *Polysperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polysperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appeare to have some other root than the pretended good wil; and was of it self too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

§. XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by Polysperchons decree. The death of Phocion.

Nevertheless the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garrison, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hasty desires.

Nicanor, as a trustie follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Antipater* (that was Captain there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His coming to *Athens* was no way gratfull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out upon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertising them in due time, have put into their hands a faire opportunitie of thrusting out the *Macedonians*. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Farre more grievously would they have beene offended, had they knowne the instructions which *Cassander* had given to *Nicanor*, & his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not only retaine *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that he should finde means to thrust some companies into *Piræum*, and fortifie that also, which was the principall haven, against the high-town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him sufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause given. They desired him to come unto their councill, assembled in the *Piræum*, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the war which was readie to break forth. Contrariwise, they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwayes measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polysperchon*, and then lying neare at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a trick of politicke dishonestie, did quietly suffer him to depart and save himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking *Piræum*; not as following now the project of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into *Munychia*; which done, he issued into *Piræum*, took it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto him; who made faire shewes, intending meer mischief, which they perceived not; being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before the durst well adventure to returne into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the *Athenians* the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. *Polysperchon* had further ordained, that the Ile of *Samos* should be rendered unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power

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and meaning. He was (indeed) so farre from purposing to let them have *Samos*, that as yet he did not thoroughly intend to let them have themselves. The commoditie of their Havens was such, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair shew to the *Athenians*, and spent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundrie passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the evill threatening them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* devising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, & held much privie conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotation was discovered, whereby the uproare in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends, were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Countrie of *Phocion*, readie to enter with an Armie into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts, (having alwayes been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Countrie gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polysperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evil houre) who promised to himselfe and them great favour, by means of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon* was an unstable man, very earnest in what he took in hand, yet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honestie in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly faile of good successe. For fear of *Cassander* he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the *Athenians*; this had caused them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how to get into his owne hands those keys, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt up: finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, he stood wavering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece* began to cast their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeme their good opinion; by giving all contentment unto the popular faction; which was then growne to be Master of that Citie. And in good time for this purpose were the *Athenian* Embassadors come, treading (as one may say) upon *Phocions* heeles; whom they were sent to accuse. These had some audience given to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified with all exterior shewes of Majestie; yet all too little to change *Aridaus* into *Alexander*: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others doe. For beginning of the businesse *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should bee tortured and flaine. This was enough to testifie his heartie affection to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadors he then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to give sentence, and doe the execution upon them, was (for honours sake) referred unto the Citie of *Athens*, because they were Burgessees. Then were they sent away to *Athens*, where the rascal multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to bee of the lesse regard. Five and fortie times had hee beene chosen Governour of the Citie, never sung for the place, but sent for when hee was absent, so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued, even of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance; and

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and never unfortunate. Never did the Citie repent of having followed his counsell: nor any private man of having trusted his word. *Philip of Macedon* highly esteemed himso, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signes of his love) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of foure Cities in *Asia* any one which he would choofe. But *Phocion* refused these and other gifts, howsoever importunately thrust upon him; resting well contented with his honest povertie: wherein he lived above fourescore years, and then was compelled by the unjust judgment of wicked men, to drink that poyson, which by just judgment of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man resembling the vertue of their Ancestors.

§. XVI.

Of *Polysperchon* his vain expedition against *Cassander*.

Not long after these things were done, *Cassander*, with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polysperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Armie, but so ill victualled, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enimie; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe unable to drive *Cassander* out of *Athens*, he left his son *Alexander*, with such number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further intrenching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponnesus*, to make the Countrey sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponnesus* were such, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democracie, or Popular forme of government. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* bene made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driven into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very readie to seale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the blood of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polysperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and resolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution. For *Polysperchon* comming thither with all his power, did so much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Descendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised up an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assaultants having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much paine to cleare the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townsmen perceiving their drift, prepared boords driven through with long nailes, which they used as gal-throps, bestowing them slightly covered, with the points upwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beate upon their sides with arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Asian* Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enimie chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnished for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsooke the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Armie to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Chim*, his Admiral, to Sea, to joyne with *Aridam* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enimie out of *Asia*. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Chim*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the overthrow, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and

and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, assuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wafted over the streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Chim*, drave his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudie decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enimie which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a governour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the partie of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him; as to an industrious man, and likely to prevail in the end. Thus was the whole Countrey set in a combustion, uncapable to be quenched; which presented unto *Antigonus* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of *Asia*.

§. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with *Eumenes*, who disappointeth him. *Phrygia* and *Lydia* won by *Antigonus*.

Antigonus had in *Antipaters* life time a firm resolution, to make unto himselfe the utmost benefit that he might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire season for advancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; even then, when all the businesse in *Pisidia* was dispatched, and no more employment for the Armie remaining, save onely the continuance of the siege of *Nora*, a small thing of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men & horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiencie of *Eumenes*, & considering his fidelitie shewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to employ in managing those high designes, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. He sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had bin, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as he desired; in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyall intent; the binding words and sum of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reservation of dutie to the King or any other. This heliked not, holding it unseemly to become a sworn man to him, with whom he had sought for the masterie; and being assured that his voluntarie assistance, which way soever he gave, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off the negotiation, and wait for some better occasion of enlargement, which might perhaps belong in coming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough

enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias* and the children of *Alexander*, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so he departed.

Antigonus had taken upon him, as soone as he came downe to the Sea-side, to remove some of the Governours of the Provinces, behaving himselfe according to the authority which he had received of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of war. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to justify his proceedings. For if *Polyperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man dying on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himselfe as well retain the Lieutenanthip of *Asia*, that was granted unto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had three score thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was *Arideus* Governor of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Townes of his own Province, and fought to have won *Cyzicus*, a faire Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was faine to go away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occasion to command him out of the countrie. *Arideus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheless finding that he was unable of himselfe to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes having authoritie from the Court, raiseth great war against Antigonus in defence of the Royall house.

Antigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all *Asia* the lesse, was able to have entred *Macedon*, and seized upon the Court; which that he forbore to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) from some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousie in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polyperchon*, which might have brought them to termes of reconciliation; It would aske more time than he could spare; and the envie which followed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not only refuse to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royall house; to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand well affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, made great haste toward *Cilicia*, hoping to suppress him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requiring them to give assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraspides*, or silver-shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this authoritie was given him: but now hee purposed with all the strength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall blood. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring helpe to her and her Nephew the son of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to give her his advice in that which *Polyperchon* required of her: for these were

desirous

desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remaine in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the feede of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wives, and children, might repose firme confidence, saving onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* blood, borne at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled he was to travaile as farre as *Persia*, to gather together an Army sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heeles.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Andæus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death.

NOW, forasmuch as in this present Warre all the Rulers of the Provinces did intermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the Warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were dtawne into those courses, which over-threw most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatness of a few: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it selfe, about the maine controverfie of the title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have beene depending.

Arideus the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what he was bidden.

Polyperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdome, and become Governour to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queene discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to fit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignity offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to resolve, both to suppress the lineage which he hated, and to maintaine his beloved mistresse, either by supporting her weak husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned over all, so as they might reigne in their severall Countreies, & establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pithe and *Seleucus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach upon their neighbours. Against these, *Pencestes*, and some others, with much ado hardly made resistance, untill such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband and by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poison to *Arideus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of businesse to come home, so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to joyne with *Polyperchon*, & set up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the son of *Roxane*, removing *Arideus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent he procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so tooke her way towards *Polyperchon*,

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who

who joyning with her, entred into Macedon.

Eurydice hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to Cassander, praying him to set aside all other businesse, & come to succour her. She her selfe by entreaty, gifts, and promises, drew to her partie as many of the Macedonians as she could, untill she thought her owne side strong enough, and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against Olympias, and the Traitor Polyperchon.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed Eurydice. For as soone as the Macedonians beheld Olympias; calling to minde her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and son, they refused to lift any weapon against her. Eurydice finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards Amphipolis, but was intercepted, and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias having obtained this victory without blood, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and upon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the Macedonians would not sticke to maintaine her, whatsoever her proceedings were. Having therefore shut up Aridam and his wife in a close room, where they could scarce turne round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for feare lest the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost fixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So she delivered Aridam to some barbarous Thracians; who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to Eurydice she sent a sword, a halter, & a cup of poison, willing her to chooseth the instrument of her own death; who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to Olympias, yielded her necke to the halter, having spent her last curses not in vaine. Nicanor the brother of Cassander, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did Olympias then chooseth out, all whom she commanded to be slaine. His brother Solais that was already dead and buried, she accused of poison given to Alexander, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be thrown downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The Macedonians wondering at this fury, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of Polyperchon, who had, quite contrary to Antipaters charge given on his death-bed, called this outrageous woman to the government of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias.

†. I.

The great expedition of Cassander. Olympias shuts her selfe into Pydna, where Cassander besieged her. Eacides King of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias, is forsaken, and banished by his owne Subjects.

Cassander at that time lay before Tegea in Peloponnesus; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never staid to take the City, nor to give order for the State of things in that Countrey, (though Alexander the sonne of Polyperchon were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of Tegea, he willed his associates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne; and so in all haste he tooke his journey towards Macedon, carried headlong with the greedie desire of just revenge. The Aetolians had taken the Streights of Thermopylae, in favour of the Queene & Polyperchon, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mispend any time in dealing with them, got together as many shippes as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into Thessaly. There he divided his companies, appointing some under Callas, a subtle Captaine, to hold Polyperchon busied, who then lay incamped neere to Perhabia; with the rest he marched directly against Olympias. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity, tooke more care how to appeare Majestically, than to make her selfe strong. To this end she made a solemne progresse to Pydna, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, having in her company all the flowre of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was Roxane, & her young son Alexander, heire to the great Alexander, by his grand-mothers designement: who, during his minority kept

kept the Sovereigne power in her own hands. But all this pompe served to little use, against the violence of the enemy, that soone presented himselfe before the walls; only it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoke.

For Acacides King of Epirus, made great haste to bring succour to Olympias, his cousen, with whom Deodamia his daughter was also shut up. Nevertheless, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the way by Cassanders men, they called upon him to retire, & quit the enterprize. The Kings importunate urging them to proccede, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at length into such termes, that when he had raged in vaine against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander up and down in forraine Countries a banished man, his people joyning with the enemy, against whom hee had led them forth to war.

Pydna in the meane time was closed up streighly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the City, nor any reliefe be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable service being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias her story. Polyperchon defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. Olympias yeeldes to Cassander.

NOW, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of Eumenes & Antigonus in this place, leaving Olympias yet a while to the hour of her destiny; which growes the faster upon her, because she may discern it coming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things not manifestly coherent with it; we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in Polyperchon, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had bin, which was repoted in the succours of the Epirus. For Callas, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with money, leaving him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that hee was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift retreat. When famine had so farre prevailed in the City, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men, feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellowes, and saw-dust being given to the Elephants for provender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leave, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leave, yielded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and sent abroad into the Countrey. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted them to Cassander. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the living were even poisoned with the noysome sent of the dead; Olympias bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Jail, out of which she should not be delivered, but unto an evill death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her & the other Ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, & with much labor hardly obtained of Cassander (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himselfe as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon her apprehension, Pella, the chiefe City of the Kingdome, was yeilded to Cassander. Amphipolis did stand out: for Aristonius (to whom Olympias had given charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Countrey, taking courage from the successe of some petty services wherein he had prevailed) began to promise himselfe great unlikelyhoods. But Olympias, to win Cassanders favour, very earnestly required him up-

on his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, who partly hated him upon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke innovation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, and her conditions.

When *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, the her self was called into question, & accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murders (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prosperity she called justice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at *Cassanders* instigation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessities, to save her self by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, & tell her owne tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent unto her such men, as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. She was daughter, and sister, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; wife, & mother, unto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of unreprieveable chastity; but her ambition was boundlesse, her hatred unappeasable, and her furie in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse conditions made her husband seeke other wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, having first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwise loving her well) forbade her to meddle in the government of *Macedon*. But God, more severe unto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to live and fulfill the rest of her wickedness, (which was his justice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him & others;) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her owne head.

†. IV.

Cassander celebrates the funerall of Aridaeus and Eurydice; and seekes to make himselfe King of Macedon.

After her death, *Cassander* gave honourable buriall to *Aridaem* & *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatness, he married the Lady *Theffalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pythia*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wives; that by her he might have some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, & her young son to close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase love, built a City, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, & restored it unto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeeres waste, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By these means, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, wherunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia*, for lesse titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONUS got in Asia.

§. I.

The journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wife dealing with those that joyned with him.

EUMENES, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the Easterne parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against *Antigonus*. He tooke his journey through *Caelosyria* and *Phoenicia*, hoping to reclaime those Provinces, usurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath beene shewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readinesse of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectfull. The Capitaines of the *Argyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so unsteady, that he might more easily have dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe him in order by compulsion. Therefore he fained, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pavilion, wherein an empie throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himselfe had beene present at their consultations. Thus he freed himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could have no assurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craerus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their assistance, who stood otherwise affected than his affaires required, and were not to be dealt with by persuasion, fought passage by strong hand through the Country of *Babylon*, in such wise that *Seleucus*, having in vaine assaid to hinder him, by opening the sluices of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Pencestes* and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences betweene *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wisest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these means he won to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, coming to set upon Eumenes, was driven off with losse.

ANTIGONUS, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, hee removed out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battell. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, and was retired back toward *Persia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, & good espiall kept upon *Antigonus*, to observe which way he took.

Before he came to *Tigris* it selfe, he was to passe over *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he fought to doe by small vessells, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thousand horse, & foure thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein most of them were drowned; very few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yielded themselves prisoners in fight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heare of that Countrie in the dog-dayes, breeding diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Python* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to besiege the Cattle of *Susa*) & seeking to goe the neere way, passed through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his troups that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of *Eumenes*'s coming. A battaile betwene him and *Antigonus*.

After his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him; to which also the Captaines of the *Argyrasides* or Silver-shields were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to Greece. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needs march Eastward. These carried it; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it selfe into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers love to himselfe. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto those doings tended, suffered him a while to keepe good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himselfe: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquished *Cassander*, & sent over a great Army under *Polysperchon*, to joyne with *Eumenes*. These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine joy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingness to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when *Antigonus*, coming out of *Media*, drew neere unto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have bene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the sodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him a far off, could not refrain from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, & all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the trial of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foote by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable successe, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, & of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies, which was accounted the signe of victory; for he buried his owne, & gave leave to his enemies craving it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, & not only buried his men very honourably, at great leisure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to steale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

§. IV. of

§. IIII.

Of divers stratagems practised by *Antigonus*, and *Eumenes*, one against the other.

THus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having stout Souldiers, and skillfull Generalls: but the side which had hitherto prevailed, being hindered by the equall authority of many, from pursuing all advantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe he could finde no way safer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies journey, but very bad, through a rough drie wilderness, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring 25. daies journey, he forsook, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journey in the dead of winter, he forbade unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them desired a farre off. This commandment had bene well observed foure or five daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, & the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being neer to their waies end. The light of these fires gave notice of their comings; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captaines, they were so astonied with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betooke themselves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearken his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could scarce beleve him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there he chose a convenient ground to incampe upon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Armie had bene present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himselfe prevented of his purpose; and began to feare lest he should be compelled to fight, whilest his men were tired with a long and painful journey. Therefore he resolved to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serve to refresh his Army. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, considering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that desert to be taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seene no other Army than his thereabout, but only a few men that kept fires on the hill tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that he had bene so deluded. Therefore he went against these troups with great fury, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Army was come, save only *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply coming to his enemies, sent above two thousand horse, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, & so to defend himselfe as well as he could; for his horsemen, overlaid with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spur. Neither knew they, who sat upon the Elephants, which way to turne them, for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave troups of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants upon the backe, drave them to seeke their owne safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his adversary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, provided the remedy.

§. V. The

§. V.

The conspiracie of Peucestes and others, against Eumenes his life.

BY these meanes *Eumenes* wonne great honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Capitaines, guilty of their owne much insufficiency, were so transported with envie, that they could no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serve to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of evill being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisdom, to finde good reason of the evils, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtlesie, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and careful by all gentle meanes to winne their love, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that overthrew him, which even they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly advertised by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom hee used to borrow money when hee needed not, to the end that they should be careful of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himselfe of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he revolved many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empires stood ill affected to the Royall blood, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might incourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had bene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbore either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flie into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

§. VI.

The last battaile betwene Antigonus and Eumenes.

THE Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Silver-Shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischievously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednes in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Silver-Shields* were men of threescore or seventy yeeres old, and strengthened more by continuall exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often bene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriors, the most Ancient and best regarded of all

all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very penfive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine levelled field. Placing therefore himselfe and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Pythos*, he did set forward couragiously against the Enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes tooke unto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sudden; & (withall) to give 10 proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite unto *Pythos*, he bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retrait, expecting the event of the other side.

So they joynd very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himselfe master of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deale with his false friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being even in their owne opinions, far inferiour to those 10 whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Silver-Shields*, who slew above five thousand of them, losing of their owne not one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so over-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, untill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battell, leaving his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the 10 way unto *Antigonus* himselfe. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did so beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspence, uncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed undiscovered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than unto the carriages, he might not onely have defended them, but peradventure have surprised those which came to surprize them, & so have done as good a piece of service as a better man. But he was gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event: and *Eumenes* was so over-laboured both in body and minde, that he could not possibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himselfe every way over-charged, beganne to give backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he would have done.

The losse of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, & renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not onely refused to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Camps. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing somewhat more, & therefore taking halfe his horsemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other halfe he committed to *Python*, willing him to set upon the *Silver-Shields* in their retreat; which yet he forbore to doe, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoile which he got, by surprizing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

How *Eumenes* was betrayed to *Antigonus*, and slaine.

Eumenes, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Silver-Shields* extremely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheere them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had so crushed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilde mess, over the high mountains.

But these persuasions availed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captaines would needs returne into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to flee or to fight, but onely to recover their goods. Wherefore *Tentamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Silver-Shields*, (who had in former times readily consented unto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigeneis*) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, & winning the love of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore unto those old Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the onely reward of their services, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtil man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreatie, performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of farre greater matter than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make war against him. This answer pleased them so well; that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, & pretending more joy of their victory, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeeme by another fight, in the midst of this goodly talke, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his sword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; & stopping their eares against all persuasions, would not yeeld so far, as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himselfe, but brought him alive (that was their own Generall, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine to send a guard of horse-men & Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom hee could not suddenly resolve, either to kill or save. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saved, he would soone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great ability. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way, to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haste of other businesse made him doe it by the sword.

To this end came all the travailes of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wisdom, fidelity, & patience laboured in vaine, to uphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his government of himselfe, in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by *Gaspar de Coligny*, Admirall of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the mas-

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sacre of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Army of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himselfe gave to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Silver-Shields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-Shields*, that had betrayed so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into farre Countries, under pretence of wars; but with privie charge, to consume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them returne alive unto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas that beate upon the shores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How *Antigonus* slew *Python*, and occupied *Media*. How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himselfe Lord of *Persia*, carrying away *Peucestes*.

The two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principall men intently bent unto the businesse ensuing. *Python* began to consider his owne deservings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Province. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, unless it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom hee stumbled upon some, that were unsecreet, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissention betweene him, and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, comming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*; his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; & the love of the Souldiers which hee had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, even an offensive war. But what need had he to use the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such division. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way: but swamme carelessly through the blood, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Governour in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captaine, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he understood his owne mightinesse. For hee placed and displaced at his owne pleasure, Governours in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, except such as lay too farre off to bee dislodged easily.

Peucestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences; but was deceived, having to doe with one that could not be taken with such baits: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never after rooke effect. Thus he, that envied the vertue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemy, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX. How

§. IX.

How Seleucus was chased out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

Seleucus was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Capitaine of the Castle of *Susa* to meete him on the way, rendring unto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleieve it; but used him with excessive kindnesse, for feare ¹⁰ of the place) could hardly beleieve it; but used him with excessive kindnesse, for feare of good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of mony, made up 25. thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behinde his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Sovereigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of love, and honoured with presents becoming the Majestie of a King. All this he accepted with great gravitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreasonable; saying, That it was not needfull for him to render unto any man ¹⁵ account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether hee spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerful; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved *Antigonus* to presse him thus, but onely the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should finde such issue, as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himselfe away, & fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppress all, that in former times had bene his betters, or at least his equals. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yielded unto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he ²⁰ wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldaans* brought a strange Prophecie to *Antigonus*, bidding him looke well to himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recover *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Asia*, & kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Easie beleivers may give credit to this tale. Had it bene true, me thinkes, *Antigonus* rather should have hanged those *Chaldaans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had setled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his journe into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he tooke up ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, & casting his accounts, found ²⁵ his yearly in-come to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

CHAP. V.

Of the great Warre betweene ALEXANDERS Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.

§. I.

The combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands, and his answer.

His great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the ^{good}

good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firme in their love toward him, that would bee ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good army should prevail more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, he tooke the way toward *Syria*, & was encountered by Embassage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which warre, forasmuch as they being his ¹⁰ Confederates, must have endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had bene all adventurers. Wherefore they desired him, that making betweene them all an equall division of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Cassander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the Hellespont, to *Lyfimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave ¹⁵ any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had bene driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly consent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, hee should yet be able to redeeme peace whensoever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was hee so weak, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to finde them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens ²⁰ helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, having by his meanes kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polyperchon*; and the councill of estate in Macedonia. But what marvell was it, if they considered not how he had saved them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitive, and begging succour, he was by his meere bounty relieved; and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those dayes command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pity him, and helpe him against his enemies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee ²⁵ now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complaine of wrong; that durst not stay to plead his right? I did use him well; but his conscience told him that he had deserved ill: if he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly justifie. I am now in the way to *Syria*, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and utter him to deale with others, if they continue to provoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the warres.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but Warre. *Antigonus* perceiving that he should be invaded from Europe, as soone as he was entered into *Syria*; left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coast, and hinder *Cassander* from landing in *Asia*: giving him also charge, to drive out of *Cappadocia* some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into Greece and Cyprus, not unfurnished of money; to draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially, he laboured to

make himself the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreflowed his journey into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navie. Therefore, having erected Beacons, & laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

Ptolomy lay in *Egypt*, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraigne enemy. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a yeare and three moneths; not idly. For hee tooke *Joppa*, and *Gaza*, which were yielded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong city of *Tyrrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it selfe upon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes, which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behooved him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*, the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with sharp Steele.

The same commodity of aide by Sea encouraged the President of *Caria* (called also *Cassander*, but not the son of *Antipater*, howsoever by the paintull and learned writer *Reimerus Reineccius*, he is, by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which hee had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himselfe into dangerous war, choosing rather to undergoe trouble at hand, than to fall under certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each party sought to winne the assistance of Greece. *Antigonus* his declaration against *Cassander*. *Alexander* the sonne of *Polysperchon* revolteth from *Antigonus* who had set him up.

IN the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the people of Greece, whose aide, which way soever it inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the *Lacedaemonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*, of whom he waged eight thousand, and caused *Polysperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowle himselfe againe, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponnesus*, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* & *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slain *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*, and not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poore Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King over the *Macedonians*, which well appeared by his crowning the Lady *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater partage than he, to joyne with him in marriage. That in meer despight of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the *Olynthians*, rooted out by *Philip* in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Cassandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by

by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her son; & should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant Generall of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was understood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemy to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should bee restored into freedome: this hee did, not because he was carefull of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not onely the *Greekes* would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithfull of all others to the Royall blood. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vaine shewes. His undertaking for the liberty of the *Greekes* was more effectuell, and got easie believe, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolomy* strove to bee as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himselfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more serviceable in war, than were to bee found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both sides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, deceived himselfe, not without great cost. For he gave to *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to set the war on foot in *Peloponnesus*, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In *Peloponnesus*, *Cassanders* men had with much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the contrary faction, and he himselfe perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them; that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith hee was able, not onely to win the doubtful, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: he thought it a part of wisdom, to surrender upon faire conditions, that which he could not assure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deale with *Alexander* about the matters in controversy, telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilfull in setting men together by the eares, not caring who prevailed, but only desiring to have them weary themselves, whilest hee was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his purse the five hundred talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receive the whole Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*. Provided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a sure and faithfull league with *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, and the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise he might well perswade himselfe, that the Country which his Father could not keepe, when hee was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste bee won by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud injurious man, so stiling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had lived a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent, (which he did not carry very secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept of good an offer; and did not sticke to enter into that league, wherby he was to become a free Lord, and subject unto no mans controll.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together; by treason of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by *Cratesipolus*, *Alexanders* wife a discreet and valiant Lady. Shee in revenge of her husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by severity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed those places that shee held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbourts.

§. IIII.

The *Ætoli*ans rise against *Cassander* in favour of *Antigonus*, and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of *Antigonus* utterly defeated by *Ptolomies* Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time. *Antigonus* draws neerer to Greece.

A*ntigonus*, when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other adversaries in Greece, by stirring up the *Ætoli*ans against them: Likewise he laboured to winne to his party the Islands in the Greek Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deale with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The *Ætoli*ans, a factious Nation, & alwaies envying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gaines equalled not their losses. *Cassander* wan some of their owne Countrey, fortified the *Acamanians* against them, & compelled *Glancias*, King of the *Illyrians*, whom he vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himselfe to beare no Armes against *Cassanders* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Islands were drawne to joyne with *Antigonus*: so the Fleet of the *Rhodi*ans under *Theodatus*, who was Admirall to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Army under conduct of *Pterilaus* marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite overthrowne by *Ptolomies* Navie. *Polyctus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalfe had been sent into Peloponnesus against *Alexander*, finding no need of his service in that Countrey, because *Alexander* was come over to their side, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these *Antigonians* held, whom he very cunningly surpris'd. He rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, wherinto *Pterilaus* falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, & many were slaine, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiving this, made all haste to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whilest he with all his Fleet were intentive onely to that business, *Polyctus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deale with *Ptolomy* about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld unto the demands of *Ptolomy*: so the parley was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in the warre, & thereby to have equall cause of hope and feare. This late victory, with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seeme to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his losses in Syria. Likewise the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equal the confederacy made between the *Ætoli*ans & him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in Asia the lesse, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but adverse to him, and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the losse of his men, money, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe, but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limbe of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and strengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, hee meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no money.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies upon Asia the lesse, wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to feare, lest the people, being tried unto him by no bond of allegiance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himselfe. To prevent this, and to be neerer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affaires did seeme to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in Syria under his son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two & twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

§. V. How

§. V.

How *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander* vanquished some enemies, raised against them by *Antigonus*. The good successe of *Antigonus* in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against *Cassander*.

THe coming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the proesse of his business thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke upon molesting him in Asia: they themselves were held over-hardly to their owne worke on Europe side. *Senthes* a King of the *Thracians*, joyning with some to Townes that rebelled against *Lyfimachus*, brought also the bordering *Scythians* into the quarrell. All these relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with money and other aide. The *Ætoli*ans likewise tooke courage, and rose against *Cassander*, having *Acacides*, lately restored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their assistant. But *Lyfimachus* gave unto his Rebels no time to confirme themselves. Hee suddainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne unto their former duty. Hee fought a battaile with the *Scythians*, and wilde *Thracians*, and drave them out of the Countrey. Finally, hee overcame *Senthes*, and following the heat of his victory, slew *Pausanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent over with an Army; and all his men hee did either put to ransom, or fill up with them his owne Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the *Ætoli*ans. For hee wasted their Countrey; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them: and after the victory, fought againe with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, & killing *Acacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the *Ætoli*ans out of most of their Countrey, and forced them to seeke their safety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the Epirotes he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his adversaries with painfull travaile; after which they remained onely favers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leisure wan all Caria the whilest, and sent Armies into Peloponnesus, and other parts of Greece, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities hee tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Countrey of Peloponnesus (excepting Sicyon and Corinth) with the Isle of Euboea, and many places of the firme Land, were by those means won to bee his in true and vehement affection, ready to doe or suffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readinesse, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine have shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if hee would passe over into Macedonia: by which terrour he forced *Cassander* to repaire thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Towns of Greece so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any forraine succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Countrey; drave his Garrisons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Cittie of Thebes; and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkable. For Thebes had not long before bin raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had beene some heinous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miserable nullity, that held them incapable of being any thing.

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§. VI. P.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus won, against Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus.

AS the presence or nearnesse of *Antigonus* gave life to his affaires in the lower Asia and Greece; so the designs of his enemies, taking advantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great workes in the Easterne parts, where with in the yeare preceding he had over-topped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wavered between contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his owne person easily reduced them to a more settled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, & leaving a Lieutenant of his owne appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran along the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria & Cilicia, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned laden to Cyprus. *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed Foote with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did hee tie himselfe and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many dayes, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the successe. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, whether having lightened his ships of their burthen in Cyprus, hee would return upon those maritime Countries, or make towards Syria, where his coming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a Royall Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of Syria. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was faine to choose out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the Cilicians. He had scarce refreshed his men and Horses in Syria, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomies* coming with a puissant Army, to give him battle. Hereupon hee called to counsaile his principall friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furnished with means to resist such ancient and famous Generalls, as *Ptolomy* & *Seleucus*. This counsaile seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to be the son of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weightie enough to belaid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, & promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such odds of number, and of great fame, would rather serve to adorne his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the advantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the coming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as soone as they had finished their wearisome journey over the Desarts of Arabia.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Province as Egypt, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evill way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they undertooke. In all things else they had the odds of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chaines, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces (which besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that yeere, whilest the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vaine journeys, or long and dulling expectation, they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight began, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part

Arriving

Arriving more to win honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the error of *Demetrius*, who upon no necessity would needes fight a battaile with disadvantage, began to appeare by his losses. He had committed himselfe to Fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight shee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unlesse it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horse-men of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, & prevailed little, till now perceiving that all must lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they began to shrink, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had stroven so long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to give place to the stronger, making a violent retreat as far as to Azorus, which was about thirty miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to save such goods, as in haste they could pack up. This foolish covetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they, forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-Horses, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already laden, *Ptolomies* Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This victory restored unto *Ptolomy* the best part of Syria, a Province more easie in those times to get than to keepe, and opened the way unto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For between Gaza & Phœnicia no place offered resistance. In Coelosyria & Phœnicia, some Townes held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which Sidon was given up by the inhabitants: Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captaine, who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The Era of the Kingdom of the Greekes, which began with the Dominion of Seleucus.

WHILE *Ptolomy* followed this businesse with such prosperity, *Seleucus* tooke leave of him, and went up to Babylon, to try his owne fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his owne Province, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the walls. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the Babylonians had found so good a Governour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but lest that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by casie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a desertion so generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigoniens, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for every man of them should have beene troubled with daily enemies in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismayed the rest, that

that they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly took it; and so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like: for his owne great Army lay between them & all enemies. Therefore when the victory at Gaza had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now gotten what he sought, it behooved him to seeke how hee might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in Media, joining unto himselfe, out of Persia and other Countries, all needfull helpe, came, with ten thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, either to save all from being lost, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had onely four hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foote, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large Conquest of unwarlike Nations having yielded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the River of Tigris, he withdrew himself from the place where his resistance was expected, into certaine marshes not farre off; where he lay secretly waiting for some advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his Campe. In recompence of this vaine security, his Campe was taken by surprize, the first night of his arrivall; the *Satrapa*, or Lievtenant of Persia, together with sundry of the Captaines, were slaine; hee himselfe was driven to flee for his life into the deserts, and the whole Army yielded unto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all Media, Sufiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new stile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much used by the Jewes, Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeere of this *Æra*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that the five hundred and nineteenth yeare of Nabonassar, was the fourscore and two yeere of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, That the first of these yeers was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight yeers after Nabonassar. With the observation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of Bunnings finding the same Planet to have beene so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the Chaldeans had observed it, in the same yeere; which was from Nabonassar the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the fourscore and two yeer; & the last of the hundred thirty and seventh Olympiad. These observations of the celestiaall bodies, are the surest marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the yeeres of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of unremembred fractions) if they seeme to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these yeeres of the Greekes were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one yeer, that is found between actions, related by the severall Authors of the two Books of the *Maccabees*, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeers distance.

§. VIII. How

§. VIII.

How Ptolomy lost all he wonne in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the Macedonians, by those that had beene subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill success.

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* adventure to goe up to Babylon, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staied longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, having lost the battaile at Gaza, received from *Ptolomy* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to his effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would seeke to right themselves after such manner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiring him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. *Antigonus* upon the first newes of this overthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolomy* won upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a stand in Phrygia. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did nevertheless follow his own businesse in Cœlolyria; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lievtenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, having lately saved his life by flight, would now be more carefull of having a faire way at his backe, than adventurous in setting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all feare; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careless march; he took the lightest of his Army, and made his journey with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his losse at Gaza had almost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equall favour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomy* so weakened by this losse, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the coming of *Ptolomy*; & therefore he fortified himselfe in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other side was loth to engage himselfe in an enterprize, wherein he might perceive, that if the coming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, hee should either be driven to make a shamefull retreat, or a dangerous adventure of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeede, was nothing slow in his way towards Syria; whither hee made so all haste, not so much to relieve his sonne, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victory, he brought such forces, as might serve to re-conquer all Syria: meaning, that the honour of all should be referred unto the good foundation, laid by his son; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolomy had now lesse reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his coming to have assailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if he

Phil. Alog. lib. 11. cap. 7. §. 8.

L. Gauric. in ann. ad locum citatum.

he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines advised him to retire into Egypt, alledging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive warre. So he departed out of Syria, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any sudden passion of fear: and he departed at faire leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismante some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his backe, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himselfe Lord of a great Province.

We may justly wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run, with so hasty a course, as gave him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority betweene the King of Israel, and those of Damascus; betweene Egypt, and Babylon; Babylon and Nineve; the Persians and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once bene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and againe recovered by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider, how the severall States of Greece (many of which had never possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather friends than servants, for feare of further inconvenience.

It must therefore bee noted, that most of these Countries had always bene subject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the Babylonians and Persians long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Persian Empire: so that wanting within themselves all soveraigne power, or high authority, the life and spirit of every Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdom fell, whereof they lately had bene members.

Why the Persian *Satrapa*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, strive to lay hold upon those Provinces, which had many ages bin subject unto them, & scarce foure years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossesse them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may finde no lesse reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirme it. For wee seldome reade, that any small Kingdom, prevailing against a farre greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compass of ten yeares, as left unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor means to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather utter confusion hath ensued, by the fury of civill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set down by *Machiavelli*, and concerns all other Kingdomes, that are subject unto the like forme of Government: the summe whereof is this; Wheresoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of slaves, there is the conquest easie, and soone assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdom of France. If any invader should prevaile so farre upon Turkie, that the great Sultan and his Children (for Brethren he useth not to suffer alive) were taken or slaine: the whole Empire would quickly bee wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great soever they may seeme, are meer slaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gaine should not

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countervail all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall blood, there are in that Kingdom store of great men: who are mighty in their severall Countries, and having certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne, are able to raise warre in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will always stirre up and inflame them: so that untill every one piece were won, and every one (an endless worke) of the chiefe Nobility brought under or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often-times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easly make a faire entrance. But such assistants are not so easly kept, as they are gotten; for they looke to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they soone returne to their old allegiance, upon condition to keepe what they have, unlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The *Turke*, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatest mischief that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flye to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that hee formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must adventure to excuse himselfe unto his Master, who seldome forgives the Captaine, that hath not striven by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great *Sultan*, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than such as are subject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leave unto them no means, whereby to oppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him assistance, if adversity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the *Turks* Bassaes, or Provinciall Governours, that knows either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse & utter ruine of the Turkish Empire, can lose any foote of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other device painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of slavery.

As in the Turkish Empire, so was the Persian, void of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meere favour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall blood, and others, descended from the Princes that joynd with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: the few were men of reputation in Persia, but their reputation consisted onely in their Pedegree, and their safety in not meddling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these Persian Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and so did stile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That upon every light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves, it is easie to be discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* upon his owne brother *Masties*; which hath bene formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapae*, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needlesse to cite examples, proving them to have bene meer slaves: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in Persia, may be added the generall want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no lesse available, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavelli*. For as *Aesop* his Assle did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their owne Princes, are not greatly fearfull of a forraigne yoke;

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Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoignes* beare ſuch faithfull affection to the Kings of England; for that they governed more mildly than the French: this enlarged the *Venetian* jurisdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Townes that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſours: & this did cauſe the Macedonians, with other Nations, that had been ſubject unto the poſterity of *Alexanders* followers, to ſerve the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were caſed of many burthens, which had been impoſed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameneſſe, which we finde in thoſe that had been ſubjects of the Perſian Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeed been abſolutely conquered by the Perſian. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the Caſpian Sea. Such alſo were the Arabians bordering upon Syria: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he ſent, ſell upon the *Nabatheans*, at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrrhe, Frankincenſe, & other ſuch commodities. All or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with five hundred talents of ſilver, and many priſoners, the Macedonians laid hold upon: for their coming was ſudden & unexpected. But ere they could recover Syria, the *Nabatheans* overtook them, & finding them weary with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of foure thouſand foot, and fixe hundred horſe, only fifty horſe eſcaped. To revenge this loſſe, *Demetrius* was ſet out with a great power: yet all in vaine; for hee was not reſiſted by any Army, but by the naturall defence of a vaſt Wilderneſſe, lacke of water, and of all things neceſſary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein hee loſt not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him preſents. Returning from the *Nabatheans*, he viewed the Lake *Asphaltites*, whence hee conceived hope of great profit that might bee raiſed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good huſbandry of his ſon, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed men to the worke: but they were ſlaine by the Arabians, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petty enterpriſes, with the ill ſucceſſe accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage againſt *Protolomy*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, married all together. For neither was the loſſe of thoſe great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it ſafe to tranſport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby Syria and the lower *Aſia* ſhould have beene expoſed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius* with fifteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his ſonne did leſſe. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themſelves from neceſſity of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without ſetting in Garrifon more men than hee could ſpare, neither did he get much; & therefore was faine to ſet out the bravery of his expedition, by burning and ſpoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, & as it were acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne aſſured.

Antigonus had laid upon his ſon a peremptory commandement, to returne unto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeeme) that in ſuch an unſettled ſtate of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the fury of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would be vaine to ſtrive againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould frustrate the valour, that by ſtrength of time was like to become leſſe terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behinde him five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, rather to make ſhew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himſelfe, with greater forces could doe little more than nothing, forſooke the enterpriſe, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

§. IX.

A general peace made and broken. How all the houſe of Alexander was deſtroyed.

THEſe ambitious heads, having thus wearied themſelves with uneſſeſſuall travell, in ſeeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded; that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no private hatred, but mere deſire of Empire, had moved them to enter into the warre; ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulneſſe growing upon the ſlow advancement of their ſeverall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, til occaſion might better ſerve to fight againe.

Befides that maine point, Of retaining the Provinces which every man held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a faire, but a falſe colour, to the buſineſſe; That the ſon of Alexander by *Roxane*, ſhould be made King when he came to full age; and, That all the Eſtates of Greece ſhould be ſet at libertie. The advancement of young Alexander to his Fathers kindome, ſeems to have bin a matter forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcovered a purpoſe, to make himſelfe Lord of all. But this, indeed, more neerly touched *Cassander*. For in his cuſtodie was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in ſort anſwerable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had ſeene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that ſought to put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betwene them, rooted in theſe grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this concluſion of peace, grew up faſter than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who ſaw the Macedonians turne their favourable expectation, towards the ſon of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince muſt firſt have poſſeſſion of Macedonia: whereby *Cassander* ſhould be reduced to his poor office, of Captain over a thouſand men, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done under *Aridemus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne ſtrength. He in the meane time, by his readineſſe to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himſelfe from that ill favoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelfe Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, of reſtoring the Greeks to their libertie. This libertie had hitherto beene the ſubject of much idle diſcourſe: but it never tooke effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarce any Towne of theirs, *Cassander* occupied moſt of the Countrie: which if he ſhould ſet free, he muſt be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell againſt him, as againſt a Diſturbur of the common peace.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* ſeas, together with a great Armie, and mony enough to entertaine a greater, might ſerve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes as high as ever they had beene.

With much diſadvantage doe many men contend againſt one that is equall to them all in power. *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill caſe; but he could not doe without: for where every one mans helpe is neceſſarie to the warre, there may any one make his owne peace; but no one can ſtand out alone, when all the reſt are wearie. The beſt was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no ſuch end as the becoming Subjects unto any man, much leſſe to the ſon of an *Aſiaticque* woman, of whom they had long ſince reſuſed to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a ſhort courſe, and cauſed both the child and his Mother to be ſlaine: freeing thereby himſelfe in a trice, from the dangerous neceſſitie of yeelding up his government, which he muſt have done when the child had come to age. *Roxane* was a Ladie of ſingular beautie, which was perhappes the cauſe, why *Perdiccas* deſired to have her ſonne, being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heire to the great Alexander. Immediately upon the death of Alexander, he had uſed the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the ſatiſfying of her owne bloudie malice, upon *Stattira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*, whom Alexander had likewiſe married, according to the cuſtome of thoſe Countries, wherein pluralitie of wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterſeit letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poore Ladie into his hands, ſhe did, by aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Siſter, and threw their

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bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were she and her son made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein every one persuaded himselfe of success, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themselves: as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own stocke. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister unto *Ptolomie* matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing, to be set at liberty. Under colour of redressing this enormitie, he sent an Armie into *Cilicia*, where he won foure Townes, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of *Asia*, winning so many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requirall of his services) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe as he had been to his own Uncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greeks* at libertie, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where having first free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired work, that *Cratipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyperchon*s son, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sigon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomie had conceived a vain beliefe that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart and rise up in armes; whereby with little labour their libertie might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortal benefit. But long servitude had well-near extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedom, had fortified their spirits, that they would no more sit in pursuit thereof; but sat idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouths.

The *Lacedemonians*, about these times, began to fortifie their Town with wals; strutting no longer in their vertue for both it, and the discipline that upheld it were too much impaired; that had been a wall to their Town and Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble servants, as they had been in times past insolent Masters: erecting as many statues in honour of *Demetrius Phalerus*, as there were daies in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governour; and he governed them with much moderation: but in spight of their hearts, as being set over them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Country stood affected. *Ptolomie* could not get them to set their helping hands to their owngood, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thralldome; as judging the commoditie that would arise by annexing them to his partie, a matter of more weight than the losse that *Cassander* should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, if once *Antigonus* took the worke in hand. But when he found such difficultie in the businesse, he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sigon* and *Corinth* in his own possession.

Before the coming of *Ptolomie* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had bene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure unto himselfe the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellepont*: making his owne advantage of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice he freed himselfe from a greater danger, and made those

those murders which he had committed seeme the lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyperchon*, that had made so great a stir in the reign of *Aridam*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her child, enter againe upon the Stage: leading in his hand another sonne of the great *Alexander*; and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barsine* the daughter of *Antabazuma* a *Persian*; but had been lesse esteemed than the sonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine; or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare unto *Roxane*. At this time to the death of his brother had moved such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexander*s only living child, had procured unto him such good will, that the demand which *Polyperchon* made in his behalf, was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joynd with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not been most false. *Cassander* had raised an Armie to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polyperchon* himselfe with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill; choosing rather with many curses and foule dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a noble fame with dangerous travell, in maintaining his faith unto both his dead and living Sovereignes.

Antigonus had not all this while bin asleep; though his losses were hitherto the chiefe winnesse, of his having bene a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recoverie of those places which *Ptolomie* had taken paines to winne. As for the rest, it no way grieved him to see *Cassander* incur the general hatred of men by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerfull, or to see *Polyperchon* and *Ptolomie* sweat in a busie warre against *Cassander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have afforded them leisure, and have thought to the time well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was thoroughly persuaded that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughty conceits, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big upon them; and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their owne should have depended. Against this envie of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedie, such as was like to give him a goodly tide to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoever she discovered much unwillingnesse thereunto, yet was she in his power; and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive means: either because his fancie, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping belike to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those brave Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in love with her, durst then aspire unto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a lustie widow, suffered her blood so farre to prevail against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, That she was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner void, and the portion due to her thereingrew, in mens opinion, greater than it had bene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while she her selfe desired only a proper man, with whom shee might lead a merrie life. To this purpose did the invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haste, but was cut off by death ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long

tarrying, he had her choice of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus* excepted) had wives already; *Ptolomie* had many wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindered not his suite: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* some hope of mutual toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her self, and was taking her journey from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, until his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. She would not be his wife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bin the way, by which he might have incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Poxane* (a Ladie lesse respected than *Alexanders* own sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commoditie of so faire a title to the kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischievous conspirers against the life of that good Ladie. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murder was detected, we need not aske: for seldome is that bloudie crime un-revealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

This was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods justice, due unto the cruelty of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent blood, were soon after cast down, over-whelming themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequell will declare.

§. X.

How Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, gave libertie to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of Cassander out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

None being left alive that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely professe themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name it besmeared the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbear it: neither seemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained unto greatness by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the libertie of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equal to any name of royaltie, whereof in seeming modestie, he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong armie, with a Navie of two hundred and fiftie saile, and five thousand talents of silver, unto *Demetrius* his son: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in setting all the Countrey free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entered the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomie*, *Cassanders* good friend, had bin arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, & what was the cause of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Phalerus* forsooke the town, and withdrew himself to *Thebes* under safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I think it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meere trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed

disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly strain themselves, to the observance of generall commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady *Cratespolis* lay in *Paras*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that she might by his means a better her estate, and recover her Townes of *Sydon* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomie*; to whose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered many for the surrender of them. Yet the onely business pretended was love. He being advertised hereof, left his forces in the Countrey of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long journey to meet with her. This troupe also, he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her when she came. As closely as the business was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any termes of reason, by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift, than to muffle himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised; leaving them to ranke his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medley of conditions; especially an extreme dissoluteness in wanton pleasures, and a painefull industry in matter of Warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising Engines of Warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adversitie made his valour more active; prosperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he listed. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till she had wound up the thread of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his business at *Megara*; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assail *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*: which, until it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walles, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and won the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defences of that piece against the Citie, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was given their liberty, with promise to save them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to base flattery; that eloquence of theirs which the virtues of their Ancestors had suted unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they consecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entered their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the al-lighter*; they called them by the names of the gods their Saviours, ordaining that every yeare, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadors, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they sent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so grosse. Hereby they not onely corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take upon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; unless he would seeme to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honours. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corne and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheate, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather so weak is great power in resisting the assaults of flattery.

§. XI.

The great victorie of Demetrius against Ptolomie in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius tooke upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

FROM this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a businesse of greater difficultie; meaning to employ his service against *Ptolomie*, in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed to establish a generall Counsell, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Countrey. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppresse the *Greekes*, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that hee should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately hapned in Cyprus, through the indiscretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his lieutenant in that Ile. *Nicoles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so far that he thought himselfe past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrounding *Nicoles* his house with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to have him yielded to the death. *Nicoles* offered to cleare himselfe; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessitie caused the unhappie King to rid himselfe of life: and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that she not onely flew her selfe, but perswaded the wives of her husbands brethren to doe the like. Also those brethren of *Nicoles*, unto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the suddenesse of this calamitie, did shut up the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

Whatsoever the crime objected was; *Nicoles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* delivered the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much dislike fell also upon *Ptolomie*: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection even upon those that gave the farthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The Cypriots did little or nothing against him: either because they had small strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves have the rule of their owne Countrey. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to save himselfe within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retaine possession of the whole Iland. His greatest helpe at the present was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good usage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and introlled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunity. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in Egypt, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long against the odds of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of batterie, if *Ptolomie* had not hastened to the rescue.

Ptolomie brought with him a hundred and fortie Gallies, besides two hundred ships of burden, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible shew, when it was descried afarre; though more than halfe of it was unfit for service in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomie* sent unto *Demetrius* a threatening message: willing him to be gone, unless he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaid him with words of as much bravery, promising to let him escape, upon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eightene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomie*; better stored with weapons fit for that service;

vice; and very well furnished with Engines in the prow, to beat upon the enemy. Nevertheless he stood in great doubt of three score Gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, lest *Menelaus* with them should set upon his back: in which case, it was very likely that all would goe very ill with him. Against this mischance, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keepe *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to give what assistance they could, he with the rest of his Fleet, put to Sea against *Ptolomie*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull successe. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleet. Each of them prevailed against the Squadron wherewith he encountered; but the successe of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themselves unto speedie flight. As for *Ptolomie*, he was faine to leave his advantage upon the enemy in one part of the fight; that he might relieve and animate those of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his losse over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured onely to save himselfe, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battell no unusual accident; yet was the victorie greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-fencing, which the *Greekes* and *Phenicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had above those which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reasonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolomies* Armie, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrarie affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting that they should so doe; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very sleight occasions to thinke themselves abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, issuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in sterne, was utterly frustrated. He was kept in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in Fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that find some part of their fears vaine, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own ability, to doe more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatsoever the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer strive against the violence of fortune; but yielded up all that he held in Cyprus, together with his Armie, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the Egyptian by Land; none of them refusing any more confidence in *Ptolomie*, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally beleeved, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Ile of Cyprus for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good news. *Aristodemus* had bethought himselfe of a trick, whereby to double the welcome of his joyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore: he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and soall alone he went forward, looking very fadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arrivall (for it was not known where he had bin) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure

demire Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and softly forward with a great throng at his heeles (that served well to set out his Pageant) untill he came in sight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Aristodemus*, upon the sudden, with a high voyce salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requittall of the long suspense, wherein *Aristodemus* had held him, sayd, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not with a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noyfed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselves Kings; it was not long ere their fellowes were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no means endure, that their Lord should be thought a man dejected for the losse of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldnesse enough to put the Diademe about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he used the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himselfe contented with his own name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his crueltie against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurpe, though with ill successe, as will appeare, when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon the se old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger looks, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Warres betweene the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: untill all Alexanders Princes were consumed.

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill successe.



LIke the rest of these Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himselfe, as becomming his greatnesse: which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an armie of eighteen thousand foot, & eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Navie *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was ready for the journey, the Sea-men advised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleades*. But his hasty desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, rejected this counsell; imputing it rather to their feare than skill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was soon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortall enemy) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste he made: thinking by celeritie to prevaille more than by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie tenne dayes provision of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desert, over

over which he marched with no small toyle, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Casius*, which is neare adjoyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore, in ill case, and many Shippes wanting. It had beene forely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driven backe to *Gaza*, or scattered else-where into such creekes as they could recover: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it up against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did; and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received reliefe. After these painfull travels, there followed a Warre no lesse painfull than to litle purpose; for *Ptolomie* had so fortified all the passages upon the River of *Nilus*, as hee assured himselfe either to end the warre there, or if his guards should happen to be forc't, yet could it not be done but so much to the weakening of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blowes speedily: *Ptolomie* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers raised upon the River in vaine, *Ptolomie* assailed the faith of his souldiers with good successe; for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fast; as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments, upon the passages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme tortments; but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*: had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noyse of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therefore as wel the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forc't retreat, he secretly practised the advice of his Councell, upon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeed lesse prejudiciall in such like cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses be laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious than that of a Vassall. *Charles* the first, as many other Princes have done, layd the losse and dishonour he received in the invasion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antoine de Leva*, whether justly or no, I know not; but howsoever, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave Captaine his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtfull enterprises is rather a testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the giver; for the ill successe is alwaies cast upon the Councell, the good never wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not onely bene dissuaded, but held, in a kind, by strong hand, from hazzarding their own persons, and yet have those kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marshalls Court.

§. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

THIS departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deale of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomie* held a solemne Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to *Seleucus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensive Warre. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witnesses of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare savers by the last bargain, and himselfe, as he supposed, having lost but a litle time, and no part of his honour in the late retreat. Howsoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleave a sunder by great blowes, he purposed by litle and litle to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the

the Tree it selfe with the more facility. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow awhile) to roote up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the fore-named Confederates should be forc'd either to relieve, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provision promised him victory.

At this time the Cite of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it selfe in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therein a great deale of riches to it selfe; to maintain which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Shippes, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and petty Thieves, but the reputation of their strength was so thereby so much encreased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacy.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart; or joyne themselves to some one, and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carryed them to the *Egyptian*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnesse, and neighbourhood was fearfull unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrell to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himselfe against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the War against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprize, he employed his Sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terrour upon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, and not by love; raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ships of War as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to be imposed upon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored unto the *Rhodian*s their lost courage, and made them resolve to defend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves fellow-slaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the faire conditions offered (as the *Rhodian*s the fearfull ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he did never shew himselfe a greater Artisan, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults given them for a whole year, after many brave sallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Towne, which had proved farre more extreme, if *Pholomy* had not with many hazards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gave over the sieges, a hundred hostages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrats and Officers of the Cite.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the usuall policie of War, and state: for while with the flower of all his fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recovered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the War as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded army, which he himselfe led as far as into *Asia*, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered *Athens* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Polyperchon* invade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, advised the *Athenians* and *Aetolians* to dispatch their Embassadors towards *Demetrius*, and advised *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterprize of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by setting all *Greece* at liberty.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, than that the *Rhodian*s erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*; but for *Pholomy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawful to call him a god. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hamon*, gave the same fair answer for *Pholomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander*

his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heeles, so was *Pholomy* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexander*s Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How *Demetrius* prevailed in *Greece*. *Cassander* desires peace of *Antigonus*, and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of War against *Antigonus*.

Demetrius coming with a strong Fleete and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Cassander* out of *Asia*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopyla*. Herein his reputation did much avails him; which was so great, that sixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giving liberty unto the people, he bestowed upon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had been fortified against them, to blocke them up. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for he suddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty upon such as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his owne name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure. At the *Isthman* games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine General of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times; whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he despised all others, making it a matter of jest, that any, save himselfe or his father, should usurpe the name of King. But in his behaviour he was so farre unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leaseure, he deserved none other name than of a drunken Palliard. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to devise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatsoever King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and just with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, lest the war should fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoyd, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadors; but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in solliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lysimachus* knew that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be Master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Pholomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt forces they should all together set upon the common enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice; but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would easily scatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a stone. With these conceits he pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* had committed unto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe over into *Asia*, while he himselfe with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, began to make hot War upon the subjects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyne with him by faire means; winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To repress this unexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hasty journeys, and came soon enough to recover his losses; but not strong enough to drive *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battell. *Lysimachus* waited for the coming of *Seleucus*; keep-

ping himselfe the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to bee foote in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his journey: which enforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspense, & bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* bin so forward, that he refused to yeeld upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neare with a mighty Army of his owne (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leasure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolomie*, that was joynd with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, *Demetrius* was called over into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, upon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Country; and that his journey might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should be at liberty. *Cassander* was glad to be rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found means to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances else where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himselfe to the rryall of the maine controversie in *Asia*.

§. IIII.

How Antigonus was slaine in a great battell at Ipsus, neare unto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

Seleucus, with his Sonne *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the Enemy. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all Warres, but especially in the Civill) they were rather unanferable than unequal to their adversaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proofe of his worth in many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had some times flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully stolne away from him to save his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journey; and *Lysimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised: many of them having served under *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space of two and twenty years had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battell they must either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could discern no other necessity of fighting, than the obstinate quality of their Lord, that needs would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about threecore and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and threecore and fiftene Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the oddes of five hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helpees, though they little had availed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captain.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the unexpected greatnesse of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensive, consuming much in private

private with his sonne whom hee commended to the Army as his Successor: whereas in former times he had never been so jocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been accustomed to make his son, or any other, private to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards devised, I hold it needlesse to recount. *Diana* of *Ephesus* dwelt neere to the place of battell, a buisie goddess in many great fights; and therefore likely to have bene thrust into the fable, if any matter, neerly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to beleeve, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well neere all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthy Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie losse in regard of the much variety, wherewith every story aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these: *Demetrius* with his best force of horse, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, hee was so transported with the heat of his good successe, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, hee enterposed his Elephants, betweene *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troupes of horse offering to breake upon the enemies battaile, whersoever it lay most open, he did so terrifie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairely invited, than to sustaine the fury of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his destinies. *Antigonus* was then fourescore yeares old, very fat and unwieldy, so that hee was unfit for flight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty followers, & as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troupe making towards his person, told him, *Sir King, yonder company meanes to charge you*; He answered, *well may they; for whodefends me? but anon Demetrius will relieve me*. Thus expecting to the very last, that his son should come to the rescue, he received so many Darts into his body, as tooke away his last ambitious hopes, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of Armes, together with his unsatiable desire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but used insolence towards all alike, as if it had bin some vertue neere representing a Kingly Majestie. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forooke him in his last necessity. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeavours of their Vassalls, onely duty and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: shall finde themselves upon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is love onely that staies by adversity) not only the most friendlesse, but even the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his son.

§. V.

How Demetrius, forsaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolomy, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entering into quarrels.

For *Demetrius*, at his returne from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himselfe, with foure thousand horse and five thousand foot, by a speedy retrace unto *Ephesus*, whence hee made great haste unto *Athen*, as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest hee was in the midst of his course thither, the *Athenian* Embassadors met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should bee admitted into their Citie. These were Embassadors, not *Theoris*, or Consulters with the Oracle, it was a shamelesse ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate

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Prince than to see his adversity despised by those whom hee had thought his surest friends. Yet was he faine to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven, of which he now stood in great need; & therefore was faine to speake them faire, that somtimes had grossly flattered him. But he shall live to reach them their old language, & speake unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he failed to the *Milimus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that the was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or means wherewith to sustaine him & his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerors, and those few places which he as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, hee had no power; and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to bury himselfe and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briars, fell upon a corner of *Lyfimachus* his Kingdome, whereof he gave all the spoile that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses having beene too great to be repaid againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the overthrow given, having onely sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of *Asia* the lesse, and all *Syria*, being no otherwise divided from his owne Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that hee could of the victory, at which nevertheless others did repine, and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the over-greatenesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted upon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law universall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slaine *Antigonus* the father, and driven *Demetrius* the sonne out of *Asia*, sought to morrow how to march himselfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serve his time against *Lyfimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in love, and so dis tempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to save his sonnes life, gave her (though shee were his wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betweene *Ptolomy* and *Lyfimachus*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*; though for the present it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings; otherwisely any of them to each other, than the marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Austrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, & other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull, than those of the same latter times have beene; as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, & of *Charles* the Emperour, of *France* the first, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may observe: betweene whom from the year of our Lord, One thousand four hundred ninety and five, when *Charles* the eighth undertooke the Conquest of *Naples*, to the year One thousand five hundred fifty and eight, when *Henry* the second died, the Histories of those times tell us, that all the bonds; either by the Bedde or by the Booke, either by Weddings, or Sacramentall Oaths, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Plistarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*, who had gotten it as

his share in the divison of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him; that entred upon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacy hee should have done against the common enemy. So *Plistarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, & keep all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*; and therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperity, he never tooke notice to the others good. About the same time hee tooke to Wife a daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with these *Macedonians*, who had learned it in their Eastern conquests) & so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seeme to advance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy* could both of them have beene contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate under their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himselfe: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Ile of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would faine have set his new father-in-law upon the necke of *Lyfimachus*; or whether hee were indeede greedy of the bargain; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not haerken, but meant to keep as much land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serve him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be surrendered unto him; which were the onely places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaille. In stead of giving them up, *Demetrius* tooke present order to have them better manned; & spake it stoutly, That were hee overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his Father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govern. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastened upon armes, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envie to the stronger.

§. V I.

How *Demetrius* won the City of *Athens*, and prevailed in *Greece*, but lost in *Asia*.
Of troubles in *Macedon* following the death of *Cassander*.

In the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to use the liberty which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, under the tyranny of *Laches*. Through which alteration their dis tempered City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastened him, whom they had once called their God and Saviour, to present himselfe unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought against them all the force that hee could well spare from other employments; which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easternne friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any business, that might entangle him in *Greece*. His first enterprize in *Athens* had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in *Peloponnesus*, where hee wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all reliefe from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of means to keep such a Navie, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomy*, who (trusting thereby to win the love of *Greece*) had laden a hundred and fifty ships with corn, and sent them to relieve the hungry City. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deale with three hundred

good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, & therefore hastened them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come so neere that they might be defied. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped downe betwene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeeld up the Towne, and crave pardon, having so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence to propoſe any motion of peace. Yet were they faine to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbear to take away the lives of these unthankfull men, which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, & placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheless he was growne wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; hee was ready to lay hold upon the word, & leave asure Garrison within their walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this hee went into *Peloponnesus*, vanquished the *Lacedemonians* in two batailles, and was in very faire possibility to take their City: when the dangerous newes of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, than himselfe did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haste. *Lysimachus* had won many Towns in *Asia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Isle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himselfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in *Macedon*, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest son, whose two younger brethren, *Antipater* & *Alexander*, fought for the Kingdom. In this quarrell *Thellonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he flew his owne Mother. The odiousness of this fact gave a faire lustre to *Alexander's* cause: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrhus* & *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shined well for himselfe, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered division of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, & a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt; & With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrell, derived from his father, whom the could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty that the used against his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon shedding the Royall blood: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carelesness to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindred his purpose, argues him to have beene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a far off the dangers, that may quietly passe away; and seeks to avoid them by base & wicked means, as never thinking it self safe enough, untill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* & *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserved the bloody end which over-tooke them; yet ill befecmed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexander's* children had by no law of men, deserved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the divine Justice brought swords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

Of *Pyrhus* and his doings in *Macedon*. The death of *Cassanders* children. *Demetrius* gets the Kingdome of *Macedon*; prevails in warre against the *Greeks*; Loseth reputation in his warre against *Pyrhus*, and in his civill Government, and prepares to win *Asia*. How all conspire against *Demetrius*. *Pyrhus* and *Lysimachus* invade him, his Army yeelds to *Pyrhus*, who shares the Kingdome of *Macedon* with *Lysimachus*.

Pyrhus, the Sonne of that unfortunate Prince *Acacides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preserved, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conveyed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his heire. *Glaucias* was so farre from betraying *Pyrhus*, that he restored him byforce to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelve yeeres of age. Within the compasse of fixe yeeres, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page, followed him a while in his warres, was with him in the great battell of *Ipsus*, whence he fled with him to *Ephesus*; & was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he so behaved himselfe, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, & was thereupon sent home, with mony & men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was settled in it, then fell out that busines between the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* sons, was so farre too weake for *Pyrhus*, that he had no desire to attend the coming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, and divided the Kingdome with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hands, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, & much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so farre with an Army, and finde no worke for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a wife course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wisest, beleaved it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himselfe was feasted and flaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughty man *Cassander* had beene, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was buſied in warre with the King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine he caused the remainder of *Macedon* to bee given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargain *Antipater* grievously stomed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stomed; untill his Father-in-law, to save the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to avoid molestation, were flaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slain his owne Masters children, in a wise course of policy, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his owne house, that fell downe upon his grave, ere the earth on it was thoughtly settled.

It might be thought, that such an acceſſe of Dominion, added much to the greatnesse of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of civill Government: but thought (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none

(who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Lady) did poyson her selfe, upon desperate griefe for his misfortune. The first, upon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their Towne; but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokel-man, and taking faire words in stead of satisfaction, passed over into *Asia*, with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yielded to his obedience. There were also some Captaines that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not longer ere *Agathocles* the son of *Lysimachus*, came upon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazzard his last stocke against it. Wherefore, he resolved to passe through *Phrygia* & *Armenia*, into *Media*, & the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grievously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which wayes hee could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome Enemy: nevertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titular King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the river *Lycus*, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driven to travaile with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Captaine, escaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of *Cilicia*, whilst *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Country; but with vehemence & humble letters he besought his Son-in-law, to call to mind their alliance, & to pity him in his great misery. These letters, at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himselfe, when he recovered strength after the battell at *Ipsus*, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousy of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meer desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sickness tooke and held him forty dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his comming bene discovered by fugitives, that gave alarme. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himselfe, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those few forsooke him) to yeeld unto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demy-lland, wherein were goodly Walkes, Orchards, and Parkes for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, & friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved unto the coming of young *Antiochus* and *Syratonicus*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three years, living merrily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happinesse, which with so much travaile and blood-shed, he had fought in vaine) and then dyed, leaving to his sonne *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left unto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his House will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places convenient.

§. IX.

The death of *Ptolomy*, of *Lysimachus*, and of *Seleucus*, that was last of *Alexander* Captaines: with other occurrences.

About the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, & (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many children, out of whom he selected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reigne together with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so he might confirme him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captaines left, *Seleucus* & *Lysimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrell, was their neere equality of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poysoning *Agathocles* his eldest son: whose wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aide.

The *Macedons* after seven Moneths pause, having spent their first heat of admiration, began to harken so well to *Lysimachus*, their naturall Country-man, that they forsooke *Pyrhus*, upon none other ground than because hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lysimachus* had reigned about five yeares alone, when the City of *Lysimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeared by events, to have foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne jealousy, and the instigation of a Mother-in-law, caused him to poyson his Son *Agathocles*, which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the losse of all his fifteen children that were taken away by divers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountered by *Lysimachus* on *Asia* side, where one battell concluded the warre, with *Lysimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe as Lord and Heire of all the conquered World. So he passed over into *Macedon*, to take possession of *Europe*, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his days, and within seaven Moneths followed *Lysimachus*, and other of his fellows, by a bloody death, being treacherously slaine by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had bin. Seventy & seven year old he was, when he fought with *Lysimachus*, and *Lysimachus* was seventy and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had seen the daies as it were of another World under the *Persian*: yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of Warre: even *Pyrhus* the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into warre with the *Romans*, a more warlike people than *Alexander* himselfe did ever encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it seemed full that wee here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to ensue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by *Alexanders* Successors; with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and settling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

S. I.

How the Romanes enlarged their Dominions in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius; unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.



OW Rome was founded by Romulus; settled in good order by Numa Pompilius; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength, unto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius: it hath become already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it selfe out of Italy, to overwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done)

briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty City in a compendious relation of those many actions, which could not have bene delivered in the ages, wherein they were severally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of Tullus Hostilius (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his house by lightning) Ancus Martius, Grand-child to Numa Pompilius by his daughter, and not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdom of Rome. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the hill Aventine, which he enclosed; built a bridge over Tybris, and the City of Ostia upon the Sea, sixteen miles distant from Rome. Finally, having reigned foure and twenty years, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one Lucumon, the son of Damaratus, a Corinthian, who avoiding Cypselus King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, and dwelt in Tarquinii, by the name of which Towne he was afterwards called Tarquinus. From that City in Hetruria comming to Rome, & encouraged by some ominous occurrences, together with his wife Tanaquil's prophesie, he grew a favorite of Ancus Martius; by his Grecian wit humouring the factions of the Roman Court, in so much that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senatours, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he prevailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this Lucius Tarquinus had reigned eight and thirty yeeres, hee was slaine by the sons of Ancus Martius, to whom he had been left Guardian. But Tanaquil his wife, perceiving what was done, informed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified unto them, that in the interim of this sickness, one Servius Tullius, whom from his birth she alwaies prophesied to be borne to great hopes (the sonne of P. Corniculannus and Oerisina, a well defended, but captive woman) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, untill his recovery: which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdom in as good sort, as if it had beene a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outrageous: and finding also that the two sonnes of Tarquinus Priscus, Sextus and Aruns, which had bene committed unto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gave the milde daughter to Sextus the hot-headed son, & the violent, to Aruns the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde ones

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being made away, the furious natures were readily joined in marriage: who soon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Upon this tumult, Servius Tullius hastning to the Senate, (where hee thought by authority to have the way, when he had reigned forty & foure yeeres. Then Tullia his daughter, first proman to drive his Chariot over her fathers corpses; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This Tarquinius, exercising cruelty without justice, & tyranny without mercy, upon the people & Senators; having tired himselfe & them at home, uled the same rage of treachery upon his borders. He tooke Ocriculum, Sueffa, Fometia, and the Gabii. The issue of besieging Ardea, a towne eighteen miles distant from Rome, was of bad successe. In the heat of which warre, his sonne Sextus Tarquinus violently ravished that chaste Lady Lucretia, his kisman Collatines wife: who in way of expiation for so unchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her owne blood; so having first bequeathed the revenge unto her father Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, her husband Collatine, and Junius Brutus (she kill'd her selfe: whereupon chiefly by Junius Brutus his resolution) Tarquinus Superbus, with his wife & children, was depofed and banished; & fled to Porfenna King of Hetruria for succour, in the five & twentieth year of his reign, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which space Rome had scarce gotten possession of fifteene miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the helpe of Collatine, having expelled Tarquinius, & freed his Country from that heave yoke of bondage, enforced the people by solemne oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to Mars, & conferred the government of the State upon Brutus and Collatine. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a single governour to a double; left perpetuall or sole dominion might be some motive to usurpation; & in stead of Kings they called them Consuls, signifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to bee always mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, scarce daring to assure themselves of their owne security, enforced Tarquinus Collatine to resigne up his authority, fearing that tyranny would bee hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of Tarquinius, favoured already of their condition. In his room he substituted Valerius Publicola, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controversie, to appeale from the Consuls to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in person, avoid occasion of suspition, caused his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had beene a Cittadell. Neither was Brutus any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; hee caused them, publicly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all impartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the Romanes, having by the unblemished integrity of Brutus, well appeased all kindred quarrels at home, now hereafter employ their military designements against their neighbours: first, for their liberty; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions; & lastly, for defending their confederate Provinces, & extending their Empire. For Rome, situated as it were in the mid-way betwixt Latium and the Tuscans, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; untill by maine opposition, having prevailed against her borderers, shee used them as instruments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first war, in the first yeere of Consuls, was against Porfenna King of Hetruria: who being over-perswaded by Tarquinius lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome. In the first conflict, Horatius Coclus, having long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge over Tibris; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into

into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellows, with the like resolution to sustaine a new charge. *Porfenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the City, & found the victory, in a manner, assuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, & terrified by the constant resolution of *Marius Scævola* (who having by error slaine *Porfenna* his Secretary, in stead of the King himselfe, did in scorn of torments threatned, burne off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudiciall, either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his sonne, & *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the losse of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

Tarquine, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates distastefull, thought it no boot to strive against the streame, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteene yeares, privately at *Tusculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomaching a-fresh at those old repulses, because *Porfenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further succour unto the *Tarquines*, mustered up his Latines, & gave battell to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, & the issue uncertaine, untill *Anlus Posthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemies; & *Cassius* or *Spurius Cassius*, (Master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victory; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home; and the sixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion, upon instigation of some desperate bankrupts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an uproare in the holy Mount, untill by *Meventus Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controversies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themselves, they had continuall Warre with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among these, the *Volsi* and *Aequi* held them longest; who made Warre of themselves upon the *Romans*: whereby they lost the best City in their whole jurisdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conquest, *T. Marius* got the surname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as derived from a great victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the Towne, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have bin ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, advised to sell corne, which they procured from *Sicily*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, & after judgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsi*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renew their forces againe; which being committed unto him, and to *Aruns Tullus*, he prevailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within foure or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp warre, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadors, untill his Mother *Veturia*, & *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Country, than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome*, than was any force of Armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volsi*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunity, or (as others surmise) living with them untill old age, he died naturally.

No

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; against whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and sixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had bin in a private quarrell. These *Fabii*, after some good services, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all slaine: one only of that whole houle had bin left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Publius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In proceesse of time, the *Romans* were also troubled with the *Volsi*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole armie, had bin discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the highest honour in *Rome*, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Countrey in the space of sixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volsian* war it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chosen Governors of the State, and Inactors of *Solons* lawes amongst them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Consuls, and all other Magistrates) would have ravished *Virginitas*, the daughter of *T. Virginus*, Captain of a company, and lying then in a Campe at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproare tooke the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their authority againe to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to revenge old losses, drew the *Romans* into a new war against the *Veientes* and their adherents; upon whom, having tried their forces with diversitie of Capitaines, and varietie of event, they vanquished the *Falisci*; and the *Fidenates*, and utterly subdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Falisci*, *Furius Camillus* shewed no lesse integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaster, by trayning forth into the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yielding them all up as Hostages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie; which forthwith yielded unto him in reverence of his justice. The siege of *Veii* was ten yeares, and so troublefome, that the *Romans* were there first enforced to winter abroad under beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make vows never to return without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got so large spoils, that they consecrated their tents to *Apollo Pythius*; and the whole people in generall were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no less unthankful to *Camillus* for his service, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they banished him the Citie, upon some occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: yet he requited their unkindnesse with a new peece of service against the furie of the *Gauls*; who being a populous Countrey, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sons, destitute of means, were enforced to roave abroad, seeking some place where to set up their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste in bodie, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, were wondered as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them fighting on *Italie*, set upon *Chusum* a Towne in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information, (and being careful of other Confederate Townes) sent Embassadors, warning them to desist from such injurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some injury offered by the *Roman* Embassadors, converted their forces from *Chusum* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the sixteenth day before the Calends of *August* (which day was after branded for unlucky, & called *Alifensis* in the *Roman* Kalender) they hastned towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leaving the Citie; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and every one shifting for himselfe ere the *pernicie* came; *Rome* was abandoned as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conveyed away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boldnesse out of desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did seat themselves in Thrones, in their severall houses, hourly expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Capitaine, took upon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this the *Gauls* were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoyle, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senators, they fate in their Majestie with a grave resolution, having

having first revered them as gods, anon they tried whether they would die like men. When the Citie was thoroughly rifed, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them work for the space of seven months. Once they were like to have surpris'd it by night, but being defcried by the gagling of Geefe, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from the entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the *Gauls* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargain was, that the *Gauls* should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was inweighing, the *Gauls*, with in open infolenie, made their weights too heave: *Brennus* their Captain, casting his sword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquish'd must be patient perforce. But in the middle of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the *Gauls*, with such violence, that he disperfed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoyles with advantage, and forbore the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he so hotly pursued them through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Army, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the *Gauls*, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Cervinus* (each of which in single fight slew a severall Champion of the *Gauls*) abared their presumption, and restored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to go to the *Vei* to inhabit; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the sametime, somewhat before the siege of *Vei* they changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeares, was by civill dissention interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Consular authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365. yeares. And now *Rome* by suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares let forth against the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles off: situated betwene *Campania* and *Apulia*. These did so strongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yield themselves subjects to *Rome*, and undergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoever else to obtaine protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devour the lesse, easily allowed of; aiming themselves at the good situation of *Campania*, the abundance of Come and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially *Capua* it selfe, the fairest City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papirii* and *Fabii* were most employed in the managing of this War, which endured the space of fifty yeares. And in this season were the *Romans* oftentimes dangerously encountered by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumus* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no small ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papirius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length tributary to *Rome*. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Laines* began to challenge equall freedome in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the *Laines* was not unreasonable. For the *Romans* themselves were a Latine Colonie; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be call'd *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any such capitulation. So a great battell was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the virtue of the Consuls.

Manlius

Manlius Torquatus and the elder *Decius* were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers advertis'd, that the side should be victorious which lost the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consull expos'd his life to the Enemie, and purchas'd victorie (as was beleev'd) by his death. In which kinde of devoting himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this *Decius* being after Consull, did imitate his father in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decii*, that purchas'd victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the lives of so wortheie Citizens, to be sacrific'd for their Countrey. The discipline of *Manlius* was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbade any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemy. For breach of which order he caus'd his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the *Laines*, being challenged in single fight.

Whenthe *Laines*, the *Equi*, *Volsci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with some other people, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italy* to contend against the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to trie their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus* the Roman Consull, waiting all their Countrey with fire and sword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the *Italians* that made triall of the Roman arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. These had interpos'd themselves as mediators between the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of War, unto that partie which should dare to refuse peace by them tender'd. These threats which discover'd their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romans* complain'd that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadors unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadors, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Messapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procur'd the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman strength, taught all these people to know their own weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to lend for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* also were) great hope was conceiv'd, that the Dominion of *Rome* should be confin'd unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which already in a manner it did over-spread.

§. II.

How *Pyrrhus* warred upon the *Romans*, and vanquish'd them in two battailes.

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deal with *Lysimachus*, was compell'd a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would have desired. He had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that unstudied estate of things, was enough to purchase a kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so increased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the son of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his Fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imployment, and covetous desire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embassadors came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aide than his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselves under his protection. They had in their companie some of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and others; which promised, in behalf of their severall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and fill by one victorie open the gate unto another. To which effect it is say'd, that once he answered *Cineas* his chiefe Counsellour, asking what hee meant to doe after every of the victories which he hoped to get: that having wonne *Rome*, hee would soone bee Master of all *Italy*; that, after *Italy* hee would quickly get the Isle of *Sicily*; that,

out of *Sicill*, he would passe over into *Affrick*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the rest of the Country; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finishing his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Nevertheless, this *Italian* expedition seemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted, and well trained fouldiers: part of which he sent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his comming, he found the *Tarentines*, very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly carelesse to provide for the War. Wherefore he was faine to shute up their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very unpleasing, though greatly behoo-ving to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, *Levinus* the *Roman* Consul drew near, and began to waste *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were carelesse of the harme; that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the *Tarentines* were better pleased than they would have beene, but their valour was little: all of these had beene accustomed to shrinke for feare, of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more upon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. He was now driven either to set forward with those that himselfe had brought into *Italy*, and the assistance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which he resolved to assay the valour of the *Romans*, against whom he proudly marched.

Levinus the Consul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and gave him battell ere all his adherents should be ready to joyne with him. This boldnesse of the *Roman*, and the slacknesse of the *Messapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, &c others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrell between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellows might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at neere distance, the weight of the businesse which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hereupon both Armies hastened their march unto the River of *Siris*: *Levinus* intending to fight before the arrivall of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that River, untill his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, untill he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skillfull in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord, in face of his Corps de garde; and their horse, at the same time began to passe the River, in sundry places: which caused the *Greekes* to forsake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battell; wherewith hee thought it best to present them, ere the whole Army had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battels; himselfe with the horse, charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a carefull Generall; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behoooved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better

opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battell: but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as onely speare and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in flanke, and over-borne, by the force and huge bulke of those strange beasts; gave way to necessity, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hasty flight: in which conformation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they carried not to defend their Campe, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was soon spread over *Italy*; and the reputation was no lesse than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Consul, with a select Armie, should lose in plaine battell, not onely the Field, but the Campe itselfe, being so notably fortified as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, save the unwelcome *Tarentines*. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the *Lucans* & *Samnites*, for comming (as we say) a day after the Faire. Nevertheless he wisely considered the strength of the *Romans*, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilst with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them *Cyneas* his Embassador, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at rest, and himselfe accepted as their especiall friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the rising of many States in *Italy* against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senatour, did stirre them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilst *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italy*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great desire of confederacie with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of peace, the answer was; *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane season, each part made provision for war; the *Romans* levying a more mighty armie than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with access unto his forces of all the East parts of *Italy*. So they came to triall of a second battell, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so joyfull as the former had bin: rather it gave him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his utter undoing. For he had lost the flower of his Armie in this battell: and though he drave the *Romans* from their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of prevailing against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilst he should be driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Schollers in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he desired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour safe out of *Italy*: which to doe (seeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a sleight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicill, forsook Italy, and the most of the Illes lost it in short space. Pyrrhus returns into Italie, where he is beaten by the Romanes, and so goes backe to his own Kingdome.

When *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized upon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in Europe, as if they had bin the due reward unto him, that had slain the Conqueror. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himself against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as he professed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousness of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his fickers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had bin wicked. These affections of the *Macedonians* did serve to defeat *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdome. As for *Antigonus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of *Asia*, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neere unto Europe. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murderers. While these three strove about the kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made use of their diffention: threatening war, or promising his assistance to every one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly advantaged his Italian voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting money of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of *Macedonian* souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two years end) more for feare than for love: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, and quietly enjoy his kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mightie on the sudden; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he encreased.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the strong Citie of *Cassandria* was held by *Antioe* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay there with her young children. Her being circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he flew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found, vengeance came upon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgus* a Captaine of the *Gauls*, having forced his passage through many Countries, unto the confines of *Macedon*, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of warre. These *Gauls* were the race of those, that issued out of their Countie, to seeke new seats in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had divided themselves at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italie*; the other, passing through the Countries that lye on the Northerne side of the *Adriaticke* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, & the Regions adjoining, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to receive peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; unto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight years after such time as their fellows had taken *Rome*.

When their Embassadors came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would give: His answer was, That he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld up their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor give any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the *Gauls* did laugh; saying, That they would soone confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proud words. It may seeme strange

that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; should bee so confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the *Dardaniens* offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the *Gauls*: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which under the conduct of *Alexander* had subdued all the East. Thus he issued forth against all the barbarous people, with his famous *Macedonians*, as if the victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great error when it was too late. For the Enemies were not onely equall in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the *Macedonians* in number, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whilest the battell continued; and they presently strook off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their utter astonishment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all *Macedon* with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Countie as lost. Only *Sophanes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindred *Belgus* from using the victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefs doe seldom come alone) the good successe of *Belgus* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captaine of the *Gauls*, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty Army, when *Sophanes* with his weake troups made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the *Macedonians* againe compelled to hide themselves within their wals, leaving all their Countie to the spoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* destitute of a king, & trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in lesse than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who fought to discover and subdue unknowne Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Persia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very seasonably had these newes beene carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italie*, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his Warre with the *Romanes*; had not other tidings out of *Sicill* distracted him, and carried him away in pursuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Island, the *Carthaginians* sent an Armie to conquer *Sicill*, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did so fast prevaile, that the *Sicilians* had no other hope to avoyd slavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heave yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracusans*, *Leontines*, and *Agriagintines*, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the business of *Sicill* more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleaved (as came after to passe) that his advantage upon *Macedon* would not so hastily passe away, but that he might find some occasion to lay hold on it at better leisure; over into *Sicill* he transported his army, leaving the *Tarentines* to shift for themselves, yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their town, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of *Italie* was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature advice; so were his actions following, untill his returne unto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered or note-worthy. The Army which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foote, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, soone after his descent into *Sicill*, he forced the *Carthaginians* out of all in effect, that they had therein. He also won the strong Citie of *Eryx*, and having beaten the *Maeritines* in battell; he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he drave *Sofraus*, to whom his cruelty was suspected out of the Island, & put *Theron* of *Syracuse* to death, being jealous of his greatness; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuse* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he served himselfe, and saved the disreputation of his leaving *Sicill*, by an Ambassage sent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samiters*, imploring his present helpe against

against the *Romans*, who since his leaving *Italie*, had wel-neare dispossessed them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, he embarked for *Italie*; but was first beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assailed in *Italie* it selfe, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*; that attended him in the straits of the Countrey. Lastly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battell with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of *Italie* into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had hee beene but a Generall of an Armie for some other great King or State, and had beene directed to have conquered any one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Capitaine, or a valiant man, hath beene no where found. But he never stayed upon any enterprise, which was, indeed, the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

§. IIII.

How Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, delivered Macedon from the Gauls. How Pyrrhus won the Kingdome of Macedon from Antigonus.

THE vertue of *Sophanes* being too weak to defend the kingdome of *Macedon*, and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgium*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the *Macedonians* were no lesse glad to submit themselves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrey with an Armie, Navie, and Treasure becomming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to use against the *Barbarians*, onely those forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the *Macedons* to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoyle the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their fellows: and therefore sent unto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Cerannus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfit to exasperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as *Cerannus* had overfondly done. Wherefore he entertained their Embassadors in very loving and sumptuous manner, with a royall feast: wherein he exposed to their view such abundance of masse gold and silver, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was served. He thought hereby to make them understand how great a Prince he was, and how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them his Camp and Navie, but especially his Elephants. But all this bravery served only to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heave loaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himself (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferiour unto the *Gauls*, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessors to spend the riches which they accounted assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their companions with none other newes in their mouths, than of spoile and purchase: which tale carried the *Gauls* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Cerannus* had given to *Belgium*. Their comming was terrible and sudden; yet not so sudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arrivall, and conveyed himself, with his whole army and carriage, into certaine woods adjoining, where he lay close.

The *Gauls*, finding his Campe forsaken, were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptic Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vaine, angry at their

lost labour; they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall upon him, whilest he was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were so careless of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoyle of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert; and had saved it self by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of war: who discovering the much advantage offered unto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, took courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave so brave a charge upon the disorderd *Gauls*, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into sudden feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driven to cast themselves into the service of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertain their ancient beleefe of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and resistance oppressors of so many Countreys were overthrowne.

To speake more of the *Gauls* in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed over into *Asia* the lesse, with their wars and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countreys which now they wan, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howsoever the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading had won this victorie, could not thereupon be persuaded to thinke him a good man of war: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in *Italie* stood upon hard termes, had sent unto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he faine to get either a supply, wherewith to continue his war against the *Romans*, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake *Italie*, under colour of making his word good, in seeking revenge. The threats which he had used in braverie, meer necessitie forced him, at his returne unto *Epirus*, to put in practise.

He brought home with him eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an armie no little to be employed, by his restlesse nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what spoile he could get, & make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings easily persuaded the courage of this daring Prince to set upon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazzard his fortune, in triall of a battell, for the whole kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warrior; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the countrey. For *Pyrrhus* overrooke him in a streight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gauls* and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retreat. The *Gauls* very bravely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the streight, & not advancing to their succour, tooke away their courage by deceiving their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselves exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the *Gauls*, yielded themselves and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great discomfort; which emboldned *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had scene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discovered so well their affections, that he

adventured

adventured to draw neare in person, and exhort them to yield. Neither the common Souldier nor any Leader refused to become his follower. All forsooke *Antigonus*, a few horsemen excepted, that fled along with him to *Thessalonica*; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to levie it. But whilest he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the *Gauls* into his service; whereby he might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrhus*, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drave him to flye from the parts about *Macedon*; to those Townes as farre off in *Peloponnesus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe revived the spirits of the *Epirot*, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late misfortunes in the *Roman* warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Helennus* (whom he had left with a Garrison in the Castle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conquest, and let the *Italians* thirst for themselves.

§. V.

How *Pyrhus* assailed *Sparta* without successe. His enterprife upon *Argos*, and his death.

Pyrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing that in open fight he had vanquished the *Gauls*, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what he pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of five and twentie thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giving libertie to those Townes in *Peloponnesus*, which the same *Antigonus* held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important than warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the *Lacedaemonians* feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrey, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrhus* make shew of any displeasure that hee bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his owne younger sons trained up in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemy: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words with a jest; That hee followed herein the *Lacedaemonian* custome, of concealing what was truly purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedaemonians*, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they fought to oppress: but now they complained of that, as falshood, in *Pyrhus*, which they alwaies practised in wisdom, till it made them distrustful, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes to reserve themselves fresh against the assault: which *Pyrhus* had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this, (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with wals; at the present only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three dayes together it was assailed by *Pyrhus* exceeding fiercely, and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Town the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had

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borne in sunder the Barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta* with a good strength of men; and *Arcus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had bin helping his friends in war) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countrey stood, until he was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kinde in *Pyrhus* a desire to prevaile against all impediments. But the third dayes worke shewed how great his error had beene, in forbearing to assault the Town at his first coming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meete the enemy in plaine field; yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diversly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprife in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilest he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promise to deliver that Citie into his hands.

Civill dissention raging then hotly in *Argos*, caused the heads of several factions to call in *Pyrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the coming of these two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hands of such powerfull assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to save them from the tyrannie of *Pyrhus*: and that he would be gone if they needed not his help. On the other side, *Pyrhus* would needs perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The *Argives* tooke small pleasure in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickens from his enemy: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gave hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker; and stood in need of good will. But *Pyrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would give none; to his inferiours: especially, meaning deceipt. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as indeed it was. Yet he lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giving such a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should be opened by night unto *Pyrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backs, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on againe of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarme to the Citie, and some leisure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gauls* (that had the Vanguard) being ignorant of the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-passage: and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse and more trouble.

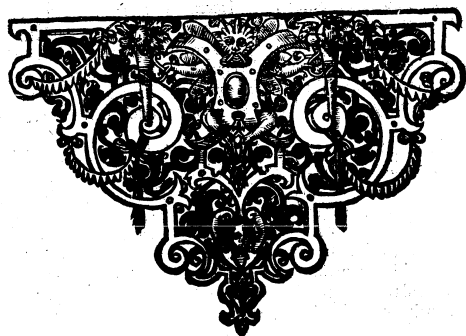
Pyrhus therefore, understanding by the confused noyse, and unequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darknesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, untill breake of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so farre prevailed, that he got into the market place. It is said, that seeing in that place the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such posture as if they had been combatant, he called to minde an Oracle, which threatened him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retreat.

Indeed, the coming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had beene away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave backe, so did others thrust forward, and the *Argives* pressing hard upon him, forced *Pyrhus* to make good his retreat, with his own sword:

sword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne son in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore she tooke a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restlesse ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enimie. The bodie of *Pyrrhus* had honourable buriall, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenu* his son; which young Prince he graciously sent home into his fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the posteritie of *Seleucus* reigned over *Asia* and *Syria*; and the house of *Ptolomie* had quiet possession of *Egypt*: untill such time as the Citie of *Rome*, swallowing all up, digested these, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.



THE



THE
FIRST PART
OF THE HISTORIE
OF THE WORLD;

Intreating of the times from the settled
rule of *ALEXANDERS* Successors in the East, untill the
ROMANS, prevailing over all, made Conquest
of *ASIA* and *MACEDON*.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

Admission of that probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have resisted the great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the English.

THat question handled by *Livie*; Whether the great *Alexander* could have prevailed against the *Romans*, if after his *Easterne* conquest, he had bent all his forces against them, hath been, and is the subject of much dispute; which (as it seemes to me) the arguments on both sides do not so well explaine, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his daies. For if he a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgment) inferior to *Alexander*, though to none else, could with small strength of men, and little store of mony, or of other needfull helps in War, vanquish them in two battels, and endanger their Estate, when it was well settled, and held the best part of *Italie*, under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, comming upon them before their Dominion was halfe so well settled? It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeed, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried over not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiaticques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas*, *Antipater*, *Craterus*, *Eumenes*, *Ptolomie*, *Antigonus* & *Lyfimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily find, that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needlesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of battery, and

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the like : of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance ; the *Roman* having nought, save men and armes. As for Sea-forces ; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* Warre, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation ; sitting upon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practice the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to launch their ill-built vessels into the Sea ; will easily conceive how farre too weak they would have proved in such services.

Now for helpers in Warre ; I do not see why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deserve to be laid in ballance against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Easterne world, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the *Macedonian* : let us onely conjecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, nearest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would have stood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the most part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrius*, by offering to become his subjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could by adventuring to fall into *Affrick*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazzard ; shall we thinke that they would have been able to withstand *Alexander* ? But why doe I question their ability, seeing that they sent Embassadors, with their submission, as faine as *Babylon*, ere the Warre drew neare them ? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forsooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countreies to them knowne, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match ; it is uneasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune worke wonders : but it is against cowardly fooles, and the unfortunate : for whosoever contends with one too-mighty for him ; either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power ; or else must looke both to be overcome, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine : though I might, without partiality, deliver mine owne opinion, and preferre that Army, which followed not only *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of Warre ; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall alwaies hold ? *Alexander* was victorious in every battell that he fought : and the *Romans* in the issue of every Warre. But forasmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration ; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italy* : where in three years after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld up their armes. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captains of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equal to his followers : that the same conceipt should blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding such a controversie, me thinks it were not amisse, for an *Englishman*, to give such a sentence betweene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that strove about a peece of land ; saying, That it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian* or the *Roman* were the best Warriour ? I will answer : The *English-men*. For it will soone appeare to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon ; against no savage or unmanly people ; the enemy being farre superior unto us in number, and all needfull provisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of Warre.

In what sort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece* ; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished ; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian* *Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such armes as it commonly encountered : any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very seldom, able to stand against the *Roman* Armies ; which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not whether any Nation besides them have used, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater use than those with which any other Nation hath served, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to doe, we finde, that they which did over-march her in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons ; and that they, of whom she had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well observeth) was a part of her happinesse, that she was never over-laid with two great wars at once.

Hereby it came to passe, that having at first increased her strength by accession of the *Sabines*, having won the State of *Alba*, against which she adventured her own selfe, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions : and having thereby made her selfe Princesse of *Latium*, she did afterwards, by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well-near oppressed her : but her Souldiers were Mercenarie ; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The *Aetolians*, and with them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian* : he being beaten, did lend her his helpe to beat the same *Aetolians*. The wars against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiaticques*, were such as gave to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy : for those opposites were as bafe of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicill*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by using her aide to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not need to speake of her other conquests : it was easie to get more when shee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories : I am not so idle. This I say, that among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *English*. If my judgement seem over-partiall, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

First therefore it is well knowne, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had never any so brave a Commander in war as *Julius Caesar* : and that no *Roman* armie was comparable unto that which served under the same *Caesar*. Likewise, it is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had given faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war, when it first entred into *Gaul*, was nevertheless utterly disheartned, when *Caesar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Caesars* men, to their long exercise, under so good a Leader, in so great a war. Now let us in generall compare with the deeds done by those best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall service ; the things performed in the same Countrey, by our common *English* Souldiers, levied in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall ; so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairly, and beleeve *Caesar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans* : but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Caesars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gauls*, a stout people, but inferior to the *French*, by whom they were subdued ; even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The Countrey of *Gaul* was remein funder (as *Caesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships : some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent : not onely in generall through the whole Countrey, but between the petty States, yea in every Citie, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire ? Yet there was a greater. *Ariovistus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Countrey, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from meere slaverie : yea, so often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre upon the *Gauls*, that the *Gauls*, (who had sometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equal to those daily Invaders. Had *France* bin so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe by this time, and long ere

a The Dolphin
of Viennois.
b The King of
Majorca.

this time, would have bin outs. But when King *Edward* the third began his War upon *France*, he found the whole *Country* settled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no lesse than his puissance at home; under whose Ensigne, the King of *Bohemia* did serve in person; at whose call the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take arms: finally a King, unto whom one Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; another fold away a goodly City and Territory for money. The *Country* lying so open to the *Romans*, and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity to march the *English* purchases with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military vertue. *Cesar* himselfe doth witnesse, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of War, and that their owne hardinesse was overmastered by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of battery, raised and planted against their walles, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Romans*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worke by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were never able to make use of opportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows; and sometimes driven to give or take battell upon extreme disadvantages, for feare lest their Companies should fall asunder: as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and which was little lesse than all this) great odds in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant victories. What such helpe? or what other worldly helpe, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? Were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provision, exceedingly beyond us? Let us heare what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-set upon the *Blacke Prince*, at the battell of *Poitiers*. *John* had all advantages over *Edward*, but of number, force, shew, Country and conceit, (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choice of all his horse-men (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he more?

John de Serres.

JEAN avoit tout l'avantage par dessus EDWARD. Je n'en bre, la force, le lustre, le pay, le prestige (qu'on est pas communement une consideration de peu d'importance aux affaires de monde) & avec soy l'est de sa Cavalerie, les meilleurs de tout son Royaume.

I thinke it would trouble a *Roman* antiquary to finde the like example in their Histories; the example I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an Army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as *Livie* rightly termes them, nor those cowardly Kings, *Persens* and *Gentius*, are worthy patternes. All that have read of *Cressy* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witnesse, that I do not alledge the battell of *Poitiers*, for lacke of other, as good examples of the *English* vertue: the proove whereof hath left many a hundred better markes in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Crosse-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gunne and the Crosse-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weaknesse or sicknesse, or a fore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blank: and so shall hee perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battell. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one sight of arrowes, or two at the most can be delivered before they cloffe. Neither is it in general true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the *English* wan so many great battells, having no advantage

to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to the *French* Historian: who relating the victorie of our men at *Crevent*, where they passed a bridge, in face of the enemy, useth these words: *The English comes with a conquering braverie, as he that was accustomed to gaine every where, without any stay: he forceth our guard, placed upon the bridge to keepe the passage.* Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tels, how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policie, to apprell a thousand and five hundred of their owne men in *English* Callocks; hoping that the very sight of the *English* red crosse, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* Historians (all which, excepting *De Serres* and *Paulus Amylin*, report wonders of our Nation) the proposition on which first I undertooke to maintaine; That the military vertue of the *English*, prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the *Romans*, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded, why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as *Cesar* had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Acidae*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientis potentes; They were more warlike than politicke.* Who so notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour, save onely King *Henrie* the fifth; the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conquest of *Gaule* before the time of *Cesar*? why not after the *Macedonian* war: why not after the third *Punic*, or after the *Numantian*? At all these times they had good leisure: and then especially had they both leisure and fit opportunitie, when under the conduct of *Marinus*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri*, and *Tעותones*, by whom the country of *Gaule* had bin piteously wasted. Surely the words of *Tullie* were true; That with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gaules* for preservation of their own safety.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of *Gaule*, until they were Lords of all other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other side, held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (unlesse perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) every way equall to our selves; a Nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behinde us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, always we feared, a stronger invasion by land, than we could make upon *France*, transporting our forces over Sea.

It is usual with men, that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injurie done to their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of comparifon, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iland, hath given more noble proove of it selfe, than under so worthie a Leader, that *Roman* Armie could doe, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cesar* a Monarch; so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath converted our greatest hinderance, into our greatest helpe, the enemy that shall dare to trie our forces, will find cause to wish, that avoyding us, he had rather encountered as great a puissance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that, laying these comparifons, we return to the rehearfall of deeds done: wherein we shall find, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italie*, to strive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the first *Punic* war.

§. II.

The estate of *Carthage* before it entred into war with *Rome*.

THE Cite of *Carthage* had stood above fixe hundred yeares, when first it began to contend with *Rome* for the masterie of *Sicill*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquitie of foundation: but in the honour of great achievements, it excelled farre beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion *Africa* it selfe, from the west part of *Cyrene*, to the streights of *Hercules*; about one thousand and five hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities. It had subjecked all *Spaine*, even to the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, together with all

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the Ilands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the west of *Sicily*; and of *Sicily* the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirtie yeares, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: who, besides other spoyle, and all that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence foure hundred and seventie thousand weight of silver, which make of our money (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie ran the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world fore-shewes the dissolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be re-built: by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Genfericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belisarius* under *Iustinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compassed it about, saving that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* saith, three mile and one furlong) by which we may be induced to beleve the common report, that the Citie it selfe was above twentie miles in compass; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three wals without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults under ground, of thirtie foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over these they had stables for four thousand horse, and Granaries for their provender. They had also lodgings in these streets, betweene these out-walls, for foure thousand horse-men, and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline used now by those of *China*) never pestered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsasto* which *Servius* gives two and twentie furlongs in compass, that make two mile and a halfe. This was the same piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when she got leave to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compass with an Oxe hide. On the West side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastened to the ground on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continent, and left but seventie foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous *Arsenal*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The forme of their Common-weale resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titulare Kings, and the *Aristocraticall* power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well observeth) the people in later times usurped too great authoritie in their Councils. This confusion in government, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruin, were their avarice and their cruelty. Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinarie tributes) the one halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle and mercifull persons, but upon those who could best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercie, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendered them odious to their vassals, whom it made readie, upon all occasions, to revolt from them: the other did breake the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great losse received, have desperately cast themselves, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repair their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their owne best projects, after that good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for feare lest the manner of their proceeding should be mis-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad counsell had prosperous event. The *Carthaginians* & faults, wherewith, in generally, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these, lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjurie. Whether the *Romans* hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by inclosures and dismembring of Manors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principallities of the Gentrie of *England*, have bene dissolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their racke Rents, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love.

themselves

themselves were free from the same crimes, let the triall be referred unto their actions. The first league betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having bin made the yeare following the expulsion of *Tarquinius*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing upon the *Romans* the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as have trade in some part of *Africa*, nor suffer any ship of theirs to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *faire Promontorie*, unless it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoever it hath pleased *Livius* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Iland of *Sardinia*.

By these two treaties, it may appeare that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keepe the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledg of the state of *Africa*, but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, wherby they themselves might have the better meanes to occupie all *Sicily*, whilst that Iland should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon we finde good cause of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie and five pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrowne. But the little state of *Rome* prevailed faster in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicily*. For that mightie Arme of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, was only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempests; and howsoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their own losses, and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicily*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilst the *Carthaginians* were busie in making their advantage of this good opportunitie; *Pyrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellows, came into *Italie*, where he made sharp war upon the *Romans*. These newes were displeasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtle Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him over into *Sicily*, as soon as he could finish his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were forry to heare, what misadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this war with *Pyrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an army into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epirus*.

It was indeede the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrhus* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might, at good leisure, pursue their businesse in *Sicily*: which caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* renewed; with covenants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrhus*, it should be with reservation of libertie, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrhus* should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrhus*, using all means to found his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changeth his owne purposes) yet *Pyrhus* found leisure to make a step into *Sicily*: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor fayer, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as farre from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters, in an enterprize that from the first undertaking had bin so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to beleve; that a higher providence resisted their intendment. But their desire of winning that fruitfull Iland, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater harvest, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had bin the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses;

and

a In Pol. Arij.
l. 2. c. 9.

b The *Tunies*, at this day, doe also take the one halfe of the poore mans come, that labors the earth: yea, they take tribute both of the bodies, and of the soules of the *Christians* their Vassals, by becrasing them of their ablest children, and bringing them up in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *English* take the fourth sheaf: and were wont to cate up with their horken, foomen, and dogs, what they pleased of the other three parts remaining. The busbandmen, and the yeoman of *England*, are the freest of all the World: And reason good for of them have the bodies of our victorious armies bin compounded. And it is the freeman, and not the slave, that hath courage, & the sense of shame detested by cowardise.

How freethe *English* yeomen have bene in times, not long since past, *Forsetius* hath shewed in his praise of our countries laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than ever: and our Nobilitie & Gentrie more servile. For, since the excessive faults, wherewith, in generally, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these, lust, cruelty, avarice, craft, unfaithfulness, and perjurie. Whether the *Romans* hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by inclosures and dismembring of Manors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principallities of the Gentrie of *England*, have bene dissolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their racke Rents, owe them now no service at all, and (perchance) as little love.

and by force or practice, recovered in few yeares all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselves to deal with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had served under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, & finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, tooke advantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, slue those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves *Mameritines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their stoutness. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the stronger, they over-ran the Countrey round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederates to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them, yea and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these *Mameritines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast upon them, and finally, confining them within the wals of *Messana*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betweene the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Governors of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Armie elected two Governors among themselves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many virtues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approve any elevation made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemencie he used at his first entrance, was by generall consent established and made Governor. This Office, he rather used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present pre-eminence.

In brife, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and safe keeping, of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troupes of Souldiers without, often and easily moved to sedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, he tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot unto the other side, as if he would have assaulted it in two severall partes, he marched away under the covert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and levying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hastned again towards *Messana*, and was by the *Mameritines* (growne proud by their former victorie over the Mutiners) incountred in the plains of *Myleum*, where he obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captive into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mameritines*, finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them resolved to give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave assistance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the severall factions dispatched Embassadors for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone readie to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne reserved for other Masters.

These newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messana*, as a Towne that rebelled, having once bin theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the

Mameritines

Mameritines out of *Sicil*. So the *Mameritines* on all sides were closed up within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navie at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Towne, whilst *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consul, with an Army to the streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying unto them that the *Mameritines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevail.

This message was utterly neglected; And so began the War betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to shew on which part was the justice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the first Punick Warre. That it was unjustly undertaken by the *Romans*.

When *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirots*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize upon it in that busie time, sought aide from the *Romans*, & obtained from them a Legion, consisting of 4. thousand Souldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mameritines*, committed in *Messana* (a City in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which severeth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the booty, than the odiousnesse of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resolved finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselves with the *Mameritines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more severe profession of justice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatnesse) resolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulness of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the usuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Country, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former liberty and estates.

This execution of Justice being newly performed, and the same thereof founding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: messengers came to *Rome* from *Messana*, desiring helpe against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment upon the *Mameritines*, for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and helpen them with joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-thieves.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolve, whether the way of honesty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mameritines* was to their former counsels and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africa*, of the *Mediterran* Ilands, of a great part of *Spain*, and some part of *Sicil* itselfe; whilst also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein

therein seated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safety of their owne estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to despair by the *Romans*) should deliver up *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betwene *Carthage* and the Lordship of *Sicily*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten upon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not onely debarre all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicily*; but would serve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italy*, at their owne pleasure.

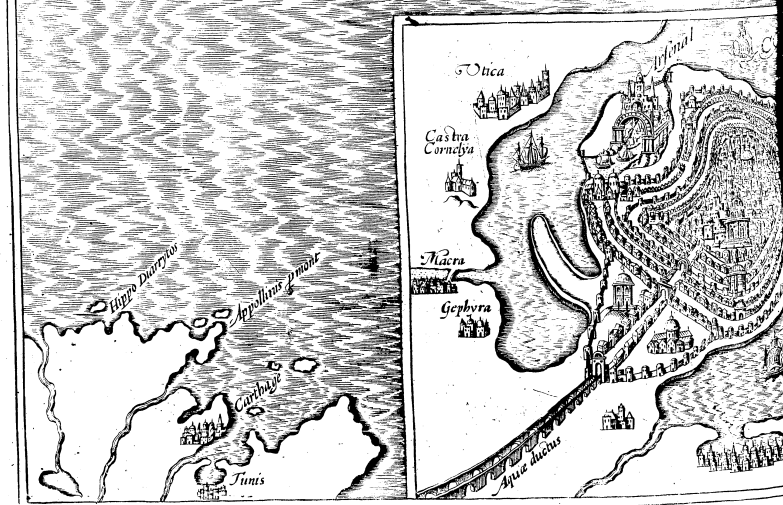
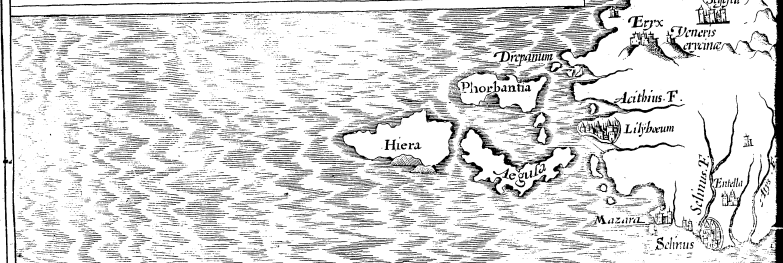
These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatened from a farre, did so prevaile above all regard of honesty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consull, presently dispatched away for *Messana*: into which he entred, and undertooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and lesse moved, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appian* himselfe well understood: and against all this he thought the stiffe metal of 20 his *Roman* Souldier a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his coming was to send them away from the Town; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers not long before: onely he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected sally, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battell, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusan* wanted not courage to 30 fight; but surely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no tryall; when it had bene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and driven to save himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdome in good stead all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of revenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* bin taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must have sought helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stocke, which it behooved him to governe well: such another losse would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Campe, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargain. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, & with much alacrity of his souldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemy forsook both field and camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having spoiled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of *Syracuse*.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: 50 Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had been prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, without any suspicion of Warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this War; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionles the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulness; whereupon they built all



all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde how the messengers of those folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* affist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have ayded the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeves, Out-lawes, Murderers, or such other Malefactors, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priviledge of civill societies, to make league or truce; yea, or to require faire Warre: but are by all meanes, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintaine that opinion of some *Civilian*, consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessary to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteeme this action of the *Romans* so farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeves into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Messana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all slain, ere any newes of the Confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre persuaded herein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchidae* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and Kings, because they were descended from a Company of *Milefians*, who to gratifie King *Alexes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Country, which these of their posterity enjoyed: Nevertheless, in course of humane justice, long and peaceable possession gives *jus acquisitum*, a kinde of right by prescription unto that which was first obtained by wicked means: and doth free the Descendants from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Theeves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull company of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For even the Conqueror that by open Warre obtaineth a kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gave him first possession: but length of time is requisite to establish him, unlessse by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime, as did our King *Henry* the first, by his marriage with *Maud*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Niece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of justice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IIII.

Of the Iland of Sicil.

†. I.

The qualitie of the Iland: and the first inhabitants thereof.

THE defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like cases we have observed, to make a briefe collection of things concerning that noble Iland, which hath bin the stage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this present War.

That

Orion l.4 c.14.
Diod.l.6.
Quid.de Fast.4.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*, who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelagi* from their own seats, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to master.

It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes one
LIII and

Saxo G. in pre-
fat. lib.Tertul. de Resur.
Auguſt. de Civi-
tas lib. 15. Et
quæſt. in Gen.
Nup. lib. 2. c. 37.
Procop. lib. 2. de
Edif. Galil.
Plin. lib. 5. c. 2.

and the same beginning of Nations, after the flood; & that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; & that, as *Phœnicia*, *Aegypt*, *Lybia*, & *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Orestes*, *Amant*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchatorm*, remembered by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, & other Regions had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Ile of *Sicill* had her *Leſtrigones* & *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moses* make us know, that the *Zamzumims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, & *Og of Baſan*, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Defarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and Mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertulian*, *S. Auguſtine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Iſidore*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Vespasian*, in his second Navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those parts. Again, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicity of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acorns and rootes, their poore cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great Rivers & Armes of the Sea, upon rafts of trees tied together; & afterward, their making boats, first of twigs and leacher, then of wood; first with Oares, & then with Saile; that they esteemed as gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankind. For other reaching had they none, that were removed farre off from the *Hebrewes*, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophic Natural; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from cruelty and oppression.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For wee have now greater Giants, for vice and injustice, than the World had in those daies; for bodily strength, for cottages, and houses of clay and timber, we have raised Palaces of stone; we carve them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold, inſomuch as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine & drunkenness; from the covering of our bodies with the skinnies of beasts, not onely to silke and gold, but to the very skinnies of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take revenge of the excefſe, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxis, longissima subruet: Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall overthrow it.*

†. II.

The plantation of the Greekes in Sicill.

WHen the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicill*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that coast by an Easterly wind; & finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his discovery, & propoed unto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherefore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble *Athenians* (who thought themselves to bee well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and industrious, by whom his project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of *Naxos*, and a Colony planted of *Eubœans*.

But the rest of the *Greekes* were wiser than our Westerne Princes of *Europe*: they had no Pope, that should forbid them to occupie the voide places of the World. *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicill*, neere unto that City

called afterward * *Syracuse*, of which, that part onely was then compassed with a wall, which the *Aetolians* called *Homotherman*; the *Greeks*, *Nafos*; the *Latines*, *Insula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the *Siculi*, drave them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitudes increasing, they added unto the City of the Iland, that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the soyle; *Syracuse* grew up in great haſte, to be one of the goodliest Townes of the world. In short time the *Greeks* did possesse the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themselves into the fast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall residence in *Trinacia*.

Some seven years after the arrivall of *Archias*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the success of the *Corinthians*, did assaile, & obtaine the city of *Leontium*, built & posselt by the *Siculi*. In briefe, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, & their Associates, the cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that for't it, they called *Megara*.

About 45. years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuse*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army unto *Sicil*, and built *Gela*, a whole Citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Lawes of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracusians* also, in the seventieth year after their plantation, did set up the city of *Acras*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth year *Casmena*, in the Plaines adjoining; & againe in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuse*, they built *Camerina*: & soon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the *Cumani* about the same time, recover from the *Siculi* the city of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the flight betwene *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle* had bene the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Dorians* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclea*, which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, soon after invaded and ruined, though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colony of *Megara*: & *Zancle* was taken by the *Messinians*; who having lost their owne Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest cities in this Iland.

†. III.

Of the Government and affaires of Sicil, before Dionysius his tyranny.

THe most part of the cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to usurpe the state of *Agrigentum*, and to exercise all manner of tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of brass, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the device with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should bee like unto the bellowing of a Bull: The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventour; by causing the first triall to be made upon himselfe. He reigned one and thirty years, laich *Eusebius*; others give him but sixteen: Howsoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, & enjoyed it long, till *Thero* usurped the government of the Common-weale: at which time also *Panarus* first made himselfe Lord of *Leontium*; & *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, having ruled seven years, was slain by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hypocorates* succeeded in his roome, & greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, or *Messena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with divers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the *Syracusians*, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned seven years, he was slain in a battell against the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracusians* change their form of government, from Popular to Aristocratical; a preparation towards a principality, wherinto it was soon after changed.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, feared themselves in *Sicily*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former war, with notable successe, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his childen, and being in possession of *Gela*, tooke the occasion and by advantage of a contention in *Syracuse*, betweene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Army to the succour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the *Syracusians*. This change happened in the second yeere of the three-score and twelfth Olympiad, wherein the better to establish himselfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also usurped the state of *Agri-gen-tum*.

Paul. lib. 8.

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylbulus*: to the first of which he gave up the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtained the Principalltie of *Syracuse*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuse*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracusians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuse*. The *Megarians* that had moved a war against him, he overcame; the richer sort he brought unto *Syracuse*; and the people he sold for slaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agri-gen-tines*, having dispossessed *Anaxilus* of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawne into the quarrell by *Amilaxus*, Lord of *Messena*, Father-in-law to *Terrillus*: and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilax*, were overthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fifty thousand of them left their bodies in *Sicily*.

Herd. & Din.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army past the *Hellefont*. He, for their reliefe having armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused nevertheless to send them into *Greece*, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee used to their Embassadors only this saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greece* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great losse received, fearing the invasion of their owne Countrey, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadors, to desire peace, who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they should pay him 2000. talent of silver, and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent unto *Demarata*, *Gelons* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended, and *Sicily* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, & erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successor his brother *Hiero*. *Plutarch* and *Pliny* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, covetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasylbulus*, as hee sought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the study of good Arts. Divers quarters he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agri-gen-tum*, as with other cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicily*, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Greeks*, against him. He also overthrowne in battaile *Thrasylbulus*, the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the *Agri-gen-tines*, to their former liberty. But in the end, he lost the love of the *Syracusians*; and after he had reigned eleven yeeres, he left the Kingdome to his brother *Thrasylbulus*, who became a most unjust and bloody Tyrant. *Thrasylbulus* enjoyed his Principallty no longer than ten moneths. For, norwithstanding the force

force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuse* by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in *Acradina*, he restored the government, and was banished the Island. From whence he sailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracusians* recovered againe their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had never fought, had the Successors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principallty of *Syracuse*. For in all changes of Estates, the preservation ought on answer the acquisition. Where a liberrall, valiant, and advised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a private man, to the dignity of a Prince; it behooveth the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuse* (though not without blowes, ere that she could cleanse her selfe of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Mistresse of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well neere three-score yeeres, to the time of *Diopysius*; though she were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they devised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Ostracisme*. They called this their new devised judgment of exile, *Petalisme*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive leafe (as at *Athens* they wrote upon shells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages against him, was banished for five yeeres. Hereby in a short time, it came to passe that kinde of judgement, and best able to governe the Common-weale, were by the worst able, either suppress, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintaine themselves. And good reason they had to doe; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State; as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wiser sort unto the Government; from which, the Nobility having practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Island (who had already taken *Enna*, and some other of the *Gracian* Cities, and overthrowne the Army of the *Agri-gen-tines*) the *Syracusians* sent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Balscon*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde out *Ducetius*, against whom he was employed, as he did to flee from the Army, he led, as soone as *Ducetius* presented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the *Syracusians* perished.

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levie other troups: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitte himselfe, and is constrained to leave the Island for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned againe, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a sort acknowledge *Syracuse*. *Trinacria* excepted; which also by force of armes, in the fourescore and fift Olympiad, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppressed by the *Athenians*, seeke aide from the *Athenians*, about the first year of the *Peloponnesian* Warre. In this suite they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to succour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charæades*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Euphronon* and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracusians*, and their Partisans; wanne and lost divers places; tooke *Messana*; and, in the seventh yeare of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, attempted *Himera*, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselves on all hands; & yet could see none issue of the warre, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracusians*, and were

admitted into their society, with equall freedom. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatened themselves in *Sicily*, by the division and civill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faine to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking revenge upon their owne Commanders. So they banished *Pythodorus*, & *Sophocles*, & laid an heave fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the most memorable war, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicily*: which was that of the *Athenians*, against the *Selinuntines* & *Syracusians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egesta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppressed the *Egestians*; & they of *Syracuse* the *Leontines*, & the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the war. For, the *Athenians* undertooke the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedemon* was sent to the *Syracusians*. The *Lacedemonians* dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their owne Tribe, that craved their succour, being in distresse. The *Athenians* scarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not beleve their owne eyes; which presented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the city of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding, not only the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessity of finishing it in a short space of time. For the *Lacedemonians* (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbear it: which was likely to be hindred by warres at home, if their proceedings were slacke abroad. And surely, had not the desire of the *Athenians* bin overpassionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had caused them to abstaine from so chargeable a businesse, and to reserve their forces for a more needfull use. But young counsailes prevailed against the authority of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safety than of honour.

Of this businesse, mention hath beene already made, in that which wee have written of the *Peloponnesian* warre. But what was there delivered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicily* was like to have felt a great conversion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed against *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commision & direction, as well to succour the *Segestians*, & to re-establish the *Leontines*, cast out of their places by the *Syracusians*; as also by force of armes, to subject the *Syracusians*, and all their adherents in *Sicily*, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the *Athenians* for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand an hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty ships of burden, which transported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war: and these were *Athenians*, *Masinians*, *Rhodiens*, and *Candians*: there were, besides these, sixe thousand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty horse-men.

They saild.

With these troupes & fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuse to give them entry; but sell them victuals for their money. From thence they sent to the *Egestians*, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for the sakes they had entred therein. But they found by their answers, that these *Egestians* were poore, and that they had abused the *Athenian* Embassadours with false shewes of gold, having in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were discouraged, when they found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refused to trust them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviseth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or persuade them to an agreement with the *Egestians*: likewise to see what disbursements the *Egestians* could make; and so returne againe into *Greece*, and not to waste *Athens* in a needlesse war. *Alcibiades*, on the other side, would

solicite the cities of *Sicily* to confederacie against the *Syracusians* & *Selinuntines*, where-by to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he persuades them to assaile *Syracuse* it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surpris *Catana*: and there they take new counsell how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to thoe of *Egesta*, who received from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the spoyles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations, and vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to assaile *Syracuse*. But *Alcibiades* having been accused at home, in his absence, was sent for back by the *Athenians* to make his answer: and the *Annie* was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neer unto *Syracuse*, by this device.

They imploy to *Syracuse* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they trust; and instruct him, to promise unto the *Syracusians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracusians* draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, setting sail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuse*, where they land at faire ease, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracusians* had the losse: but the *Athenians*, wanting horse, could not pursue their victorie to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon *Messina*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had discovered such as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Messinians*. This he now did, in despite of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being assured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the *Lacedemonians*, and to them he gave mischievous counsell against his country. While this Winter yet lasted, the *Syracusians* send Embassadours to *Lacedamon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewise the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicily*, send to *Athens* for supplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war) the *Athenians* in *Sicily* saile from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forsaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, foraging the Country, they obtain some small victories over the struggling *Syracusians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a supplie of two hundred men at arms, but without horse, which they hoped to furnish in the Iland from the *Segestians*, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a compaignie of Archers, and with three hundred talents in money.

Hereupon they take courage, and intampe neere *Syracuse*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracusians*, that failed to impeach their in-reinforcements. They also received from their Confederates foure hundred horse-men, with two hundred other horse, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuse* was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any succours could enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the *Athenians* received divers losses; among which it was not the least, that *Lamachus*, one of their best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, *Gylippus* and *Pytho*, with the *Lacedemonian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyne with them; so that with these and his owne troupes, *Gylippus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuse*. The *Syracusians* send a part of their forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arrivall neere unto the Citie upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reason that the *Syracusan* horse-men could not come to fight in those streights: but soone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and constrained *Nicias* to fortifie himselfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters to the *Athenians*; shewing, that without great supplies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Army remaining. These letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demosthenes*, so joyne with *Nicias*: the one they dispatch presently with some supplies, the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylippus* at *Syracuse*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land,

Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, neer unto *Syracuse*, the Promontorie called *Phymyrum*; where- in the *Athenians* lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstand- ing which losse, and that the *Athenians* themselves, in *Greece*, were (in effect) besieged within *Athens*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in *Sicily*, and dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards *Sicily*, encountered with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicily*, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The losse betweene them was in effect equal; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, *Gylippus* 10 and *Arifson* had assailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuse*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demosthenes* arrived with threescore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the slooth of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracusians* the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repul- sed with great losse. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to rise up from before *Syracuse*, and returne to the succour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* disputed to the con- trarie, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuse*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrivall of a new supplie into the Towne, the *Athenians* had all consented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them dear. For the *Syracusians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Corinthians*, with threescore and seventeen saile of Gallies, entered the great Port of *Syracuse*, wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet, & whereon they had fortified themselves. The *Athenians*, in the same Port, encountered them with fourescore & sixe Gallies, com- manded by *Eurymedon*, in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, & *Eurymedon* slaine. Now, though it were so, that the *Syracusians* received the more losse by land (for the fight was generally yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by sea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the *Syracusians*; *When any people doe finde themselves van- quished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they persuade themselves that they exceede all others, they not onely lose their reputation, but their courage*. The *Athenians*, besides the Gallies suncke and wrackt, had severene taken, & posselt by the enemy: & with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a *Palefado*, in one corner of the Port, unadvisedly: for it is as contra- ry to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting by being at large, the other by close im- battailing.

The *Syracusians*, having now weakened the *Athenian* fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to Anchor; filling the out-let with all manner of Vessells; which they man most strongly, because the *Athenians*, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the *Syracusan* fleet; which lay but single, because they were forc't to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behinde them againe certaine ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunke; or the chaine, which joyned them to their fellows, broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themselves, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passage, the *Syracusians* had left within these Gallies & Ships, chained to- gether, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury. For where the way of any vessell, using oare or sailes, is broken, and their speede fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly lost, except with an in- vincible resolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they re-

solve to hazzard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred & ten, of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stop't with the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the *Syracusians*, which were purposely left at large in the sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disadvantages the *Athenians* had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no room to turn themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the second, that having over-pestered their Gallies with Souldi- 10 ers, who used offensive armes of darts and slings, they had not place upon the decks to stretch their armes; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, name- ly, to force a passage, by which they might save themselves by running away. To be short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides, and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as survived, were beaten backe to the Land, with losse of threescore of their Gallies, broken, sunke, or abandoned. The *Syracusians* did al- so lose twentie of theirs, with *Pythion*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The rest of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themselves into the bottom of the Port, saved themselves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie there fortified. In this desperate estate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counsell. *Demosthenes* persuades them to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracusians* were tri- umphing, and made secure by their present victorie, to set upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counsell. For, as we have heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that have bene victori- ous) that have neglected the speedie prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might we pro- duce many examples of those, who, having slept securely in the bosome of good successe, have bene suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of abroken Armie; and have thereby lost again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the advice of *Demosthenes*: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolve to march over land to the Cities of their Con- federates, all some more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, & other the *Lacedæmonian* & *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracusians* to put themselves presently into the field; & to stop all the passages, lea- ding to those Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retreat. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at *Cadez*, lost us both the *Indian* fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracusan*, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countreimen to any hasty prosecution, devised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of *Syracuse* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over- hastily from the place, wherein hee was fortified; alledging that the *Syracusians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, upon the passages and places of ad- vantage, leading towards the cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleaved, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise; and to them, every thistle in the field appears, by night, a man armed.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sicke and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of forty thousand; and make their first passage by force, over the River of *At- tami*, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracusan* horse-men, beaten in from forraging and provision of food, they grow weake and heartlesse. The *Syracusians* also possesse the Moun- taine *Lepas*, by which they were to passe towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall backe againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and

and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as having none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continual skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertooke the leading of the Vanguard; & *Demofthenes* conducted the Reare. At the River *Erineus*, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leaving *Demofthenes* to make the retreat: who being incompassed, and overprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Army of *Demofthenes* being dissolved, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken, upon the passage of the River *Asinarus*, rendered himselfe to *Gylippus*, upon honest conditions. *Gylippus* fought to preserve him, and to have had the honour, to have brought these two to Sparta; *Nicias*, as a Noble Enemy to the *Lacedemonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at *Pylus* by the *Athenians*, had saved the lives of the vanquished; *Demofthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedemon* the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the *Syracusan* Army, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to be miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starved in loathsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaves. This was the success of the *Sicilian* warre: which tooke end at the River *Asinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleven Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicily*, the *Egestans* (for whose defence, against the *Selinuntines*, this late war had bene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracusians*, sought helpe from the *Carthaginians*; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their vassals. The *Carthaginians*, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in *Sicily*, yet considering the prosperity of the *Syracusians*, & their late victories over the *Athenians*, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made unto them: for the *Selinuntines* were strictly allied to the *Syracusians*, as may appear by what is past. In the end, the Senators of *Carthage* resolve upon the enterprise; & (by a trick of their Punick wit) to separate the *Syracusians* from the *Selinuntines*, they send Embassadors to *Syracuse*: praying that Citie, as in the behalfe of the *Egestans*, to compell the *Selinuntines* to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of *Syracuse* should thinke meet to allow them. The *Syracusians* approved the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the *Selinuntines* would make no such appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the *Syracusians*, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the *Athenian* warre, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a businesse that themselves could end by force. This was right as the *Carthaginians* would have it. For now could they of *Selinus* with an ill grave aide of *Syracuse*; and the *Syracusians* as ill grant it unto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the *Carthaginians* would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from *Carthage*, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrowne with the great *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera* by *Gelon*. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this employment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having bin slaine by the *Himercians*, the other by those of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the *Himercians* prisoners, he caused them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was slaine; and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at *Syracuse*, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately bin Generall of the *Syracusan* forces, against the *Athenians*. The malice of his enemies had so farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meeke vertue, at such time as he was aiding the *Lacedemonians*, in their warre against *Athens*; wherein he did great service. All the noblest sort within *Syracuse* were sorry for the injury done unto him; and sought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into *Sicily*, gathered an Army of six thousand; with which he began to repaire *Selinus*; & by many noble actions laboured to win

the love of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore hee was advised to seize upon a Gate of *Syracuse*, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might have the better meanes to rise against the adverse party. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, & set upon him; in which conflict he was slaine. But his Son-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them with *Hermocrates* alive againe.

t. IV.

Of *Dionysius* the Tyrant: and others, following him, in *Syracuse*.

THE *Syracusians* had enjoyed their liberty about threecore years, from the death of *Thrasylbulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the principality of *Syracuse*, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of *Syracuse* it selfe. For being made *Prator*, and commanding their Armies against the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himselfe so well, that he got a generall love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of fixe hundred men, to defend his person: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of *Syracuse*, had laid plots how to murder him, because of his good services. Hee doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would encourage them to fight manfully: but attending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had bene banished, which were the best men of *Syracuse*; and these were afterwards, at his devotion, as obliged unto him by so great a benefit. His first favour, among the *Syracusians*, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to reigne over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it under safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to bee such, as would make all the Citie to smart. Hee began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but five and twenty yeers of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his desire to reigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in *Syracuse*, was, the possession of the Citadell; wherein was much good provision, & under it the Gallies were moored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare. The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needy sort within *Syracuse*, that could not thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound unto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Having therefore gotten the Citadell into his hands, he needed no more, save to assure what hee had already. Hee strengthened himselfe by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Arifomache*, the daughter of *Hippiaricus*, and sister to *Dian*, honourable men in *Syracuse*; which bare unto him many children, that served to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the *Syracusians* (envying his prosperity) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, even in the noveltie of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely governed. He had shamefully bene beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the *Carthaginians* wait all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to *Syracuse*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ran

faked

facked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof he poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take revenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, nor not his suspected enemies. After that, hee grew so doubtfull of his life, as he never durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unstript and searched. Hee was the greatest Robber of the people that ever reigned in any State, and withall the most unrepentively cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Iland, from the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of *Antwerpe*: therein he lodged his Treasures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre upon the free Cities of *Sicil*: but while hee lay before Herbesse, an in-land Towne, the Syracusians rebelled against him; so, as with great difficulty he recovered his Citadell: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, he againe recovered the mafferie over the Syracusians. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their harvest, he disarmed all the Towns-men remayning, and new strengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. Hee inclosed that part also, called *Epipolis*; which, with threescore thousand labourers, he finished in three weekes, being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corslets, and all other futable armes. Which done, he sent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly infected by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Townes, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make war upon them: and, not staying for answer, hee tooke the spoile of all the *Phœnician* ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our *Englisb*, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with fourescore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yielded unto him; saving *Panormus*, *Segesta* or *Egesta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of these, he first wan *Motya* by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before *Egesta* he lost a great part of his Army, by a fallie of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he tooke land, he lost in a night at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ships of warre, and five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recovered againe *Motya* upon his first descent. From thence marching towards *Messena*, he tooke *Lypara*, and (soon after) *Messena*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. Hee therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which he supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward *Syracuse*; and hee himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirty thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one halfe over-land, and sending *Magos* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Magos*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; That one Citie should be able to furnish five hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did *Syracuse* arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the most notable, wee heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charles* the first went to besiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of shippes, and threescore and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the rest of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeed, is it often requisite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionysius* posseth away to *Syracuse*, to strengthen it: *Himilco* followeth him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land & Sea. But the Tyrant

having received aide from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himselfe to Sea, to make provision for his Citizens, who, in his absence, take twentie of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; having also at the present weapons in their hands, they consult how to recover their libertie. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* resisted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that above an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for a great summe of money; on condition, that he should steale away with his *Carthaginians* onely: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The rest of the *Africans* fell under the swords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themselves, were (after their submission) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing have I noted in other places, and can hardly forbear to deliver unto memorie the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very futable to this treacherie, to wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present when *De Piles* related the injurie done unto him. He had rendred *S. John d' Angellie* to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. He rendred it, upon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safetie, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anjou* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals of *France*, he was set upon, and broken in his March; spoyled of all that he had, and forced to save his life by flight; leaving the most of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with ensignes displaid, and with all his goods and provisions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus break his faith, since Kings, professing Christianity, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionysius, after this great victorie, took care to re-edifie *Messena*, *Magos*, who stayed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new supplie of fourescore thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to *Magos*; but these take egges for their money, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to shift for themselves: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, overcame, and gave their Citie to his mercenarie Souldiers.

He then past into *Italie*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *Rhegiens* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourescore thousand crowns, to furnish him with threescore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future observance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe unto them the peace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at such time as he seemed readie to depart out of *Italie*, and sent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantitie at his coming home to *Syracuse*.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusal the cause of his quarrell: if they yielded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soever. And great reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairly, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, he desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie upon him for a wife; they answered, that they would not any one fit for him, save the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many sharpe swords, but never any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors.

and certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none else, especially in publike.

It is said, that *Henry* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he used against him before *Amiens*, than for his conspiracie with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawn their swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Parer* used of our late *Queene Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and those words that *Romish* Priest, produced against him. So fared it with not the counterfeit letter of the *Romish* Priest, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, soone after.

To be short, he made them know new bred from old. He assaulted their Towne on all sides, which he continued to doe eleven moneths, till he wonne it by force. He used his victorie without mercie, specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For as in one encounter he slue *Mago*, with ten thousand *Africans*: so the sonne of *Mago* beat him, and slue his brother *Leprines*, with foureteene thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Prosperitie and Adversitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirtie years, he died: some say in his bed peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyrannie, he gave order to have him slaine, or sold for a slave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore flattered his crueltye, *The hate of evil men*; & his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effluvia of his justice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poyson all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men doe: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and, as our *Saviour Christ* hath told us, *They will love her owne*.

To this *Dionysius* his sonne of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdom and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastned unto himselfe the peoples affections; he cast off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Wolfe. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to be slaine; and all the Kingdome that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dionysius* his Father (as hath bin said) had two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Aristomache* a *Syracusan*, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded unto him; and by *Aristomache* he had two Sons and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrosine*, he gave in marriage to his eldest sonne, and her halfe-brother *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Arete*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death *Dion* tooke her to wife, being in Necessitie.

This *Dion*, a just and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to sensualitye, prevailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had bene, as he drew him into *Sicily*, to instruct the young King. And having perswaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyrannie into Monarchie; and to hold the Principallitie that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his Nationall Lawes than by the violence of his Guards and Garriisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dion*s severitye wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and caused him soone after to be banished out of *Sicily*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the *Carthaginians*, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies

found means, by finistier interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilst *Dion* in the meane time having furnished fifty Gallies, under colour of the Kings service, had it in his owne power either to deliver to the *Syracusians* their former liberty, or to make himselfe Lord and Sovereigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serve the King with so great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had loved the King for none other end than to raise and enrich themselves, and had already bene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Presumption; and heartned the young King in his oppressing, and eating up his owne people, of whose spoyle they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when *Charles* the fifth had the repulse at *Algier*, in *Africa*, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the bravest men that ever *Spain* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conquest of Mexico in the West Indies, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himselfe above him; and to have it said, That what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than hee that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first to send him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moveables, at his owne pleasure: not without giving hope to recall him in short time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have bene well pleased to live well, as he did at *Athens*. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to seek the restitution of his Countrey to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberality, had purchased much love in *Greece*. This love made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men, with whose helpe he might returne into *Sicily*. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter closely) to follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did hee doubt of finding in *Syracuse*, as many as should be needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicily*, marched to *Syracuse*, entered the City without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, save the Citadel.

Dionysius was then absent in *Italie*, but hee quickly had advertisement of this dangerous accident: Wherefore hee returned hastily to *Syracuse*: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forcible attempts to recover the Towne, hee was faine to depart; leaving yet the Cattle to the custody of *Apollocrates* his eldest Sonne. There hee went, his Minion *Philistus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countreys liberty, had the same reward that all worthy men have had from popular Estates. He was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. He retired himselfe to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuse*, new troupes enter the Cattle: they fall out, assaile, spoyle, and burne a great part of the City. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere hee could arrive, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themselves secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Cattle fall againe, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Childe, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the love of his Countrey surmounting all the injuries that he had received. Hee fers upon the Garrison of the Cattle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had wel-near burnt to ashes, and depopulated *Syracuse*, he recovered the Cattle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates*

after *Dionysius* his Father, into *Italie*. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved, and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For hee was soon after his victorie, murdered by *Gylypus*; who, after he had, with ill success, a while governed *Syracuse*, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in *Italie*, recovers his estate, and returns to *Syracuse*, driving *Nysseus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracusan* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their assistance, not only to prevail against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracusians* towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The *Syracusians*, being deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the *Corinthians* for succour. *Icetes* also sends thither, and dissuades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermeddling in the businesse. He tells them, by his Messengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth* to land an Armie in *Sicily*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treason of *Icetes*, more enraged than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliver *Syracuse* from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuse*, and with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Icetes, being himselfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Countrey. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were also in the same Port of *Rhegium*, whose Captaines advised *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe over-mastered, makes request to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliver unto him those arguments, for his return, which they had used to him in private; that he might, by publike testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtained by a few faire words, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleon*'s desire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, stole out of the preasse; and having set saile, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governour. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where surprizing *Icetes* his Armie, he slew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joined with him, and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of *Syracuse* into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld up himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he disdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within fiftie dayes after his arrivall, had recovered the Castle of *Syracuse*, and sent *Dionysius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was still invaded by the armies, and molested by the practices of *Icetes*. For he besieged the *Corinthians* within the castle of *Syracuse*, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* send unto *Timoleon* a supplie of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are stayd in *Italie* by foule weather. *Icetes* is strengthened with three score thousand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuse*) & with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie *Icetes* assaileth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* doe therefore resolve to besiege *Catana*; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of *Syracuse*, called *Acra*, which hee fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth toward *Syracuse*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*, being

being frighted out of *Sicily* (which he might easily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him return to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of further punishment he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and bears down the Castle (which he called the nest of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Citie, when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feed on the grasse growing in the market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to re-inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italy*; others from other parts of the Iland.

But a new storme ariseth. *Ashdrubal* and *Amilear*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybæum*, with three score and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie upon the passage of a River.

Attempt of raine, haile, and lightning, with boisterous windes, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, ten thousand slaine; five thousand taken, with all their carriages and provisions: among which there were found a thousand corselets gilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victorie, tooke him, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty) he suffered *Icetes* his wives & daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Areta*, *Dions* wife, and a young child of his, with *Aristomache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe prevailed against *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* itself. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Messena*: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, won the town; delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicily*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition, That they should not gulle the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracusians*, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuse* from the tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the Inhabitants enjoyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeares. The Cities and temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to governe, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthe to be Kings, to govern them; should any long time subsist.

Twentie yeares after the death of *Timoleon*, there started up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prætor; finally, became Lord and Sovereigne of the *Syracusians*. Many fortunes he won, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the Principalltie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable service, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the *Syracusians*, and against them. For in their wars against those of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable service: and on the contrarie, as memorable service for the *Murgantines* against the *Syracusians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, he sackt *Leontium*, and besieged *Syracuse* so freightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and natural enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilear* was sent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuse*. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himselfe and the *Syracusians*; binding himselfe by promise and oath to remaine a friend and servant to the State of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilear* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betweene *Agathocles* and the *Syracusians*. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertaines five thousand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpose to besiege *Herbita*. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented *Syracusians* (the Citie also being divided into many factions) he assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; divides

and unexperienced in dangers; the mercenary forces, that they levie in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in *Africke*; and with many brave words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reserving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, save only in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had thoroughly sacked, they burnt to the ground: as a mark of terror to all that should make resistance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in *Sicily*. This impression of disdainie them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had escaped in the late Sea fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africke*: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemy; they raise a great Armie, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Armie levied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldom happens, that dissension betweene Commanders producem any fortunate event. Necessitie drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made easie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stirre, but suffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victorie, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* societie, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victorie, winneth many Townes, and sends word to *Syracuse* of his good successe. The *Carthaginians* also send into *Sicily*, willing *Amilcar*, their General, to succour the State of *Africke*, which was in danger to be lost, whilst he was travelling in the conquest of *Sicily*. *Amilcar* sends them five thousand men: all his forces he thought it not needfull to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicily*, than to be driven home by one, that could scarce retain his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. He spent some time in winning a few Townes that adhered unto the *Syracusians*: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a sudden hope of taking *Syracuse* by surprise. It was a prettie (though tragically) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame which told him that he should sup the next day within *Syracuse*. His fancie begot this dreame, and he verily beleaved it. He made more haste than good speed toward the Citie: and coming upon it on the sudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had layed an ambush to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely that he had no great cheare to his supper: for they struck off his head, and sent it into *Africke* (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to wear a Crown, and stile himselfe King of *Africke*. He had allured *Ophellus*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promises to deliver the Countie into his hands: for that (as he said) it was sufficient unto himselfe to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicily*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. *Ophellus* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traitorous *Sicilian*, taking an advantage, did murder this his assistant; and afterwards by good words, and great promises, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and he so prevailed in *Africke*, that he got leave to make a step into *Sicily*. Many Townes in *Sicily* had embraced a desire of recovering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had so long bene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either unto Aliense, or to Tyrants of their owne Countie. These had prevailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the coming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of

Sicily

Sicily he returned into *Africke*, where his affaires stood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his sonne had lost a battell; and (which was worse) had ill means to help himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoyle. It had now bene time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) have given to him, both money enough to pay his armie, and all that they then held in *Sicily*. For their Citie had bene distressed, not only by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of *Carthage*; it selfe out of which dreame he was awaked, by the losse of a battell, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained ever since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battell, to offer unto the said Idoll, in way of thankfulness for their victorie. The fire, with which these unhappy men were consumed, caught hold upon the lodgings neere unto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is usuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavillion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them beleiving, that the noyse in the adverse Campe, was a signe of the enemies coming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a safe retreat: *Agathocles*, by a second error, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the last battell) hee began to assault them, and was so stoutly resisted, that the lost in this blinde fight above foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the chere of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, unto some distrust of his own safetie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weak feares, than lately he had known how to governe his ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to steale closely a-board his ships, with his younger sonne (the elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flee into *Sicily*; thinking it the best course to shift for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder son *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him under custodie: but by means of a sudden tumult, he was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noyed through the Armie, all was in uproare; and extremitie of rage caused not onely the common Souldier, but even such as had bene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely base, I need not use words to prove: That his feare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the sequell doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neverthelesse a reasonable composition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himselfe, having lost his Armie, did neverthelesse, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equal termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being delivered from forraigne enemies, discovered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his feares, urged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoyle of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee devised new engines of torment; wherein striving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of brasse, that should serve to scorch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miserie. So divellish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slave to his brutish affections. In these mischiefs he was so outrageous, that he neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in *Africke*. But this was not the way to preserve his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chafed out of their Countrey tooke armes against him, and drave him into such feare, that he was faine to seeke the love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicily*. Hee freely delivered

livered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all those Townes of the *Phenicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his possession. They required him honourably, with great store of corne, and with four hundred talents of gold and silver. So (though not without much trouble & hazzard) he prevailed against the Rebels, and settled his estate. Having no further business left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italie*. There he subdued the *Brutians*, rather by terror of his name than by any force, for they yielded at his first coming. This done, he went to the Isle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great summe, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoyle the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be gods, that had continually given deaf eares to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous sickness fell upon him, that rotted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, save only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger sonne of his own, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controversie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slue his Uncle, and got his grand-fathers Kingdome, without asking any leave. These tydings wounded the heart of *Archagathus* with feare and sorrow. He saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom only he now held deare, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he advised her and them to flie before they were surprised; for that otherwise they could by no means avoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gave them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselves hastily, and make speed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as safely, as obscurely, and in as much want as he first began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Souldiers, traiterously occupied *Messana*, and infested a great part of the Island. Then also did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that he quickly perished. For the *Sicilians* were driven to send for *Pyrrius* to help them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrius* was soone wearie of the Countie (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it; prophesying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* should fight for superiortie. In which business, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our storie will declare.

§. V.

A recontinnation of the Roman war in Sicil. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forsook the Carthaginians, and made his peace with Rome.

WHEN *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victorie gotten at *Messana*, brought the war unto the Gates of *Syracuse*, and besieged that great City; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seek peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfe by what means he could, when they were not in case to give him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilest *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the masticke. In this good mood the new Roman Consuls *M. Valerius*, and *C. Otacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made

use of their present advantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Armie into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring over *Hieron* to their side. If the *Syracusan* held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of service) all the whole time of their abode in the Island; then was his departure from the friendship of *Carthage*, no lesse to his honour than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to run into manifest perill of subversion, for their sakes that should have received all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining themselves to give him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the strength of *Syracuse*, in the daies of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slacke, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuse* should weaken one the other, whereby their owne work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had bin when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reason to trie the uttermost hazzard of war against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into slavery: not fo against the *Romans*, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the partie of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hieron*. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his owne tyrannie: the latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater desire than to win the love of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publicke laboured to uphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to pass, that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living deare to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly molested by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the consideration, that they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie, made unwilling to seeke his mine; or their more earnest business with the *Romans*, made unable to compasse it.

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victory by sea. Of sea-fight in generall.

Hieron, having sided himselfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victuals, and other necessities: so that they, presuming upon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the *Ligurians*, and to the troupes they had in *Spain*, to come to their aide; who being arrived, they made the Citie of *Agrigentum* the seat of the war, against the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The Roman Consuls, having made peace with *Hieron*, returne into *Italie*; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They goe on towards *Agrigentum*: and finding no enemy in the field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part of the Roman Armie range the Countie to gather corn, and those at the siege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* sallie furiously, and endanger the Roman Armie, but are in the end repelled into the town with great losse; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assaultants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their covert. Yet the

about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This Citie, by reason of the fertility of the soyle, and the neighbourhood of *Carthage*, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glorie and riches. The plenty and luxury thereof was greivous, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, that the *Agrigentines* built Palaces of such sumptuousness, as if they meant to live for ever; and made such feasts, as if they meant to dye the next day. But their greatest pompe and magnificence, was in their godly temples, and theatres, water-conduits, and fish-ponds: the number whereof at this day are sufficient argument, that *Rome* it selfe could never boast of the like. In the Porch of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which I meanly judge of the Temple it selfe) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of divers colours; a work the most magnificent and rare that ever hath beene scene: on the other side the warre of *Troy*, and the encounters which happened at that siege, with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that warre; all of the like beautiful stone, and of equal stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparison of which, the laterer workes of that kinde, are but pette things, and meere trifles. It would require a volume to expresse the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *Atalapha*, *Concord*, *Juno Lucina*, *Chastitie*, *Proserpine*, *Cybele*, and *Pallas*; wherein the Master-peeces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Xeusis*, *Myron*, and *Polyclitus*, were to be scene. But in process of time it ran the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of warre: whereof this war present brought unto it not the least.

Romans, the better to assure themselves, cut a deepe trench betweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out-side thereof; that neither the Carthaginians might force any suddenly, by a sallie, nor those of the Countrey without, breake upon them unawares: which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiving any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilest the Syracusan supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to Carthage, after they had beene in this fort pent up five moneths. The Carthaginians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, under the command of Hanno; who arrives with it at Heraclea, to the West of Agrigentum. Hanno puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth Erbesia, a Citie wherein the Romans had besetwold all their provision. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum; and the Roman campe no lesse streightly assieged by Hanno, than the Citie was by the Romans: insomuch, as if Hieron had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise, Hanno determined to give them battell. To which end departing from Heraclea, hee makes approach unto the Roman campe. The Romans resolve to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. Hanno directs the Numidian horsemen to charge the Vanguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the bodie of the Armie, that lay shadowed behinde some rising ground. The Numidians performe it accordingly; and while the Romans pursued the Numidians, Hanno gives upon them, and having slaughtered many, beats the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly encamped, waiting untill some opportunite should invite them. But Annibal that was besieged in Agrigentum, as well by signes as messengers, made Hanno know how ill the extremite which he endured, was able to brooke such dilatorie courses. Hanno thereupon, a second time, provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vanguard, which was broken by the Romans, hee lost the day: and with such as escaped, he recovered Heraclea. Annibal perceiving this, and remaining hopelesse of succour, resolved to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his Armie, and past by the Roman campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine: sure they were, that he could not carry the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the Romans entred, and pitifully spoiled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purposed rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, onely to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts: but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all Sicily, and from thence, being favoured with the winde of good success, to saile over into Africa. It is the discafe of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the desire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true life and fruition of what wee have already. This curse upon mortall men, was never taken from them since the beginning of the World unto this day.

To prosecute this War, Lucius Valerius and Titus Otilius, two new Consuls, are sent into Sicily. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many in-land towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritime places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to secure their own coasts, often invaded by the African Fleets, as also to equall themselves in every kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, a storme of winde thrust one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of five bankes, to the shore.

Now had the Romans a patterne, and by it they beganne to set up an hundred Quinqueremes, which were Gallies, rowed by five on every banke; and twentie, of three on a banke: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the Sea-sands

many seats, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beate the sand with long poles, orderly, & as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, Cornelius, one of the new Consuls (for they changed every year) was made Admirall: who being more in love with this new kinde of warfare, than well advised, past over to Messana with severenteen Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he staid not, but would needs row along the coast to Lipara, hoping to doe some piece of service. Hannibal, a Carthaginian was at the same time Governour in Panormus; who being advertised of this new Sea mans arrivall, sent forth one Boodes, a Senator of Carthage, with twenty Gallies to entertaine him. Boodes, falling upon the Consul unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When Hannibal received this good newes, together with the Roman Gallies, and their Consul; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than Cornelius had bin. For he, fancying to himselfe to surprize the rest of the Roman fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; sought them out with a fleet of fiftie saile: wherewith falling among them, he was well beate, and leaving the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the Romans under Cornelius had lost but severenteen, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fifty.

The Romans, being advertised of Cornelius his overthrow, make haste to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, Duilius. Duilius, considering that the Roman vessels were heave and slow, the African Gallies having the speed of them, devised a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the weightier ships had gotten the advantage, and the Africans lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serve them, nor their mariners craft; the Vessels wherein both Nations fought, being open: so that all was to be carried by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush and cracke the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by the reason of their breadth, more steady; and those that best kept their feet, could also best use their hands. The example may be given betweene one of the long boates of his Majesties great ships, and a London barge.

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skillfull in making choice of Vessells to fight in: he must believe, that there is more belonging to a good man of Warre, upon the waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clasp ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of war: for by such an ignorant braverie was Peter Straffie lost at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquesse of Santa Cruz. In like sort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admirall of England, beene lost in the yeere 1588. if he had not bene better advised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an Arme aboard them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building & charging; so that, had he intangled himselfe with those great and powerfull Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of England. For twenty men upon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the Spaniards had an hundred, for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his advantage, & held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held this head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Presse,) I say, That a flecte of twenty shippes, all good sailers, and good ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, & of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselves neere together, in a grosse Squadron; the twenty ships, charging them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall backe upon their owne next fellows: of which so many as intangle, are made unserviceable or lost. Force them they may easily, because the twenty ships, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillerie, by

* If we may give credit to Antiquities, which *Plutarch* a diligent writer, hath left us in his history of *Sicily*: *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first cities that hath been built in all Europe. For whereas *Thucydides* seems to make it a Colonie of the Phoenicians: *Ranzanus*, in his *lib. 6.* affirms that it was built & long before the time which *Thucydides* fixes down, founded about the West part of *Sicily*; where they raised the siege layed upon *Syracusa*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with some other places.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sunne, we shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall words and sorrowes; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Cura leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their advantage of Swift boats, & boarding the *Romans*, have lost fifty faile of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten libertie to saile down, founded about the West part of *Sicily*; where they raised the siege layed upon *Syracusa*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with some other places.

Dixers enterseas of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to invade Africke: and obtaine a great victory at Sea.

§. VII.
The victorie of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Navall Triumph, that was ever scene in that Citie; so gave it unto the *Romans* a great encouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not onely to get *Sicily*, but all the other Iles between *Italy* and *Africke*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whicher soon after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar*, the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune: and being advertised, that some quarrell was grown betweene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe a-part, he sent forth *Hanno* to set upon them; who taking them unawares, put to flight foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in *Sicily*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former error, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprize. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Sea from *Sicily*, arrived in the port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, and took the better part of the fleet which he conducted; him selfe hardly escaping the danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they changed him up for his diligence: for (as it hath bene said of old) *Non est vis in bello peccare; In warre it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls; till ** Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had fought in vaine to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being unable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and tooke certaine In-land Townes, as *Mystratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, betwene *Panormus* and *Messana*.

The yearre following, *C. Atilius* the Consul, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, discovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: & nor staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste he made, & lost all, save the Gallie which transported him: wherein himselfe escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, ** Triemes*, *Quadrيرهmes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

The *Romans* resolve to transport the warre into *Africke*, the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicily*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred rowers to every Gallie, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was divided into foure parts, of which the three first made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flanks, and the third squadron, the Base: the point thereof (wherein were the two Consuls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemy, and the middle space lying emprise. Their Vessels of carriage were towed by the third squadron. After all came up the fourth, in forme of a *Crescent*; very well manned, but exceeding thinn: so that the horns of it inclosed all the third squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their fleet was thinn, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en baze*, a long front of horse, and thinn: which forme, since the Pistoll prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behind this first outstretched front, their Battalions were more solide: for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies having the speed of the *Romans*) that, when the first fleet of the *Romans* halted to break through the first Gallies, they should all turne taile, and the *Romans* pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder themselves, and, for eagernesse of taking the Run-aways, leave their owne three squadrons far behind them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third squadron towed their horse boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Rearward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken, the thinn front of the *Carthaginian* first fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, nor so much as looking behind them for the second squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawne neere unto the body of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) received a great losse, untill their second squadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, invaded the *Romane* Rearward, and prevailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heeles; as not able to sustain both squadrons. The Rear being relieved, the Consuls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Consuls, joyning their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that point also to running.

This victory fell unto the *Romans*, partly by the hardinesse of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could never after joyne himselfe unto any of his other squadrons, that remained as yet in a faire likelihood of prevailing, so long as they fought upon equal termes, and but Squadron to Squadron. But *Amilcar*, forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Romane* fleet uningaged, and ready to give succour to any of the other parts that were oppressed. So as in conclusion, the *Romans* got the honour of the day: for they lost but foure and twenty of theirs; Nnnn 2 yhetas

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* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, where, in every Oare hath five men to draw it: the *Quadrيرهmes* had foure to an Oare; and the *Triemes*, three. Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oares; one over another; and the other Gallies (scarcely) fewer. But had this beene so, they must then have had five decks each over other: which hath seldom beene seen in ships, of a thousand runs, neither could the third, fourth, & fifth ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oares.

gians

whereas the *Africans* lost thirty that were funke, and threecore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also divided his fleet into foure Squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to engage them) & that, whilest he himselfe fought with one Squadron that charged and to engage them) & that, whilest he himselfe fought with one Squadron that charged and to engage them, all the rest of the enemies fleet had beene at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the second Squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* was oppress'd: and *Amilcar*, being oppress'd and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieve both the third and the fourth Squadron, and got the victory.

Charles the first, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the second his sonne, where hee adviseth him concerning Warre against the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battailes between them and the *Christians*, he should never faile to charge the *Janissars* in the beginning of the fight, & to engage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Janissars*, who are alwaies reserved intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the *Turke* reposest his greatest confidence; come up in a grosse body, when all the troups on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the victory before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the *Romans* also prevail against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the up-shot and last blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath ever beene found, to keepe some one or two good troups to looke on, when all else are disbanded and engaged.

§. VIII.

The *Romans* prevaile in *Africk*. *Atilius* the Consul propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the *Carthaginians*. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.

Now the *Romans*, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleet, set saile for *Africa*, and arrived at the Promontory of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carthage*, & some forty leagues from *Hercules* in *Sicily*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the Promontory, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne about fifty English mile from it. There they disembarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yielded unto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; without which all invasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arrived at their owne *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and army had directed themselves thither: but being advertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made provisions of all sorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, That one of the Consuls should remaine with the Army, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consul is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twenty thousand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* fleet and Armie; except forty ships, fiftene thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Towns and Places that were unwall'd, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere unto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountered with a Serpent of one hundred & twenty foot long, which he slue, not without losse of many Souldiers, being driven to use against it such engines of warre, as served properly for the assaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Boscar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicily* five thousand foote, and five hundred horse to succour his Countrey. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to undergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They were careful to hold themselves free, from necessity of comming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to save the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adis*, they incampe neere unto him, and

strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they lose the services, both of their Elephants, & of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* discovers, & makes use of it. He assailes them in their strength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* prevaile, & force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within fiftene miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

By the losse of this battaile at *Adis*, & more especially by the losse of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly diminished. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult upon their misfortunes; invade, and spoile their Territory, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his own advantage, and assures himselfe that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared lest it might defend it selfe, untill his time of Office, that was neere expired, should bee quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reape the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them so unworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so courageous and disdainfull, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty; or die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a great troupe of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had passed, & of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received neere unto *Adis*, gave it out publicly, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made General of the *African* forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertie, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misenumbered; the one consisting of an hundred & forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: were it not commonly found that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne doores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*, and ranging his troups upon faire and level ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The *Romans* wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soone bee abated. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants, Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a forelorne hope; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive backe the beasts upon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had bin accustomed to doe. By which means, as they were the lesse subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of horse, wherein the Enemy did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foote, of the *Carthaginians* Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onfet was given by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* were so unable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the *Roman* battaile was helpful. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first ranks; the Squadrons neverthelss persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of *Atilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Roman* battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse; who being forced to turne face every way, could neither passe forward nor yet retire; but had very much ado to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backes,

fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Compaign, wearied with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemy upon equal termes. Here was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight; the *Romanes* hastily recoyling to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the enemy, and spent with travaile, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these troupes, that open the way to a generall overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; destroying the whole *Romane* Armie, save two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with *Attilus* the Confull. Of their owne they lost no more than eight hundred mercenaries, which were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romanes*: that wheeling about a voyd the Elephants, bare down all before them, and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romanes* know, that they were no lesse her vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soever they had bin in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which shee never gave nor fold to any mortall man. With what joy these newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may easily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the world, there are many examples to prove, no lesse than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens una sapient; plurimum victu* *manus; Many mens hands equall not one wise minde*.

After this great service done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cause, it is unknowne.

The death of *Attilus Regulus* the Confull, was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ranfome of prisoners on both sides: giving his faith to returne if the businesse were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargain: so far was he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his owne miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to have the prisoners in *Africke* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where, for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seeme to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would have the naturall care, to preserve himselfe and others, by yielding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded-upon deadly hatred) onely in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithfull observance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vaine-glorious forwardnesse, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soone after his death: wherein the *Romanes* had the worse bargain; by so much as *Regulus* himselfe was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more grievous to him than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I thinke that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: saying, That the *Romanes* deserved to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to use others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were such as had always made faire wars with them. Wherefore it seemes not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall insolency in others, as if it were lawfull onely in themselves.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Attilus* his intollerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* feare was changed by mere desperation; calls to remembrance, the like insolencie of others in prosperitie, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath

bin denied. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to adde unto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the year 1378. the *Genovaises* won so fast upon the *Venetians*, as they not onely drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* it selfe. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genovaises* (their State reserved) whatsoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown up with many former victories, would hearken to no composition; save the yielding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with disdain, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assaile *Doria* with such desperate furie, that they brake his fleet, kill *Doria* himselfe, take nineteene of his Gallies, foure score boats of *Padoa*, & foure thousand prisoners, recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genovaises* basely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to this Earle of *Flanders*, in the year 1380, when having taken a notable, and withall an over-cruell revenge upon the *Gantois*, hee refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when hee had unadvisedly refused; and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their Citie with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, brake his Army, enter *Bruges* (pell-mell) with his vanquished followers; and enforce him to hide himselfe under an heape of straw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himselfe. Such are the fruits of Insolencie.

§. IX.

How the affaires of *Carthage* prospered after the victory against *Attilus*: How the *Romanes*, having lost their fleet by tempest, resolve to forsake the Sea: The great advantages of a good fleet in warre, betwene Nations divided by the Sea.

BY the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had bin lost in *Africke*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Onely *Clypea* stands out; before which the *Carthaginians* sit downe, and assaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romanes*, hearing of the losse of *Attilus*, with their forces in *Africke*, and withall, that *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a grosse Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Emilus*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consuls. At the Promontory of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out of purpose, upon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the *Romanes* took by force an hundred and foure teene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had bin besieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicily*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty voyage they despise the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent stormes, which ever hapned betwene the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-starre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of *Sicily* had no good Ports, wherein to save themselves upon such an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perwaded, that the winde and seas feared them no lesse, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were advised, they would needs put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie against the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthless Townes upon the coast. The mercilesse winds in the meane while overtake them, and nere unto *Camerina*, overturne and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but foure score

windes, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North windes, are very fearefull: and therefore they that Navigate in those parts, take harbor oft those months take end. *Quarta* the fifth being as ill advised, in passing the Seas towards *Algie*, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the counsaile of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unseasonable times to combat his fleet before *Marx* in *Lorraine*, lost an hundred and forty ships by tempest, and fiftene Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuallers, horses, and munition: a losse no lesse great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extreme dishonourable.

of three hundred and forty ships: so as their former great victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike vessells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the overthrow of *Attilus*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, & an hundred and forty Elephants imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at *Lilyeum*; where hee begins to vex the *Partisans of Rome*. But adversity doth not discourage the *Romans*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred & twenty ships; with which, & the remainder of their late shipwracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpose they employed *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made upon the coasts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were first set upon the sands, and like to have perished, nere unto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were faine to heave all over-board, that so they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilyeum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foulle weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enrich them with upon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides what they lost in fight, foure hundred and fixe Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perswaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send onely a Land-army into *Sicil*, under *L. Caelius*, and *P. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transported in some threecore ordinary passage boats, by the freights of *Messana*, that are not above a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the overthrow which *Attilus* received in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholericke against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two yeares after, they kept the high & wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navie, much lesse to maintain the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilyeum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicil*, making sometimes a march of above an hundred and forty *English* mile by land, which could not be performed with an Army, and the provisions that follow it, in lesse than foureteene dayes; the *Carthaginians* would passe it with their Gallies, in eight and forty houres.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by waters, between *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navie and Armie, and could not prevaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued; and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorsetshire*, so drawing *Edmond* & his Army thither. There finding ill entertainment, he againe shipt his men, & entred the *Severne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcestershire*, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back againe to *London*: by means whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, which the *Netherlands* have had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Army from place to place, unwaried, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillerie belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have bin able to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice of Nassau*, now living, on of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the yeere 1590. carried his Army by Sea, with forty Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Bosleduc*, or *Getreviden Berg*; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victuals. But as soone as the wind served, hee suddenly set saile, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuse*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Issell*, and sat downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could

could march over-land round about *Holland*, above fourescore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Againe, when the *Spanish* Armie had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile up the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night; and sailing down the streame, he was set down before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also tooke, before the *Spanish* Armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* Army was no sooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hulst*, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and mastered it.

And to lay the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spain* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the yeare 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would have kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weak at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armado, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not bin hard for him, to prepare an Army, that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this his Army have bin bestowed? If about *Lysborne*, then would it have bene easie unto the *English*, to take, ransacke, and burne the Towne of *Groine*, and to waste the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatening preparations of the Earle of *Alsenira*, the Marquesse of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hastie leavie of eight thousand, under the Earle of *Andrada*, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Associates: considering, that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them overall the Countrie, which they fired. If a Royall Army, and not (as this was) a Companie of private adventurers, had thus begun the warre in *Gallicia*; I thinke it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their *S^t Jago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Army, into his Kingdom, whither coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land and *Peniche*, and march over the Countrey to *Lysborne*, fixe dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the River of *Lysborne* to *Cascaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let us consider of the matter it selfe; what another Nation might doe, even against *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, whether an invading Army may be resisted at their landing upon the coast of *England*, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations upon *Cæsars* Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition; in absence of our shipping: and comparatively, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemy from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him wish, that he had staid at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not unto this discourse. But making the question generally, and positive, whether *England*, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemy from landing; I hold that it is unable so to do: and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the encouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perillous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Montuc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guyenne*, they of the Protestants

Protestant Religion, after the battaile of *Moncontour*, entre d that Countrie, & gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would have given me but reasonable meances, *j'eusse bien gardé à Monsieur l'Admiral de faire boire ses Chevaux en la Garonne*, I would have kept the *Admiral* from watering his horses in the River of *Garonne*. *Monsieur de Langey*, on the contrary side, preferres the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the *Constable of France* held against the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, betwene such a Countrie as *France* is, strengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invasions upon firme land, that these great Captaines spake: whose entrances cannot bee uncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported over Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Countrey, and the place left to the choice of the Invader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be fortified on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countrey: except every Creeke, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerfull Army, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand bee layed in the three best landing places within that Countrie, to wit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and sixe thousand at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (unless some other order bee thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellows at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkston* be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else give them so much to doe, that they shall bee glad to send for helpe to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arrive at the *Nesse*, ere the enemy can be ready to dis-embark his Armie, so that hee shall finde it unsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleve, that he will play the best of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, set sayle towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to do it. Yea the like may be said of *Weymouth*, *Purbecke*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne violent point en postes, Armees neither flye, nor run post*, saith a Marshall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the *Lisard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot shall not bee able to march it in sixe dayes. Again, when those troupes lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way, & leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise; That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like unto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Lands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art: it being every where hard of access, having no good harbour wherin to shelter a Navie

of friends, and upon every cove of watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monsieur de Chartes*, that held it to the use of *Don Antonio*, with five or sixe thousand men, thought to have kept the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*, from setting foote on ground therein; the Marquesse having shewed himselfe in the Road of *Angra*, did set saile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, farre distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chartes*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Sroisze*, slaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chartes* and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquesse his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our English would be perwaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whercof the French-men had not measured the one halfe when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble ships of *Spaine*.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, unless it bee hindered, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our English at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged against this: which example moves me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those English in *Fayal* my selfe, & therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name, I may by a civil interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who advised me not to undertake it: and I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to understand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place, yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Ilanders, should not thinke any advantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*; and further, I was unwilling, that some Low-Countrey Captaines, and others, not of mine own Squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have bin short, when I had landed in some other place) That for want of their helpe I was driven to turne taile. Therefore I tookewith me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne Squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, volunteers, whom I could not refuse; as, *Sir William Brooke*, *Sir William Harvey*, *Sir Arthur Gorges*, *Sir John Oke*, *Sir Thomas Ridgeway*, *Sir Henrie Tinnes*, *Sir Charles Morgan*, *Sir Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, *Captaine Laurence Kemis*, *Captaine William Morgan*, & others, such as well understood themselves and the enemy: by whose helpe, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffs, & other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or sixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whercon their Muskietiers lay on the Rest for us, and won the place of them without any great losse. This I could have done with lesse danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed even in this example: but the reasons before alledged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen above named, though more private, than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course; having it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that the Enemy was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will it magnifie such a small peece of service, by seeking to prove him better: whom had I thought

thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concerns the Proposition in hand; hee that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he fought how to stop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Towne, were driven by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselves to an halfe trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall never come to triall; his Majesties many moveable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will to no lesse disdain, than any Nation under heaven can doe, to be beaten upon their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile us, with their owne beeve in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kensish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his Majesty, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.

§. X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the masterie of the Seas. The victory of Cæcilius the Roman Consull at Panormus: The siege of Lilyæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entred Lilyæum at pleasure, in despite of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous losses received, under Claudius and Junius their Consuls, abandon the Seas againe.

WHen, without a strong Navie, the *Romans* found it altogether impossible, either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicily*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elsewhere, they resolved once againe, notwithstanding their late misadventures, to strengthen their fleet & ships of warre. So causing fifty new Gallies to be built, & the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Attilius*, & *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reason of the shipwracke which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by *Xanthippus* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had bin in the beginning of the war: & withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one halfe of the Army, & that *Cæcilius*, with only the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilyæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consull was better advised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approaches somewhat neere the Towne, *Cæcilius* caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: between which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattle a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance themselves, and passe over the new trench, still such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust upon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees; till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled & beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, & by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being enraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furiously upon their owne foot-men, and utterly disordered them. *Cæcilius* espying this advantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole state, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicily*, to give end to that warre, that had now lasted fourteen years. With this fleet and Armie the *Romans* resolve to attempt *Lilyæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*; and all (indeed) save *Drepanum*, that was neere adjoining. They set down before it, and possesse themselves of all the places of advantage neere unto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground

fixe Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other pettie Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is revealed by an *Achean*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved *Agrirentum*. *Himilco* useth the help of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth *Hannibal* to appeale the troups of the *Gauls*, which did waver, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being unable to performe what they had undertaken, are faine to live in the *Roman* campe as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the mean while a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, having *Hannibal* the son of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in despite of all resistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible joy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolve to set upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the uttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficulty defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* desire greatly to understand the state of things at *Lilyæum*; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* undertakes the service; and having received his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to *Ægusa*, a little Island neere *Lilyæum*. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boarded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipped his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steerage, and himself expert in all parts of the channell) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in despite of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being compassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to undertake him. This enterprize, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a farre off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazzardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to passe by the best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of wind; no, though fortie pieces of great Artillerie open their mouthes against him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when *Denmark* and *Sueden* were at War, our *East-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatened to sink their ships if they came through the streights of *Elfenour*. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a ship of her Majesties, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure, and sustaining some Volleys of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could, to stop them, or sink them, at their returne. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burroughs*, leading the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with Artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Elfenour*; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of *Parma*, besieging *Antwerp*, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Cannon on the banke of the River, so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, not blowne up by any wind of glorie, but conning to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheese, even the poore

men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in *Antwerpe*, passed in boates of ten or twelve Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despite of it; when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of floud favoured them; as also with a contrary winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: so as hee was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvailous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified notus in the yeere 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*, neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beate us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with foure Demi-cannons within point-blancque from fixe in the morning till twelve at none. The siege of *Ostend*, and of many other places, may be given for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of agood ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of *Angra in Tercera*, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driven to turne upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great use, and fearefull: otherwile not.

But to returne to our adventurous *Rhodian*: Hee arrives in safety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the estate of *Lilybeum*. Others also, after this, take upon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The *Romans* therefore labour to chooke the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sinke them therein. The force of the *Tides* cleares it againe in part: but they ground so many of those great bellied boates in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the passage. Hereby it came to passe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gave him chafe, and gathered upon him; hee findes what shee is, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her, resolved to fight with her. But shee is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybeum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the *Romans* wooden Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of *Lilybeum*, were over-turned. A *Greeke* Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performs it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne unto by the bellows of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brazen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and warinesse hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: so that they resolve, by a long siege, to starve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of tenne thousand Souldiers is sent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Consull. Hee arrives at *Messana*, and marcheth over land to *Lilybeum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprize of *Drepanum*, a City on the other side of the Bay of *Lilybeum*. This service the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull embarks his troups, and arrives on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at *Lilybeum*, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall he promisseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Consull, deceived of his expectation, calls backe the foremost Gallies, that hee might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some rowe backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* findes and followes his advantage, and forceth the Consull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, having the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, hee thrust out of the Bay with

thirty

thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this service is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Junius*, their Consull, to take charge of their businesse in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Messana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybeum*. One hundred and twentie Gallies he had; and besides these, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie provisions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arrives at *Syracuse*, where he stayes a while; partly to take in corne, partly to wait for some, that were too slow of saile, to keepe company with him along from *Messana*. In the meane time he dispatcheth away towards *Lilybeum* his Quæstors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their convey.

Adherbal was not carelesse after his late victorie: but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to *Carthage*. Of his owne Gallies he delivered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and ten more under his own charge; and sent him to trie what good might be done against the *Roman* fleet in the Haven of *Lilybeum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own against another fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behinde hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* to great distresse, gives *Carthalo* good leisure to goe through with his enterprize.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South coast of *Sicil*, devising how to worke mischief to the enemy; wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neere by hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victuallers, which the Consull *Junius*, more hastily than providently, had sent before him towards *Lilybeum*. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their coming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey than a fleet likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to seeke shelter in an open Roade, full of rocks, under covert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to save them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those rocks, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to save their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilst he was busied in this care, the Consull *Junius* drew neare, and was discovered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Consull had neither meanes to flee, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great as that of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* seeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station betweene the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of *Sicil*, betweene the Promontorie of *Pachinnus* and *Lilybeum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we doe in the West of *England*, before a Southerly storme) hastened to double the Cape of *Pachinnus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foule weather in the entrails of their beasts, their Sooth-sayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly over-taken with a boisterous South wind, and all the Gallies forced against the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamitie so discouraged the *Romans*, that they resolved againe to forsake the Seas, and trust only to the service of their Legions upon firm ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at sea, or else they must not make war in an Island, against those that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We seldom or never find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Discoveries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancie, they have annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Provinces, as burye the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, overthrowes, to mutinies, heat & cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases both old & new, together with extreme povertie, and want of all things needfull, have bin the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble Discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many years have passed over some of their heads in the search of not so many leagues: yea more than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, & their lives, in search of a golden kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift undertakers, have not bin disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasures and Paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surpris'd by the *Romans*, and recovered by Amilcar, who stoutly holds war with them five years. The *Romans* having emptied their common treasure, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victorie at Sea of Lucatius the Consul; whereby the *Carthaginians* are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between Rome and Carthage.

THE *Romans* were careful to supplie with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at sea. Therefore they continue the siege of *Lilybaeum*, and seek to make sure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring relief. The Consul *Junius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which he had received, be thought him what enterprises to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the Island; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. Eryx was commodiously seated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restrain the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both of which places were very defensible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth year of this war, the *Carthaginians* sent forth Amilcar, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and Armie, who sailing to the coasts of *Italy*, did thoroughly repay the spoyle which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he first of all waisted and destroyed the Territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicily*, and finding there no walled Citie in the *Carthaginians* power, that served fitly to infest the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as those that kept about Eryx, putting himselfe between both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that Amilcar had seized upon, was not onely very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunitie to scour all the coast of *Italy* with his fleet, waisting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Isle of *Sicily* he held the *Romans* to hard worke: lying neere unto *Panormus*, where in three years abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemy could never be drawne to hazard the main chance. Having wearied himselfe and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertooke a strange peece of worke at Eryx. The *Romans* Garrisons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine,

were

were very strongly lodged. Nevertheless Amilcar found a way, lying towards the Sea-side, by which he conveyed his men into the City of Eryx, that was about the midst of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was Amilcar himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, & such as came to relieve them. There he found them pastime about two years more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the prosecuting of this businesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Livy*, spake unto *Scipio*) that the affaires of *Carthage* never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistlesse; Amilcar, with a small Armie, had so well acquired himselfe, to the honour of his Country, that by the trial of five years warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equall, if not superior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene devised and gone, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the mastic of the Sea could once bee gotten, it was likely that Amilcar, for lacke of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasure was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite unto such an enterprize. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purses. Divers of the principall Citizens undertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serve to doe the like, joyned with some others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaid, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybaeum*, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Lutatius Catulus*; who past with the same into *Sicily* the Spring following, and entered the Port of *Drepanum*, endeavouring by all meanes to have forced the Citie. But being advertised that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindefull of the late losses which his Predecessors had received; he was careful to put himselfe in order, against their arrival.

Hanno was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the art of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was up-held by a factious contradiction, or things undertaken by men more worthe than himselfe. This qualitie procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient fort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by every losse received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subiect Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. He had ere this beene employed against the *Numidians* and wilde *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of those fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsell, when, having shewed himselfe an unworthy Captain, he betook himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Histories, as a temperate man; and one that studied how to preserve the League betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*: In which regard, how well he deserved of his owne Countrey, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall he was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which hee thenceforth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Navie, with all needfull provisions for the Souldiers at Eryx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he

had neither beene carefull in traying his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellows. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the restlesse force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to saile to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and having thus lightened himselfe, he meant to take aboard some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himselfe, by whose helpe hee doubted not, but that he should be able to make his enimie repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good course, if it could have beene performed. But *Catulus* used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, & for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was discried; yet he rather chose to fight with the enimie, that had the winde of him, than to suffer his convoy to passe along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightened his Gallies of all unnessearie burthens; and he had taken aboard the choyce men of the *Roman* Land-souldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the first encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and sunk, and seventy taken, wherein were few lesse than tenshouand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of *Hieroneisu*.

The state of *Carthage*, utterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Meanes to repaire their fleet in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whose valour and judgement the honour and safety of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in *Sicily*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make dispatch unto *Amilcar* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should seeme best unto his excellent wisdom, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsaile.

Amilcar, whom no adversitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recovery, had ever vanquished, looking over every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) resolved to make triall, whether his necessitie might be compounded upon any reasonable terms. He therefore sent to *Luſatius* the Consull an overture of peace: who considering it well, gathered for many arguments from the present poverie of the *Roman* State, waited beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly hearkened unto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with provision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the *Carthaginians* should clearely abandon the Ile of *Sicily*. Secondly, that they should never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send back into *Italy*, all the *Romans*, whom they held prisoners, without ransom. Lastly, that they should pay unto the *Romans* two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirtie hundred and twentie thousand crowns: the same to be delivered within twenty years next following.

These Articles were sent to *Rome*, where they were not thoroughly approved: but ten Commissioners were sent into *Sicily*, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of payment. Further also they tooke order, that the *Carthaginians* should not only depart out of *Sicily* itselfe, but should also withdraw their Companies out of all other Ilands between it and *Italy*, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punicke warre*; that had lasted about twenty four years without intermission; in which time the *Romans* had lost, by fight or shipwrack, about seven hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians* about five hundred: the greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and of

of the War it selfe; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in generall, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most wortheie Captaine.

CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing betweene the first and second Punicke Warres.

§. I.

Of the cruell warre begun betweene the *Carthaginians* and their owne Mercenaries.

He *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and all the little Ilands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather meanes and leisure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quod leges à victoribus discuntur, accipiuntur à victis*; That lawes are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the answer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this weightie businesse. For when one of *Privernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, what peace the *Romans* might hope for, or assure themselves of, if they quitted their present advantage over them; he answered in these words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam; si the peace be good and faithfull that you give us, it will be perpetuall; if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this answer the Senate, at that time gave such approbation, that it was said, *Viri & liberi vocem audiam; an credi possit, nullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea condicione, cuius cum pariter sit, divinus quàm necesse sit mansurum?* that it was the speech of a manly, and free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate, than meeke necessity did enforce? Now, if the *Romans* themselves could make this judgement of those Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to defend their libertie; surely, they grossly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferior unto themselves, would sit downe any longer by the losse and dishonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publike States, have more prevailed, than by any proper prowesse or verue; which held the tempest from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it most fearefully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themselves.

For after that the first *Punicke war* was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence most conveniently the Armie might be transported into *Africa*: the care of which businesse he committed unto *Gesto*, to whom, as to a man of approved sciencie, he delivered over his charge. *Gesto* had an especiall consideration of the great summe, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disability to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them over (as it were) by handfulls a few at a time, that so the first might have their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as *Carthage*, unto such a reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasure did require: so that the first might have beene friendly discharged, and a good president left unto the second and third, whilst their dis-junction had made them

them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrary opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would be contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped, by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to some other place, where they might be lesse troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the coming of their fellowes, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to trusse up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their owne pay. But himselfe they had none to doe, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be; when all their money came in; how much would fall to every single share: and for how long time the Citie was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were, all growne Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some unordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away, until the whole armie being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all; and assemble themselves to heare what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be considered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formall Oration; wherein he bewails the povertie of *Carthage*; tells them how great a sum of money is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges whereat the Common-wealth had bene in the late warre; and finally desires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: for the *Carthaginian* Armie was composed of sundrie Nations, as *Greekes*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different languages. Yet they stared upon him, & were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what could comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serve to appeale them.

Hanno would faine have asswaged their furie, but he knew not how: for he lesse understood their dissonant lowd noyes, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of so many Countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can doe, is to use the helpe of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his errands in the worst sense, are best believed. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused by the *Carthaginians*, and resolve to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer distance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*; and there they encampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to finde their own error. It is a good rule,

Curandum

*Curandum imprimi, ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.*

Have speciall care, that valiant povertie
Be not opprest with too great injurie.

But this proud Citie, having neglected the rule, hath also bene carelesse in providing to secure her selfe against the inconvenience that might follow. Shee had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to give cause of discontent, to joyne it selfe into one bodie, when the severall troupes might easily have bin dispersed: the hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poore men, which had she retained in shew of kindnesse, she might have used them as Hostages for her own safety; and by employing a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of War, she hath weakened the reputation of her bravest Captaines, that might best have served to free her from the threatening danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be used as an instrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could beare witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had bene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemy to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsell, upon the liberall promises made by the Captaines: *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their owne plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a market an *Tunis* for the Souldiers; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send ever and anon some of their Senators into the Campe; who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers understand, into what feare the Citie was driven; which cannot choose but add much insolencie to the passions already stirred up.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army; which thereupon growes wile, and finding the season fit, labours to make a great harvest: Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in publike service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serve. They said that they had bene sometimes driven to buy; and that (since they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilst the Warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily have bene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make no end of craving. For whilst the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this Com-monie; the Souldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found of these controversies which daily did multiply, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicily*, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie consented, and made choice of *Geso*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were to be transported into *Africke*: partly out of a dislike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Geso* comes among them; and, to please them the better, comes not without money: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him first of all the Captains, and then the severall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the present, and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained

and

ned them, and would needs alwaies be mindefull of their good services. After this he began to put hand to his purse, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had bin well accepted, and might have served to bring all to a quiet passe, if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a sturdie fellow, and audacious, but a slave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he served, and therefore stood in feare, lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no lesse, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to with-draw men from care of private matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master never so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himselfe one *Matho*, an hote-headed man, that had beene so forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not choose but feare, lest his owne death should be made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behaviour. This *Matho* deales with his Countymen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worfe condition, than either the *Gauls*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any foreine mercenaries. For (saith he) *These our companions have no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but we that are to stay behinde in Africa, shall be called to another manner of account, when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to wish that we had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with the money, which (little though it be) shall breake our backs. We are not ignorant, how tyrannically those our haughty masters of Carthage doe reigne over us. They thinke it reasonable, that our lives and goods should be at their disposition; which they have at other times bin accustomed to take from us even without apparent cause, as it were to declare their sovereignty: what will they now doe, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as freemen, and bin bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? We all doe know, that it were a very blame for us, if having bin as forward in every danger of war, as any other men, we should now stand quaking like slaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithstanding ye may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soone as our fellows are gone: in regard of whom we are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. We are therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and feare us: their hatred will shew it selfe when their feare is once past: unlesse we now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shal not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, wherewithall they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither money nor friends. The best armie that ever served them, whereof we are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to helpe us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our swords once drawne, all *Africke* would rise on our side. As for the *Carthaginians*, whither can they send for helpe? The case it selfe is plain: but we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of *Gesco*, by incensing these *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behoveth us to please our good Masters, by joining with them against our fellows, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not over-cruelly to punish our faults committed. He is most worthy a wretched slave, that neither hath care to winne his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his owne liberty.*

By such perswasions *Matho* winnes the *African* souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedie of money, as of quarrell; which he that seeketh will not misse to find. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more convenient time; they brake into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole *African* flocke together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuell to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other stand up to make a speech, a shew of stones, flying about his eares, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath beene said already by those good spokesmen, so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only *Throw, throw*.

Now

Now the rebellion begins to take forme. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captains; who, followed by a desperate crew of *Russians*, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, under faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his Countrie, but adventures himselfe upon their furie. One while he deales with the Capitaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while he workes with the severall Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so fullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their owne, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so covetous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesco* knowes: he sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tels them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of money, to seeke it of their Captaine *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellows begin to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can finde; that so the Armie may be freed from danger of good admision, which they call Treason. After this followes open war. *Matho* solicites all *Africke*, and his Embassadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to use perswasion: the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole countrie into it. Now must the *Carthaginians* be plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversitie hath never beene untold of her errors: and as she is ever assured to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne she undergoes those of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they took from them the one halfe of their come; that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted upon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the *Carthaginians* themselves have forgotten: but the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not only such as can beare Armes are readie to doe service in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for the maintenance of so just a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aide of threecore and ten thousand *Africans*: and are moreover furnished with money, not onely to satisfie the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the war begun, though it should be of long endurance.

§. II.

Divers observations upon this war with the Mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyrannie, and how Tyrants are faine to use the helpe of Mercenaries.

HERE let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travell. Behold a tyrannicall Citie, persecuted by her owne Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almost necessarie, that a tyrannie should be upheld by mercenarie forces: it is common that Mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all warre made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and crueltie. Yet we seldome heare, that ever the ruine of a tyrannie is procured or fought by those that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and seldome or never doe we reade of any war that hath been profecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is, A violent form of government, not respecting the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely forbear to say, that it is the unjust rule of one over many: for very truly doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the

the *Athenians*, that their dominion over their subjects, was none other, than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselves were a great Citie, and a popular citate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, *violent*: since it may well and easily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardless of his life and welfare; unless he himselfe be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of love. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more gentle than others, to the very slaves; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne advantage. Nevertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of severall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a relish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, & now he hath enough, but (as Covetousnesse is never satisfied) he thinks that all this is too little for a stock, though it were indeed a good yearly In-come. Therefore he deviseth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleased with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knows it well: but he thinks by cruelty to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth in which course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocencie be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand in feare, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other securitie, than to dis-arm all his Subjects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place; and, for defence of his Person and State, to hire as many lustie Souldiers as shall be thought sufficient. These must not be of his owne Countrey: for if not every one, yet some one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publike miserie. This considered, he allures unto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most dishonest that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained. Now left any of these, either by desertation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his sword against the Tyrant himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to rob, to ravish, to murder, and to satisfy their owne appetites, in most outrageous manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hateful to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreams: though some *Englishman* perhaps that were unacquainted with Historie, lighting upon this lease, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannie growes to stand in need of mercenarie Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly assured unto the Tyrant.

¶ II.

That the Tyrannie of a Citie over her Subjects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise use mercenarie Souldiers.

NOW concerning the tyranny wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her subjects, it may appear some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominions, but not (as is one man) fearfull of her life: the lesse need hath she therefore to secure her selfe by cruelty. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures, and therefore needs the lesse to plucke from her subjects. If warre, or any other great occasion, drive her to necessity of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie summes of money; the same necessity makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grievous & hateful, as those that are insolent. Remember (saith *Caligula* the Emperor

to his Grand-mother *Antonia* that I may doe what I list, and to whom I list: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her slaves, that whilst she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all sense of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although desire of libertie make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that she should keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a Citie is scarce able to deserve the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, that the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heavey, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other private passions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* lascivious, when *Cato* was faine to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtians, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and generally approved custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphysicall abstraction of the universall from the singular, or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compounded. I say therefore, (as I have said elsewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to set downe, but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good advice, yea, or some unexpected accident may reforme him; all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successe may prove better.

Many Tyrants have beene changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent forme of Government, even a lawfull Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannicall Citie, have no such hope: their Mistress is immortall, and will not slacken the reines, untill they be pulled out of her hands, and her owne mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is wofull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindefull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same fore, out of which others had already sucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearly among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their hives, without a good lading of waxe and hony. These flye into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becoming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endless labour, (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to goe about: but were this effected, what availed it? The love of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successor of this man, he is more loving than could be wished, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seeks the ruine of all that have beene inward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civil warre. The *Romans* had a Law *De Reperundis*, or, *Of Recoverie*, against extorting Magistrates: yet we finde, that it served not wholly to restrain their Provinciaall Governours; who presuming on the favour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold, in their Provinces, to worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of judgement. If the subjects of *Rome* groaned under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* imposed no burthenome

tributes; they loved not to heare; that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having bene ill Governours. At Carthage all went quite contrary: the rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as Presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had bene such, as might afford a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practice are not extant: the government of Verres the Roman in Sicily, that is lively set out by Tullie, may serve to informe us, what was the demeanour of these Punick Rulers, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as Verres under-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition; That a Citie cannot governe her subject Provinces to so mildly as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a Citie is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

323. Sutable to the crueltie of such Lords, is the hatred of their Subjects: and againe, sutable to the hatred of the Subjects, is the jealousy of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in wars abroad, the Carthaginians durst use the service of African souldiers; in Africk it selfe they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick war, shift his Mercenaries out of their own countries; *Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterq; miles, velut mutui pignorum obligati stipendia facerent*; That the Africans might serve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges. It is disputable, I confesse, whether these African and Spanisb hirelings, could properly be termed Mercenaries: for they were subject unto Carthage, & carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as Polybius also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

†. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenarie Souldiers, and forraine Auxiliaries.

THE extreme danger, growing from the imployment of such Souldiers, is well observed by Machiavel: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithfull, disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their own commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearfull among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrarie part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States that have trusted them. These Mercenaries (saith Machiavel) which filled all Italie when Charls the eighth of France did passe the Alpes, were the cause that the said French King won the Realm of Naples with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of Sforza, the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan; who being entertained by Queen Joane of Naples, abandoned her service on the sudden, and forced her to put her self into the hands of the king of Aragon. Like unto his father was Francis Sforza, the first of that race, Duke of Milan; who being entertained by the Milanais, forced them to become his slaves, even with the very same armie which themselves had levied for their own defence. But Lodowick Sforza, the son of this Francis, by the just judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the treachery of such faithles Mercenaries, as his own father had bin. For, having waged an armie of Swissers, and committed his Dutchie, together with his person, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enimie the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loches unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the helpe of forreigne Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of Constantinople had hired ten thousand Turks against his neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perswasion or force, set them againe over the sea upon Asia side; which gave beginning to the Christian servitude, that soon after followed.

followed. Alexander, the son of Cassander, sought aide of the great Demetrius: but Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdome, flue the same Alexander, who had invited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. Syracon the Turke was called into Egypt by Sanar the Soldan, against his Opposite: but this Turke did settle himselfe so surely in Egypt, that Saladin his successor became Lord thereof, & of all the holy Land, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdome, in effect, can furnish us. The Brittaines drew the Saxons into this our Countrey; and Mac Murrough drew the English into Ireland; but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

10 Against all this may be alledged, the good successe of the united Provinces of the Netherlands, using none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed these Low-countries have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have seldome bin able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessity therefore compelled them to seeke helpe abroad: and the like necessity made them forbear to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more use in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mercenarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orange, can witness it: and that brave Commander Count Lodowicke of Nassau, felt, to his griefe, in his retreat from Gravingham; when, in the very instant that required their service in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either sought to hide their cowardize under a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meere covetousnesse, have ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to prove this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of Monsieur the Duke of Anjou, brother to the French King; save that it is folly to conceal what all the world knows. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves Lords over those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall we meet with such another as this Monsieur, who, for his protection promised, being rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first worke, to trust by violence a galling yoke upon the peoples necke? Well, he lived to repent it, with griefe enough. Even whilst he was counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imagine sorrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleiving the Towne to be surprisid and wonne, the death of the Count St. Aignan, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troups, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they were his own French who stood in need of pittie. Then was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of minde, wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed; *Helas, mon Dieu, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the Netherlands will not serve to prove, that there is little danger in using mercenarie Souldiers, or the helpe of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient unto necessity, and sought helpe of the English, Scots, and French; wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of England refused to accept the Sovereignty of their Countrey, which they offered, yet being provoked by the Spaniard their enimie, pursued him with continual war; when the heir of England reigned in Scotland a King too just and wise (though not engaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance: then might the Netherlands very safely repose confidence in the forces of these their Neighbour-countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they should receive, but well affected unto the cause that they tooke in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the side whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, where the English would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had bene corrupted by

by the *Spaniard*. They were therefore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitie of the poorer sort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helpees, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the same religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected: then may such a countie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other business, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldom, as it may well hold true in generall: That mercenary and forraign auxiliary forces are no lesse dangerous, than the enemy against whom they are entertained.

†. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans gave them assurance to use the service of their owne subjects in their wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

Here it may be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to use service of other souldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens: for if it were their maner to arm their own subjects, how hapned it, that they feared no rebellion: if strangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearsed? The answer is, That their Armies were compounded usually of their own Citizens, and of the *Latines* in equal number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of *Campanes*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, or other of their subjects, as were either interested in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldom they did employ so many) ten Roman Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had bin wanting; which served to keepe in good order their subjects, that were always fewer in the armie than themselves. As for the *Latines*, if constanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many privileges and immunities, which they enjoied, made them assured unto the State of Rome: under which they lived almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke, how easie soever, seems troublesome to the neck that hath bin accustomed to freedom. Therefore many people of *Italie* have taken occasion of severall advantages, to deliver themselves from the Roman subjection. But still they have bin reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion have sharply bin punished, and the people by degrees have obtained full liberty, as made them esteem none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citie of all *Italy*. Yet, in proceesse of time it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where *Saint Paul* was born, That all the Burgeses should be free of Rome it selfe. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some; upon some, with restraint of giving voyce in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their maner, after a great conquest, to release unto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had bin wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the Romans good government, That when some, for their well-deserving, have had the offer to be made Citizens of Rome, they have refused it, and held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is not marvell, that *Petellia*, a Citie of the *Brutians* in *Italie*, chose rather to endure all extremities of war, than, upon any condition, to forsake the Romans; even when the Romans themselves had confessed, that they were unable to helpe these their subjects, and therefore willed them to looke to their owne good, as having bin faithfull to the utmost. Such love purchased these mild Governors, without impairing their Majesty thereby. The sum of all is, they had of their own, a strong Armie; they doubled it by adjoining them unto the *Latines*; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of their own subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperitie of Rome to be the common good.

The moderate use of soveraigne power being so effectuall, in assuring the peo-

unto their Lords, and consequently, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion: it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, whatsoever. For it is lesse difficult, (who soever thinke otherwise) and more safe, to keepe the way of Justice and Honesty, than to turne aside from it: yet commonly our passions doe lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to infigurate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Government. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires have bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires have seldom bin hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which meanes the government hath bin reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, That tyrannies are of a short continuance. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exercise Tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by factions, did all conquire, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemencie of private hatred among them? Doubtlesse, we must be faine to say, That Tyrannie is, by it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankind, are common likewise unto brute beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are given by nature not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise natural, in convenient measure, both unto Mankind, and to all creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: even so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingrafted by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civil forme of Justice. All these in-bred qualities are good and usefull. Nevertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkennesse, which in reproach, are called beastly, by an improper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But, as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull unto Mankind, than that which issueth from the most noble root, even the depraved Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefs, of which hath beene an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or That nothing should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and over-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemencie the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist: yet the defective dulnesse, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which meere necessity doth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaseeth it selfe in the successe, with a false colour of justice. Examples of stupidity, and unaptnesse to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are every where to be found: for this quality doubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some error of fortune, it encounter herewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend, or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also cruelty hath helpe to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & felix scelus*, a fortunate mischiefe, as long as it can sub-

There is no reward or honour (saith *Peter Charron*) assigned unto those, that know how

how to increase, or preserve humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities, Empires, triumphs, trophies, are appointed for those, that know how to affix, trouble, or destroy it. *Cæsar* and *Alexander*, have un-made and laine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the error of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it grows to ripenesse, is none other than *Feritie*: the same that *Aristotle* saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the passions incident both to Man and Beast; no lesse than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villanie, the faults of Gluttony & Drunkenness, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procrustes*, and *Pityrampes*, that used their bodily force to the destruction of Mankind, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, and *Agathocles*, whose mischievous heads were affixed by the hands of detestable Rustians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the use of Rule, nor the difference between Freeman and slaves.

Gen. 1. 28.

Gen. 9. 2.

Arist. Polit. l. 1. c. 3.

Exod. 21. 17.
Num. 30. 40.Gen. 9. 25.
Gen. 11. 16.Epiſt. to Phile-
verse 14.

1 Cor. 7. 20. 21.

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of parents over their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwayes, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole country: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he said: *Have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowle of the aire, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth*: which also he continueth unto *Noah* and his children, saying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowle of the aire, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea: into your hands are they delivered*. He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, over a very great part of Mankind. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disability to govern themselves, proves them, according unto *Aristotles* doctrine, to be naturally slaves.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant to oppress men with bondage: unless the lawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a servant, whom he hath laine by correction, if the servant live a day or two, because he is his money; or else by the captivity of the *Midianitish* girls, which were made bond-slaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtlesse the custome hath bene very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse upon *Canaan*, that he should be a servant of servants; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-servants* and *maid-servants*, which were none other than slaves. Christian Religion is said to have abrogated this old kinde of servilitie: but surely they are deceived that think so. Saint *Paul* desired the liberty of *Onesimus*, whom he had won unto Christ: yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of request, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint *Paul* giveth unto servants: *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a servant? care not for it, but if thou mayst be made free, use it rather*. It is true, that Christian religion hath procured liberty unto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear of being discovered by their slaves, unto the persecutors of religion. *Mahomet* likewise, by giving libertie to his followers, drew many unto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as unlawfull, unto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tell; save that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moors*, it seemes he did not. In England we had many bond-servants, untill the time of our last civill wars; and I think that the Lawes concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which were of great use and service, there are growne up a rabble of Rogues, Curpeses, and other the like trades; slaves in Nature, though not in Law.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawfull, or not; *Aristotle* hath well proved that it is naturall. And certainly, we finde not such a latitude of difference in creature

creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the elect & reprobate) the wisest excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath given way to Reason, we shall finde, that Nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of servile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truly said, that some countries have subsisted long without the use of any servilitie; as also it is true, that some countries have not the use of any tame cattell. Indeed the affections which uphold civill rule, are (though more noble) not so simply needfull, unto the sustentation either of our kinde, as are Lust, and the like; or of every one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and servile dispositions have liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets, there may we more justly wonder, how the dangerous toile of sea-faring men can finde enough to undertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by access of those, that are weary of their own more painfull condition. This may suffice to prove, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted even by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we finde no cause to marvell, how Tyranny hath been so rife in all ages, and practised, not only in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but ever by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since other vices have likewise gotten head, and borne a generall sway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferior Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? in the government of wife and children, some are utterly carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull connivencie: others, by masterly rigour, hold their owne blood under condition of slavery. To be a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to preserve the Weal publike above all respects whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue many ages afford not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle* as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans owne Country. But if we consider, that a love of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference unto the fountain of all goodnesse: we shall finde, that no morall vertue, how great soever, can, by it selfe, deserve the commendation of more than Vertue, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patternes hereof; such as *David*, *Josaphat*, and *Josias* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soone be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversitie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not only useth his authority, but stides the travell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to doe justice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, civilitie is infused, even into those places, that have been the dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite abolished a slavish *Brebon* Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the blood, the wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appeare lesse regardable: he, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under such a King, it is likely, by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknowne; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happinesse of his subjects, shall cause the Nations farre off removed, to wish him their Sovereigne. I need not add hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, even his bodily exercises, doe partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, seeketh how to imitate the unspeakable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible majestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procurerth. Left any man should thinke mee transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I add hereunto,

hereunto, that such a King is neverthelesse a man, must dye. and may erre: yet wisdom and fame shall set him free, from error, and from death, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a singular benefit (though there be many other besides) redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodness. The people that live under a pleasant yoke, are not only loving to their Sovereigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muster of men, than of stout fighters, it need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over slaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by slavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and slaves outrageous, for a time: but among spirits that have once yielded unto slavery, universally it is found true, that *Homer* saith, *God bereaveth a man of halfe his vertue that day when he casteth him into bondage.*

Hom. Odyf. l. 17.

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the generall discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannicall rule, and the use of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present business of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuell, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

§. III.

How the war against the Mercenaries was diversely managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with variable successe. The bloody counsels of the Mercenaries; and their final destruction.

BEING now to returne unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus farre digressed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they seeke their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiniers. Had they all been subjects unto *Carthage*, then might they justly have been termed Rebels: but *Spandin*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endeavoured to subvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* will, so doth.

* *Utica* is seated in the great bay that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the Promontory of *Apollis*. At this time it is called *portus Uticensis*, or *Ufens*, & by the *Africans* themselves, *Casidonia*. *Niger* saith, that the town it selfe is ruined, and the place whereon it stood, now called *Magazetha*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, saith *Silius*. As it flourished before *Carthage* was set up, so did it after *Carthage* was throwne down by the *Romans* in the third *Punicke* warre. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it against *Cæsar*. It was the birth place of *Diomedes*, was Bishop thereof in the time of *Genesius* the *Arian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the story of his cruelties.

These, using the advantage of their present strength, besieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being seated upon the western Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* standing inwards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the countrey: for *Mattho* and *Spandin* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected perill, any man may conceive. But the business it selfe awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides, and therefore travelled their brains to the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs from their shoulders, who, sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came unto the very walls of their Citie. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation; but had gotten together whatsoever was needfull, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assaile any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came unto *Utica*, so suddenly, that the enemies, as men surprised, forsook their Trenches, and retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his assaults. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Numidians*, whose custome was, after any losse, to flie two or three whole daies journey off; present-ly entered the Town; to shew himselfe after this his victory. But these good fellows, against whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as soon as they perceived, that he knew not how to use a victory, they assailed their own Camp, and with great slaughter, drove the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within *Utica*; and got possession of all the store that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This beginning *Hanno* followed with futable indiscretion: losing the benefit of many faire opportunities, and suffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shete-anchor; sending to the field their great Capitaine *Amilcar*, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the enemy upon equall ground. For, besides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had suffered them to win the onely bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was passable unto these, that were to travell into the Continent. This River had not many fords, nor those easie for a single man to get over: but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in seeking way by force. As for the Bridge it selfe, *Mattho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a town, wherein to lye commodiously, intencive only to the custody thereof. But *Amilcar* had observed, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and gravel, that was driven in by certain customary winds, and could not be driven out againe, by force of that slow river, till the wind failing, or changing, suffered the weight of the waters, to dis-burden their channell. Hereof he made use; and taking his opportunity, passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spandin* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes; knowing that they were no longer to deal with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able spirit, even with their owne Master in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was soone changed into presumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their owne society, were come from *Utica*, and other ten thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him downe, in despite of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended upon him, watching for some advantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onser. Especially they that followed him in the Reare, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such, as tooke from them their former circumspection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittest for the service of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Armie. Neither made he shew of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increase, till it should breake into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neare, as would be little for their good, if he should turne upon them, he hastened his march, even to such a pace, as made a shew little differing from plaine flight. The Mercenaries presently fell upon his skirts; beleiving, that for feare of them he was ready to run away. But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heeles of those that had the Reare; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, so that, amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any resistance. In this overthrow there were fixe thousand of the Mercenaries slaine, and about two thousand taken, the rest fled, some to the Campe at *Utica*, others to the town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he wan the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled unto *Tunes*, as not having recollected their spirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in pursuing it, caused many Towns revolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Mattho* wanting to himselfe in this dangerous time. He sent about *Numidia* and *Africa*, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or never, to doe their best, for the recovery of their freedome; he perswaded *Spandin*, and *Antaritus*, that was a Capitaine of the *Gaules*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and always to keepe the higher grounds, or at least, the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and he himselfe continued to presse the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard siege. It was necessary for *Amilcar*, in passing from place to place, as his business required, to take such ways as there were: for all the Country lay not level. Therefore *Spandin*, who still coasted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plaine, surrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their

Numidian

Numidian and *African* succours. In this difficultie, the fame of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his Countrey. For *Naravassus*, a young gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occasion, serving to get the acquaintance and love of so brave a man, which he much desired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all service. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promised unto him his own daughter in marriage; and so won from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naravassus* turned unto the *Carthaginians* side. With this helpe he gave battell unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellowes, and foure thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Autarim* the *Gauls*, escaped to doe more mischief. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should never beare armes against the *Carthaginians*; threatening to take sharpe revenge upon all that should breake this Covenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarim*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take such order, that not a man among them should dare to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safety whilst *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company, respective only of their private benefit, and careless of the generall good, had a purpose to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull to look well unto *Gesco*, and his companions, whom these traitors had a purpose to enlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a baite, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them what a dangerous enemy *Gesco* would prove, if he might escape their hands. While he is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autarim*, and speaks his minde plainly: saying, that it were the best, yea, the only way for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if some were desiring to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Gesco* his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such a course every one should be engaged in the present Action, as having none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that such as would speak here against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarim* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could speak sundry languages, in such sort, that he was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Gesco*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith by put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheless there were some, that for love of *Gesco* sought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document unto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewith all contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners which they tooke, should be served in like sort: and that the subjects or friends of *Carthage*, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they observed ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need say no more, than that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsell of using it, it was like unto the counsell of *Achitophel*; *All Israel shall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong*. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the punishment of lesse offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengfull spirits of those that have been wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added some deficiency of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to the decree of their severall crimes. A coward thinks all provision too little for his owne securitie. If *Phocas* be a coward (said the Emperour *Mauritius*) then he be murderous. To be steadfast and sure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defensive against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianitie; and such a quality discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise

wife would have repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it which wrought so much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to suspect even their gentleness, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like unto the errors of Princes and Governors, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment is awarded unto the lesse offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his own securitie.

Against these inconveniences, Mercie and severitie, used with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his own souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courses, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame, he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance, casting them unto wild beasts to be devoured.

Untill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie under his command, had kept himselfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may seem, for that nothing is remembred of him since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the war grew to such extremity, as threatened utter ruine to the one or the other side, then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joynd his forces. By this access of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled to doe more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: such was the hatred between him and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had stood always firm on the *Carthaginians* partie, did now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The provisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were lost in foule weather; and *Carthage* it selfe stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilst one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been used as the safest course, to send forth, in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perswading themselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joynd two chiefe Commanders in equal commission, upon this further consideration; the better to restrain the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themselves Tyrants over those Cities and States that have employed them. In this point the *Venetians* have bin so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their own, in all the wars which they have made. It is true, that the equal authority of two commanding in chiefe, serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust: but in managing the war it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In wars made near unto *Rome* it selfe, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greatest of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years service; it is no marvell, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the Consuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his owne Province; unless one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joynd in the administration. Now although it was so, that the *Romans* did many times prevail with their joynt Generals: yet was this never or seldom, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the lesse able Captaine, though of equall authoritie, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, received great and most dangerous overthrowes; whereof in the second *Punicke* warre we shall finde examples. On the contrary side, in their warres most remote, that were always managed by one, they seldom failed

failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those ten Generals, which served the *Athenians* at the Battell of *Marathon*, it may truly be said, that had not their temper bene better, than the judgement of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being so over-waie, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, having sole charge of all, did their Countre and Common-weale most remarkable service. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgement, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often over-slipt, as at other times many actions are unreasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condé* was slain after the Battell of *Jarnac*; (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chastillon*, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one out-reach the advisednesse of the other, as whatsoever the Admirall intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this present businesse: who, though they were still sicke of their ill grounded love to *Hanno* and were unwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ran towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controversies, unto the Armie that served under them. The judgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* should depart the Camp: which he did, and *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere unto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much; having in their Campe above fifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Nevertheless, the Citie was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of *Syracuse*, though during the warres in *Sicil* he assisted the *Romans*, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne; because if no other State gave the *Romans* somewhat to trouble their digestion, the Principalltie of *Syracuse* would soon be devoured by them. The *Romans* also gave them some slender assistance, and, for the present, refused good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a kind of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeite, as the sequell manifestly proved.

Whilest *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backs, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more streightly besieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issued into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an African Captaine assisting the rebellion, take upon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horse of *Naracasus*, made *Spendius* fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore he betooke himselfe to his former method of warre, keeping the mountaines and rough grounds, or occupying the freightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it self, with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmishes; in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the overthrow in plaine battell: untill at length he got them into a streight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgement was enough to perceive their owne disadvantage; and therefore they had the lesse stomack to fight

fight; but a waiting for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, used the benefit of their present feare, & shute them close up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour, that fed upon the bodics of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, knowing that they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*: and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* they were faine to devour their own companions, and yet saw none appearance, or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken, and they threatened their Captains with what they deserved, unlesse they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and seeke such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarcas*, and *Autaritus*, fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, unto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they sent to crave parlie, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say unto him, it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame upon themselves, and chose pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, & so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded upon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the same astonishment, that made them breake the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of justice, in accomplishing revenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slain: being forty thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naracasus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeeld: *Asia*, and *Hippagretia* onely standing out, upon feare of deserved vengeance; & *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe strength of the enemy. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellows, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therefore it behooved each to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the walls beheld his owne destiny, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to avoide it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So hee brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, under the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and unexpected fury hee sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently revenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the siege; but was faine to breake it off, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Aggradas*, where he incamped.

The terror was no lesse within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this losse, than had bene the joy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, under *Hanno*; whom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines surviving the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them forbidding the employment of one sole Generall neere unto their Citie (for they are knowne to have trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about recalling it. But thirty principall men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcar's* Camp, and by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It neerly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesnesse of *Hannibal* seemed

to be imputed unto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Nevertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* & *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilst this warre lasted, *Hanno* took warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matho*; that he resolved to try the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his owne desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approved it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemy hath not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inviting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battaile might have beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, save their daring spirits, which had bin well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as having been often victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the desire of liberty should worke so much, in men accustomed to servitude; as the honour of their State would, in citizens, whose future & present good lay all at once engaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* won a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slain; the rest fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, & therefore they all yielded; and *Matho* himselfe was taken alive. Immediately upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Utica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserved of favour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victors. *Matho* and his fellows were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be devised, in recompence of the mischiefs which they had wrought in this war. The warre had lasted three yeares, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subjects did not love them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

§. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

WHilst *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bastar* the Governour, & other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, & hold that Iland to their own use. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent with a small Army (such as could bee spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, & present profit to joyn themselves with those that were already revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that common weale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all jealousy and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarrell of an unjust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act

to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeede the best pawne, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to performe some such actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By such a kinde of cruelty did the ungratefull *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achians*, sent unto them for their defence against the *Lacedamonians*, by *Aratus*, who, ly spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gave them equall freedome, with the rest of the Cities united. These *Revolts* are also common in our Court wars; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the demies, *C'est ont les coups de vieille escrime*. These, (say the French) be the blowes of the old art of fencing.

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Ilanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrey: but they could not agree about the profits of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiers for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the souldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was devolved unto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) have risen, between *Spendius* with this Mercenaries, & their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: unlesse the riches of *Carthage* had served to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrey; the matter was not easily taken up. So they fell to blowes; which how they were delt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to save themselves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it, with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicily*. Yet this offer was refused, upon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with corrie: of whom the *Carthaginians* tooke almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, requiring satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yielded to release them all. This was so kindly taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to *Carthage*. And upon the same reason, did they forbear to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Utica*, offering it selfe unto their subjection. This might have served, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate; no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who, had beene overthrowne by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one maine battaile, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercilesse villaines, or have humbled her selfe under protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessity, wherein *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one fallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not farre from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwilfully done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking ship, to runne her selfe aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet againe; began to strike at her head. They denouneed warre against this enfeebled and impoverished City, under a shamelesse pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia*, were made indeede against *Rome* it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves unable to resist; and therefore yielded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see

not what reason they could alledge) of the great feare which they had endured, of an invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of warre. But necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the mony was payed, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punic* faith, in breach of Covenants: she her selfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* pupposeth to make her deeply repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to performe, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

§. V.

How the affaires of Carthage went betwene the African Rebellion, and the second Punicke Warre.

THe injurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to pick a quarrell, served to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessarie lesson: That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty. In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily tooke place: and the best meanes were thought upon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts upon the Meditteran Seas; but the riches of *Spain*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome*: wherefore that Province might serve, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repaire their decayed forces, with all needfull supplies. Of the *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and soveraigne trust was committed unto *Amilcar*: upon whom his Country did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other envious men that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall love and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to be the most worthy of command in all the City: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; advising men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weale; they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisdom.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld & enlarged, by many notable services that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the streights of *Hercules*, (now called the streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the western coasts of *Spain*; in which Country, during nine yeeres that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Provinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vetones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slaine: carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his son in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spain*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practice and cunning than in deeds of armes. By his notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many Subjects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous againe of this haile increase. He built a goodly Citie, upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, & gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day is neerly remaineth, being called now *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicily*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbering themselves in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) given them leisure, without interruption, to recover upon their owne Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gauls*, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to be feared: it is enough if he

request, since his request shall have the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly destitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in *Roman* succours. But in the enterprize of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turne in *Spain*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bin suspected) they sent unto him, requiring that he should forbear to proceede any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they seeme to have hoped, that howsoever the generalltie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to avoid all occasion of warre with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more sitidious, and presenting the injurie, returne such answer, as would intangle his whole Countie in the quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparent cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would have this insolent covenant inserted into the Articles of peace; he tooke upon him to doe it, of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and sought no further.

If it had been so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not have stood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unlesse an oath had also bin extorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, under the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of perjury, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* won some reputation in *Spain*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would neede be mistress over them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiving blows from a stouter Dame; there were some found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-servants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull unto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subject, nor open enemy in war to the *Carthaginians*) into their society: & unlawfull it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to use violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*, we shall find that the *Romans* could have none other honest color of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themselves would not passe, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that River, held almost all the Countie. Howsoever it were, this indignity was not so easily digested, as former injuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty Citie. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest injuries, or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themselves right: war against *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spain* eight yeares: (being slaine by a slave, whose master he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

* The *Spaniards* have since built a Citie of the same name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1533, was taken by the English in the yeere 1585.

The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reign of Philip the sonne of Demetrius in Macedon.

IN the long terme of the first *Runic* war; and the vacation following, betwene it & the second; the citie of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown somewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip of Macedon* had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-spring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a forme of liberty: the petty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Capitaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each upon such townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, & reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not only served to protect themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like diffinitions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had bin in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels & great wars, about the Kingdom of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyfimachus*, *Sedomeus*, *Pyrrhus*, & the *Gauls*: *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirty yeares; yet so, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gauls*, & by *Pyrrhus*, as hath bin already shewed, but by *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his souldiers, even at such time, as having overthrowne with great slaughter an Army of the *Gauls*, hee was converting his forces against the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his young sonne *Demetrius* raised an Army, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirot*, and restored his father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; which was justly termed the *fever* of *Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood upon a steepe rockie hill on the North side of the towne, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the towne; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running between the *Aegean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponnesus* to the maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cutt off all passage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* unto the other; besides the commoditie of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polyperchon*; and after his death, *Craefopolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Provinces and Townes, that was made betwene *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, until it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I finde nothing else, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicea* thereof, and got it from her by artifice. The device was this. *Antigonus* sent his yong *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicea*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish old widow perceived not how unfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertain'd the fancy of marriage; whereunto the old King was even as ready, to consent as was his sonne to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the midst of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Lady, whose jealousie had bin exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the gravity becoming his old age. But as he had stolen it; so was it againe stolen from him: neither lived he to revenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this *Antigonos*, succeeding unto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians* and *Atheans*, held him continually buied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About the fift times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Greecians* to cast off their yoke.

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Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philop* as his own sonne, to whom hee left the Crowne at his death; This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his protectorship; and was also called *Dolon*, that is as much as, *will-give*, because he was slow in his liberality. Hee repressed the *Dardanians* & *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Upon confidence of this good service, he took fast upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than onely a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were soone appeased by faire words, and a seeming unwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* tooke from him the city of *Athens*, soon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*; if their own estate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy. But civill dissention, which had overthrowne the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most; overthrow it easily now againe, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sicknesse; and gave to this *Antigonus* no lesse authority therein, than *Philop* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

These *Achaians* from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their *Laws*, and by their clemency (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the *Citizens of Peloponnesus* to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same sort of weights, measure, and money.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that united them againe; and gave them courage, after that they had bin by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the *Heraclidae*, when *Tifameneus* the son of *Orestes* posselt the Territory of *Achaia*. In this estate the continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his sons sought to change the Legal government of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of times, till the reign of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*; who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelve Cities, call'd the Cities of Alliance, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battaille of *Leuctres*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no lesse foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomy* the son of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Prothomy Ceraunus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patresnes* and the *Dimeis*, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, some of them *Patresnes* with sundrie *Macedonian* Captains, and others having bin governed by petty Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly at such time as *Pirryhus* made his first voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patresnes* and *Dimeis*, to whom also the Cities of *Titreus*, and *Phara*, joynd themselves; *Agira* chased out her Garrisons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same Contederacie. These Cities, for twenty and five yeares, used the same forme of Government with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weale; and soone after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynenfis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in exile, whilst his Countrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found means, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their own Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chafed the Tyrant, and restored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus* *Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wife in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it received more increase by their accession than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough against

an Armie, had carried away fifty thousand slaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice & Luxury reigned among them, the poore were oppressed by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that had sometime bin their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seven hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands all the rest were needie people, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme on; which endangered the City most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of *Lycurgus* his laws. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall division of Lands. All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends & Counsaillers in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne private commodity. They were hasty to take away all debts, and cancell all bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted: but the division of lands they afterwards hindred, because their owne possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, which these men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two adverse Kings drivento take Sanctuary; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should have given Patronage to the laws, using their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and served to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adjoine *Lacedemon* to the *Achaens* Common-wealth: though it were great injustice, to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could have bin wrought by perswasion.

But, the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the unjust attempts of the *Achaens*, even in their own kinde: obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponnesus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedemonians* and their King, should have bin the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautiful, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his owne son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. Hee discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, and by pitying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilst hee was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of Warre: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegæa* & *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedemonians*: wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the labor of a painful nights travel, & discovered his enmity to *Sparta*, of which *Cleomenes* was nothing forrie. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have staid the quarrell from proceeding too far. But *Lyfias* and *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* was so urgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achaens*, (He and *Lyfias* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannie) who sent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a journey to be made into *Laconia*. No dissuasions of *Aratus* would serve

therefore

therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, little pleasing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Aristomachus*, who desired to give battaile. Yet had the *Achaens* twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thousand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedemonian*, and raised an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyfias* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Nevertheless the *Achaens* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the yeare following, against *Lyfias* his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behooved him to confute, with deeds, the slanderous words of *Lyfias*. Therefore he purposed to set upon the *Æleans*: but was met withall on the way, neere unto the Mount *Lycaeus*, by *Cleomenes*, who vanquished him in a great battaile, and drave him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to have bin slaine. This misadventure *Aratus* recompensed by a trick of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have bin expected, had he bin victorious. For whilst there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their city. These *Mantineans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before joyned themselves with the *Achaens*; but shortly upon feare, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus won. For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achaen* society. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountered neere unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achaen* had somewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyfias*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; & taking with him all the horse, brake upon the *Lacedemonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driven backe upon their own Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Army was disordered and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achaens* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, & followed the warre nevertheless; where in though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achaens* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intensive to another businesse.

Cleomenes having ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull journeyes, forsooke the *Achaen* warre on a sudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched upon the power of Kings, & many disorders had grown in the Citie; hee justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Country might not altogether stand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it lately had done, to save it selfe from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied; and *Cleomenes* himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of these his domestical troubles.

The *Achaens* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the City, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantineæ*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his worke, being better obeyed and by better men. His *Lacedemonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth content about the possession of a few Townes: but adventured to winne or lose all,

all, The *Ætolians* in favour of his attempt, declared themselves on his side: and where-as he had gotten *Mantinea*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Country, and saw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore he devised how to provide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to save all from utter ruine. The office of Generall, when it was next put upon him, he refused, fearing to be so far prett, as to hazard in one battaile all the force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his maner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted by surprize, & defended upon the advantage of place, after the maner of the *Irish*, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet did hee not forsake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it seems that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Mantinea* had not only opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but slaine the *Achaean* Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yielded unto him, without compulsion; and that *Aristomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Achaean*s, was now revolted unto the enemy, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Prolomy* was too farre off to helpe; and the needresse of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be usefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, bee friend or enemy, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpose; and instructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Achaean*s.

The City of *Megalopolis* had beene well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay neerest unto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be releevd by the *Achaean*s, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadors should be sent unto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requesting leave and good allowance, to trie the favour of *Antigonus* in their necessitie. This was granted, for lacke of what else to answer: and the same Embassadors dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time borne unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aide. But when they delivered the more generall matter; wherein *Aratus* had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achaean*s under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive eare to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the *Achaean*s good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers to *Aratus*; assuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have beene grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but only upon a just and worthy love to his owne Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: & are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Achaean*s were glad to heare, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; & therefore were ready to entertaine his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his consent; and praised the wisdome of his Countreimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common safety: adding nevertheless, that it were not amisse, first of all to try their owne ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; since it might appeare, that he had not beene Author of this Decree, but only followed, and that lesurably, the generall consent.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this finenesse of *Aratus* might have bin used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had bin more honourable to make an end of the war, by yeelding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: since thereby he should both have freed his country from all further trouble; and withall, should have restored unto the universall state of *Greece*, that honourable condition, whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pittie) that Vertue, having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the fear of Principality, by length of time, and successe of many actions, can ill endure the battie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likely to be overtopped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had bin in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should preferre *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw his own honours reveried by the insolent *Macedonians*; and in stead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of *Heracles*, was faine to doe sacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a god, and was finally paysoned by *Philip*, whose Nobilitie was but of five descents, and whom perhaps hee might have beene his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the love of *Ptolome* was lost: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*, though he did not supply him with such liberality, as he had used to the *Achaean*s; being wared, as may seeme, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disburfing. *Cleomenes* himselfe, whilst this businesse with *Antigonus* was a-foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Armie, and laboured by all meanes to draw the *Achaean*s to battell. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonian*s. Thither went *Cleomenes*, & there fought with them; where he had so great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keepe the open field. The calamity was such, that *Aratus* himselfe durst not take upon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achaean*s were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted upon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate unto themselves the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would consent, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: also that they should enjoy their own Lawes and Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achaean*s; who desired him to come to the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the War.

Now seemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be settled in better order, than they had ever bin since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea, or since the *Persian* invasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in great heat, and thereupon fell extreme sicke, and so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheless he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achaean*s in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it; and fought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countreimen afraid of resolving. When all would not serve turne, he betooke himselfe to his cunning; and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should doe well to leave his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this advertisement; and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had bin an easie matter, to have told him so much at the first, and not have made him come so far with an Armie, which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemed to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who sought thereby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers; or if he would adventure himselfe into the Citie, then to deprive him of all Royall shew, that might breed respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, & for which he sought to hinder his coming thither in person; lest the people, hearing the promises

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of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, and finish the bargain without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not farre behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betwene feare of the one, and reverence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were, to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his advantage of their present weakness, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yielded unto him willingly; many he forced, and partly by force, partly by terror, he wan *Argos*, which never King of *Spacia* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, intreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed *Achaens*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wished: saying that he utterly refused to doe any thing, unless he might first have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was somewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enemy the Stagge: but with condition, that the horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what he intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that their Caste should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*, who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he fought how to get possession of their Caste, or at least to save it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leave. Whilest this was doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Ilyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*; promising, that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would he give him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolomeus*. As for the Caste of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soveraigntie of the Countrey; he desired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Achaens*. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For *Aratus* rejecting utterly the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achaens*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* understood, he seized upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neere to the *Isthmus*; having passed with his Army through *Eubœa*, because the *Etolians* held the streights of *Thermopyla* against him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatness, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this journey. At his coming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battell, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to doe: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out againe, with great losse of men; finally, he resolved to turne aside, and seeke a passage over the gulf of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity, newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no lesse troubled his enemies. The *Achaens* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Citiedell, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present helpe. *Argos* had alwayes beene enemy to *Spacia*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it he forbore to chase out those whom he most suspected; partly at the entreaty of friends, and partly for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that he would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places, where it would have beene tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon

such as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time, invited the *Achaens*, assailed his Garrison, cut in peeces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continuall messages, that his men which held the Cittadell at *Argos* were almost lost; he began to feare lest his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the *Achaens* in the meane while spoyling all that lay within. Therefore he forsooke his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*; which if he could save, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he prevailed at his coming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Achaens* were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the streets: when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discovered afaire off, halting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yielded, as soone as the *Spartan* had turned his backe) following apace with the body of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a safe retreat. This hee did, and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had bin long in getting.

Antigonus having shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*: where he wan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, hee tooke his way to *Aegium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achaens*; to whom he declared the cause of his coming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achaens* were not behinde with him; but made him Capitaine-Generall over them and their Confederates: and further entered into covenant with him, That they would not deal with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his owne Towne, (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: which had made (forsooth) a very wise bargain, if in stead of *Cleomenes*, that would have bin a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen upon the *Achaens*. This was hardly taken; yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himselfe over-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the same King, and one onely left unto himselfe at his earnest intreaty. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spitefull. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the aide of these *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, who had bin once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achaens*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet the *Mantineans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Achaens*. For he slue all the principall Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bond-slaves: dividing the spoyle; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achaens*. The Towne it selfe was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*; who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this business, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the slavery which *Aratus* was driven to use to *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of servility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speake of this change, which the coming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civill state of the *Achaens*; let us returne unto his war against the *Lacedemonians*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantineia*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, & *Telphussa*: *Mantineia* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achaens*, with whom he wintered at *Aegium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this year; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his owne Territory. The

reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonum* to *Mantineæ*, &c. to those other Townes that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolomie* the Egyptian promised much, but would performe nothing, unless he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were lesse into *Egypt*, yet the aide came not. For *Ptolomie* was slow; as dealing in the businesse of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himselfe, as well as his own ability would serve. He manumitted all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedæmonian* slaves: taking money for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them after the *Macedonian* fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*: that lay secure, as having defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonum* neere at hand in *Ægium*. The towne he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare Armes rose hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet saved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering them their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. These newes astonished the *Acheans* at *Argum*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonum* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in coming, that *Cleomenes* was safely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*, there to passe the rest of his unluckie winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Acheans*. When he had laine a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonum* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonum* did not issue into the field, were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wiser than to be moved with their clamors; and suffered them to see their villages burnt: to bid him resigne his Office of Protector unto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words: rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakening the reputation of his enemy: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other strength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonum* gathered together all his troupes; meaning to requite these bravadoes of his enemy, with the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other side, laboured to keepe the war from his owne gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where he made such havock, as drew *Antigonum* thither, from his intended invasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was shut up; sending unto him in scorn, to borrow the keys. These were light things; yet served to dishearten the *Achean* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting up his rest, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Epiriots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Acheans*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts twenty thousand, with which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonum*, coming unto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly incamped, upon and between the hills of *Eva* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which he greatly desired, without the hazzard of his whole Army, in assailing their well-defenced Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being resolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonum* attempted with his *Illyrians* to force that part which lay on the hill *Eva*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achean* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foot, incamped in the straight valley betweene those hills, issuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only

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disordered them, but were like to have endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battell, hee would have made great use of such a faire beginning. But *Euclydas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopemen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Capitaine, served then on horse, as a private young man, among the *Acheans*. Hee seeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall back upon the *Achean* Mercenaries: but they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonum* had given order, that they should keepe their places, until they received a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopemen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intreated some of his own Countreimen to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but seek how to save themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulness of him that held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perswaded the men at Armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Euclydas* being manifest, who kept the top of the hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight upon even termes. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was forehurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, until the whole Army came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other side, upon *Olympus*, against *Antigonum* himselfe, was like to have beene surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an extraordinary speed. In this battell ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no desire to stay, finding onely two hundred left of sixe thousand *Spartans* that he had led unto this battell, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves unto *Antigonum*; and promising to doe all that should at any time lie in his owne power, for their good, he hastened away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolomie Evergetes*, who undertooke to restore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the meane season, he had a pension allowed him, of foure and twenty Talents, yearly. But this *Ptolomie* died; and his son *Ptolomie Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women; and base Men, unmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus* did seeme to invite him; *Ptolomie* and his Minions, would neither give him aide; nor yet dared to displease him (as he desired) to trie his own friends in *Greece*, because he was too well acquainted with the weaknesse of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detain him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was, that with thirty of his Countreimen, he undertooke a desperate enterprise: breaking out of the prison, and provoking the *Alexandrines* to rebell and seeke their liberty. In which attempt he slew some enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) hee, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolomie* was bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had beene sent thither as Hostages, together with the wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grandmother, to come to such a bloudy end, as now befell his owne Wife, Son, and Grandchildren.

After the victory at *Selasia*, *Antigonum* without resistance entred *Sparta*: wherewith never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindly intreated

the Citizens, and left them to their own lawes and Government: rarrying there no longer than two or three dayes; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and never returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an advertisement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran, and destroyed the Countrey. Had these newes come a little sooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least wife tarried a few dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdome of *Lacedaemon* would have stood, and perhaps have extended it self over all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battell with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-straining his voyce; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended unto *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, being then a boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolomy Philopater*, began to reign in *Asia*, and *Egypt*; Boyes all of these, *Ptolomy*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he first was king, yet continued a Boy all the seventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* & *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconvenience to their Kingdomes, as is usuall in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of them, and of their kingdomes, more at large.

§. VII.

How the *Illyrians* infested the coast of *Greece*, and how they were subdued by the *Romans*.

Lindisfar.

WHilst things thus passed in *Greece*, and whilst the *Carthaginians* were busied in their conquest of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themselves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*; that were easily subdued at first, & easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war with the *Illyrians*, wherewith they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gauls* they had much ado, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Livie* saith, a tumult than a war. So that by all these light excises, their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterran Sea*, it hath bin shewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gauls*, it is now meet to be utterly silent.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*; a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making war for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*; for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrians* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prator, or chief Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the division of the spoyle to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and won the towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a prettie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prator should be jointly intitled in the victory, and have equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*; and though good resistance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own busines, but stoutly sallied out of the towne. Many of the *Ætolians* were slain, more were taken, their camp and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* took the spoyle, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophee, inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage highly pleased *Agroon* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in

regard of the mony, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not un-easie to enrich himselfe by setting upon the lesse warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and drank to immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleuresie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left unto *Tenta* his wife.

Tenta gave her people free liberty to rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she had beene sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet, and sent it into *Greece*; willing her Captaines to make warre where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell with the western coast of *Peloponnesus*, wherethey invaded the *Eleans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirum*, and stayed at the Citie of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other necessaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gauls*, that having bin Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray first *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either, they nevertheless revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed and sent to sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Towne. The *Gauls* were soone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deserved none other, in trusting them. All *Epirum* was presently in armes, and hastned to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queene *Tenta* had sent to help his fellows. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonis*, to make good that Town, and the streights adjoining, by which these new commers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remains at *Phœnice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one nor the other sped well in their busines. For *Scerdilaidas* found means to joyne with his fellows; and they that were besieged within *Phœnice*, sallied out of the towne, and gave such an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despair of saving their Countrey, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the *Acheans* and *Ætolians*: craving their help, with very pitifull terms of intreaty. They obtained their suit; neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirum*, to present battell unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Tenta* the Queene, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no mind to put his forces to hazard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ransom their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners, and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the *Illyrians* returned into their own country by land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandment of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilst they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made unto the *Roman* Senate, were so frequent, that Embassadors were sent to require of *Tenta*, that she should abstaine from doing such injuries. These Embassadors found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the Town *Issa*, which her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Piracy*, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, That injury in publike shee would doe them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the maner of Kings to forbid their subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadors) we *Romans* have a maner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publike, of those private wrongs that are born out by publike authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your kindly maners, and learn better of us. These words the Queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slain: as if that had bin the way to set her heart at rest; which was indeed the mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

The

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred saile, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction: for this injury is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall war. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to use violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground whereof, seemes to be this; that since without mediation, there would never be an end of warre and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesion taught by Nature, that Embassadours should passe freely, and in safety, between enemies. Nevertheless, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embassadours sent by their enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull to use violence to those Embassadours (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, & subjects of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* have answered it, when they slew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any law whatsoever. For whereas the true office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassadour doe it without incurring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no privilege at all. But we will leave this dispute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the slaughter of their Embassadour *Coruncannus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She was indeed in an error, that hath undone many of all sorts, greater and lesse than she, both before and since: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things*. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had the easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater than of ten thousand men; and that nevertheless, it prevailed as much by odds of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; shee would have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her selfe. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it selfe, and one part of it fell with

^a *Dyrrachium*, sometimes called *Epidamnus*, and now *Durazzo*, seated upon the Adriaticke Sea, betwene the Islands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*. ^b *Corcyra*, an Island of the Adriaticke Sea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corfu*, and in the possession of the *Venitians*.

^a *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almost surpris'd by the *Illyrians*; yet was it refused by the stout Citizens. In ^b *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the Isle, and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achaïans* were called in to helpe; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: losing, besides others of lesse note, *Marcus Cærensis*, the first Prætor of *Achaïa*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Towne of *Corcyra*, dismayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius*, who tooke possession of it with an *Illyrian* Garrison: sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane season, *Tenta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolved to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertaine which way to take, when advertisement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Consull, of *Demetrius* his feare and discontent. Likely it was that such an occasion might greatly helpe to advance the business in hand. Wherefore the consull failed thither; where he found the Towne of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it self unto the *Roman* protection.

^c *Apollonia*, a City near *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the Sea-coast, the *Venitians* call it *Sissopoli*.

After this good beginning, the Consull failed along the coast to ^c *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he used thenceforth as his counsellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, numbred at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but upon newes of the *Roman* armie they disperse themselves.

From

From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queen *Tenta* to forsake the coast, and to cover her selfe in *Rifon*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leave the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behind, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that *Tenta* was forced to beg peace; which she obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Island of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels, unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* sent Embassadours into divers parts of *Greece*, signifying their love to the country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good successe upon *Tenta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wile enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*; & therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the war between the *Romans* and *Gauls*, somewhat before the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italie*.

THE *Gauls* that dwelt in *Lombardie*, were the next, against whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Historians. In following times their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrows they received; and if they got any victory, it yielded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well advised: lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave alwayes carefull heed to their approach, were it onely bruited. For the danger of them was sudden, and uncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence amongst them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were called wars, but tumults; *Gallici tumultus* of the *Gauls*: and rightly. For they gave many alarms to *Italie*, and used to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion served to disperse them. Having received an overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve yeares, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilst they rested, the state of *Rome*, that against these made only defensive war, had leisure to grow; by setting upon others. Hercin God provided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raise: that the *Gauls* never fell upon *Italie* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilst *Pyrhus* was travelling in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former *Punicke* wars: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious Citie. But it seems that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italie*, than strangers had in *Gauls*. At least, they knew not how to use their times; and were therefore like to smart, whensoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punicke* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold, to set upon the *Gauls* in their own Country: and that was three yeares before the coming of *Pyrhus* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gauls*, invading *Helvetia*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battell, and slaine *L. Cæcilium*, with the most of his Armie. *Mannius Curius* the new Consull, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransom of prisoners. But these

Embassa-

a There were divers nations of the Boji, as in Pannonia, Illyria, Germany, in Bourbonia, in France, and in Aquitany; but these Boji were of French race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the river Po.

Embassadors they sue. Therefore when fortune turned to the better, the Romans followed it so well, that they expelled the Senones out of their Country, and sent a colonie of their own to inhabit it. This caused the *Boji*, another people of *Gauls*, to feare the like measure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the Romans overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted untill the end of this *Illyrian* war.

It vexed the *Gauls* to see a Roman colony planted in their Country, who had bin accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Transalpins* (so the Romans called those in France, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, thought to us they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpins*, or to by-hither the *Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their disjunction had caused their losse, so their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the business was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpins* and *Transalpins* fell together by the ears, putting the Romans only to a tumult, without further trouble of war. Soone after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in Rome, proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the Senones, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly those *Gauls*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it self, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the commonalty of Rome took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joynd with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely displeased the *Boji*; who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the *Gauls* had reason to resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insulbrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joynd with the *Boji*, & upon a common purse, entertained the *Gessates*, nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* having received a great imprest, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*: who with the *Boji* and *Insulbrians*, compassed an Armie of fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the Roman Territory; to whom the *Semgalls*, that had bin beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the *Cenomanni*, adhered to the Romans: as better leaving in their prosperitie and rising fortune. For feare of whose incursions therefore, the *Gauls* were forced to leave a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The Romans hearing of this danger, send *Emilius* to *Rimini*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their former Consul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gauls* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of Rome. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: because they set out the power of the Romans in those dayes. With the Consuls they sent forth to the war four Legions of their owne: every Legion consisting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarsinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twenty thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomanni*, other twenty thousand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gauls* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all uncertaine chances of warre, thirtie thousand foot, and fiftene hundred horse, garrison'd in Rome it self, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Over and

above

above these great troupes; in the Roll of the *Laines*, that was sent unto the Senate, there were numbered fourscore thousand foot, and five thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seventie thousand foot, and of horse seven thousand; in that of the *Japyges* & *Messapges*, fifty thousand foot, and sixteene thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Marfi*, *Marrucini*, *Ferenienses*, and the *Vesuntini*, of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The Romans had also two Legions in *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand four hundred foot, and four hundred horse. So as of the Romans and Campanians jointly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fifty thousand foot; and of horse three and twenty thousand: of which, reckoning the Romans apart, there were an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and about fixe thousand horse. Calling up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italie*, both of the Romans and their confederates, it amounted to seven hundred thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse. But the number is some what mis-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead payes: for where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, hee fals short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great forever this Muster was, it seemes to have beene like unto that, which *Lodovick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subjects, he tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Dutchie, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Thryasymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the Romans faine to arme their slaves, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvell is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helms: though the Roman Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gauls* keepe on their way: and entred into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards Rome; hoping to find the Romans rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the Roman Army, sent into *Tuscane*, having taken some other way than they did, & finding that it had missed of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their journey. Hereof when they heard the rumor, fearing to be charged on their backs, they turned head: and in the same evening discovered the Roman Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem: that shewed no great finess of wit, but such as well befitted those that had none other occupation than war; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The Romans, interpreting this their hasty departure as the *Gauls* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gauls* returne, charge them, and kill fixe thousand upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till *L. Emilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Upon the comming of the Consul, the *Gauls* consult, whether they should give the Romans battell, or forbear. In which dispute, *Aneroestus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to return into their own Countries; where, after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the war, being without carriage, pester, or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies, they thought it wisdome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeed had beene a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had beene in fight. But as well in the warres of these later ages, as in former times, it hath ever beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retreat in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in always going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde, within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of disadvantage, which they are enforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier

knowes

b *Cenomanni* are the people about *Bergamo*, on the North side of the river *Po* in *Italy*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in France, and inhabited the Countie of *Maine*.

g *Japyges* and *Messapges* seem to be one Nation; who are also called *Salerntines*, *Puglians*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Country is now called the Northernmost headland of *Calabria*. h A people of the kingdom of *Naples*. i *Protonotaries* are a people of *Italie*. k A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferenienses*, *Sentin*, *Landers*.

CHAP. III.

Of the second Punick Warre.

S. I.

The warres of Hannibal in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whilst the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome and Carthage.



HANNIBAL, the sonne of Amilcar, was about fixe and twenty yeers old, when he was chosen Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spaine. He was elected by the Armie, as soone as Asdrubal was dead: & the election was ratified by the State of Carthage; where with Hanno & his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (so called of Amilcar, whose surname was *Barcas*) that had command in chiefe, over the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps have beene lesse envied, by these domestickall enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* house, had not also borne the whole sway in government, and beene the onely men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy desert of Amilcar, in saving his Country from imminent ruine, enlarging the Dominion thereof, and enriching it with treasures and great revenues; so was it retained, by the same good arts, among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to take the vertue of their enemies, that was unprovable; nor to performe the like services unto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautious advice, of not provoking the Romans. This they seasoned other-whiles with detraction; saying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppresse the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no lesse *Barchine*, than Hannibal himselfe. For it was long since apparent, that the oath of the Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded no security to Carthage, were she never so quiet, and officious; unless she would yeeld to become their Subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than until the Romans could finde some good advantage, to renew the warre: it was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilst their owne state was in good case, the warre should begin; than that in some unhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yeeld unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away safely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon termes of disadvantage.

This disposition of his countymen, Hannibal well understood. Neither was ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time devised of this businesse) that in making war with the Romans, it was no small advantage to get the start of them. In case he could bring an Arme into Italy, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistance, even of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in forreigne wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad soever they would be, to heare that he had set the war on foot, would nevertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto Saguntum, which might seeme not greatly to concerne the Romans, and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in minde the indignity of that Spanish Townes alliance with their halfe friends. So should he assaie both the patience of his enemies and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Having

Having thus concluded, he neverthelesse went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching unto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (saith *Livie*) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre against Saguntum, but had beene drawne thither by course of businesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the Romans. First therefore hee entred upon the Territory of the *Olcades*; and having besieged *Althaa* (*Livie* calleth it *Carteia*) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master not onely thereof, but of all the other Townes of their Countrey. This Nation which he first undertooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he rested his Army in new Carthage, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late Conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the *Vaccæi*: and without any great difficulty, swan first *Salmanica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, *Arbucala*, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in his returne, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement. For all such of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate, by the spoile of their country, with those of *Salamanca*; and of the *Olcades*, that had escaped in the late overthrow, joyning themselves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed Hannibal on the banks of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborne* in Portugale. These foure Nations, having had experience of Hannibals invincible courage, and that he never saw enemy, upon whom he durst not give charge; were thoroughly resolved, that his naturall valour would at this time no lesse neglect the cold advice of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to use it. But he that makes himselfe a body of Crytall, that all men may looke through him, and discern all the parts of his disposition; makes himselfe (wichall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to hide, or drive him. Wise men, though they have single hearts in all that is just & veruous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they seee not all that they hold, on the fudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtle Carthaginian, when he served under Asdrubal, was, of all the men of marke in the Armie, the most adventurous. But that which may beseeeme a Captaine, or inferior Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as have beene found more fortunate, than wise. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himselfe from the River-side, as if fearefull to boord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude, from their banks of advantage. The Spaniards, apprehending this in such sort, as Hannibal desired that they should; thrust themselves in furie and disorder, into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defenses one the contrary side. But when Hannibal saw them in their way, and well neare over; hee turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing; and thrust his Horse-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. These carrying a kinde of *Lance de Gay*, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the middelt of the staffe; had such an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their strokes, clattered together, and unable to move or shift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they flue all those, (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entred into the water; and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that side the River of *Iberus* (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands against the Carthaginians.

The *Saguntines*, perceiving the danger towards them; cried before they were hurt. They sent Embassadors to Rome, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeed; onely because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable City, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that Saguntum was already besieged. Hereupon some cry out, that Warre should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into Spaine, the other into Affrick. But others went

Sist a

more

A people (saith *Strabo*) neere the River of Ebro. But in the old description of Spaine, in *Ortelius*, they are found neere *Tagus*, and by *Sindus*, not far from New Carthage. A people of Castile the old *Arbucala*, or *Albucala*, an in land City of the *Vaccæi* in *Dragon*.

more *Roman*-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embassadours should be sent into *Spain*, to view the state of their confederates: which were indeed none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre against *Rome*, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take armes against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they lifted themselves upon the report of these Embassadours; and this their gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serve to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polypius* an Historian of sincerity lesse questionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthage*, & had conference with him, though such as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal* his whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* should afterwards admit a more peremptory Embassage (as *Livie* confesseth) & fall to dispute about the covenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was sent upon none other pretence, than prevention of warre.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but some *Romane* pretences, against *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that should doe as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe against the *Saguntines*. These were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoining to *Saguntum*, & having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoever it was, as made him able to say, that the *Saguntines* had first provoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more ado, but sat down with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more secure, than he had formerly beene, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embassadours, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeeres they had been wont. Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions, not onely because the war, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet were they not hasty to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, untill they had an Army in readinesse to be sent into *Spain*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the seat of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Ilyria*, rebelled against them: either for that he found himselfe over-streightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an unthankfull disposition. The commotion of the *Gaules*, and afterward, the fame of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazzard of his whole estate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, & spoiled the Isles of *Greece*, against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and seized upon some places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer, he might have spedde better. For the businesse with the *Gaules*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not thoroughly begun, when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The *Roman* Consul, *Emilius*, was sent against him: who in seven dayes wan the strong towne of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought such terrour upon the Country round about, that Embassadours were sent from all places, to yeeld themselves, without putting him to further paines. Onely the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not bene too foolish. *Emilius* landed a great part of his Army, in the Isle of *Pharus*, by night; and bestowed them in covert, presenting himselfe the next morning, with twenty ships before the towne, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consul, & was soone intercluded from the town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had shipping ready

ready for him, and imbarqued himselfe: leaving all his estate unto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* fate downe, ere *Emilius* was landed in *Ilyria*. In the beginning of the siege, the *Carthaginians* were much discouraged, by reason of the brave sallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many dayes unable to move. Nevertheless he was not unmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gave order to raise certaine moveable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the wals of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was given: but it was so well sustained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not onely beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne, which upon the first fury they had won; but they were pursued even to their owne trenches and campe. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so wearie the townesmen with continuall travaile, that at length it got within the wals; and was onely hindered from taking full possession of the City, by some counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himselfe out of the towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were so severe, and without all compasse of honour, as *Alcon* durst not returne to propound them to his countremen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold, silver, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the City it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to sustaine themselves, than the cloaths on their backs; or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have enjoyed their lives, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were defouled before their own faces; and all put to sword, that were above fourteen yeeres of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and sell their blood at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own houses, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying unrevenged. The treasures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Army: the slaves, and other bootie, he divided among his Souldiers, reserving some things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cause to be angry at their own slownesse, in forbearing to send helpe unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe revenge. To this end they sent Embassadours againe to *Carthage*: demanding onely, whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the *Carthaginians*, that *Hannibal* had made warre upon *Saguntum*: which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoever qualified with mild words, was indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they onely required justice against *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the *Carthaginian* speaker) whether the Generall of our Army in *Spain*, in besieging *Saguntum*, have onely followed his owne counsaile; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the question which the *Romans* ought to aske us. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, for *Hannibal* to doe as he hath done. For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults & errors; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lucretius* the Consul, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were

not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Luchatim*, to your owne disadvantage, you cast it upon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to disavow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punishment and precise warrant; the same liberty may wee also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for us, without our commandement and consent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cavill. For *Luchatim* the Consul, in his Treaty of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expressly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had bene therefore much better, to have dealt plainly; and to have alledged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Isle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjurie the State of *Carthage*, being now growne able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treaty of peace with *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treaty with *Asdrubal*, and all other businesse betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Do whatsoever we require, else will we make Warre, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Livie* himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* with desire of revenge: wee may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this injurie was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulness, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the war, now towards, had long bene thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embassadors, to deliver unto them in plaine termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberum*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had bene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gowne skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to embrace. Hereat all cried out at once; Even which of them you your selfe have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and share it among you. Which all the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolved to make Warre, it was meere frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, have ever bin maintained by the partie unwilling, or unable to sustaine the Warre. The rusty sword, and the empty purse, doe alwaies plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their owne advantage: and commonly (seeing peace betweene ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the sword, than with the trumper. So dealt the *Arragonians* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the second of *France*, with the *Imperials*, when he wrote to *Brissac*, to surpris as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Don John* with the *Netherlands*, and *Philip* the second of *Spaine*, with the *English*, when in the great *Imbargo* he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his journey into *Spaine*, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortal hatred, and to worke them all possible mischief, as soone as

he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, when his father caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no marvel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of *England*.

§. II.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africke. His journey into Italy.

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolved not to put up his sword, which he had drawne against the *Saguntines*, until he had therewith opened his passage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the second Punicke Warre; second to none, that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* sustained. *Hannibal* wintered at *Carthage*; where he licensed his *Spanish* Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gave instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the government of *Spaine* in his absence. He also tooke order, to send a great many troupes of *Spaniards* into *Africke*, to equall the number of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spaine*; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he transported into *Africke* thirteene thousand; eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the *Baleares*. Besides these he selected foure thousand foot, all young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of *Spaine*; which he appointed to be garrisoned in *Carthage* it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serve for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the *Spanish* Citizens, and those that swayed most in their severall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. He also sent with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fifty and seven Gallies; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans* and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand foote, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this sort taken order for the defence of *Spaine* & *Africke*; he sent Discoverers before him, to view the Passages of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and of the *Alpes*. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gauls*, to obtaine a quiet passage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any Warre in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embassadors and Discoverers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past over the River of *Iberum*, with an Army consisting of foure score and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of *Spaine*, into which he had not entered before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemy of his house, who sat still at *Carthage*) to govern *Spaine* on the East side of *Iberum*; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of *Spaine*, some of his *Spanish* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the journey seemed the lesse tedious unto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he past the *Pyrenes*, & entered into *Gaule*. He found the *Gauls* that bordered upon *Spaine*, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Country: but won them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that he bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to be the bank of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each side of the River, a people called *Volca*. These were unacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing over the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those *Gauls*, that inhabited on the West side of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by those of *Favaretz* and *Lyonnais*. For although many of them had transported themselves & their goods, into the Country of *Dauphine*, thinking

* Majorca, & Minorca.

This interrupted his intended voyage into *Spain*. Nevertheless hee sent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greatest part of his fleet and Army, to trie what might be done against *Asdrubal* & the other *Carthaginian* Lieutenants in that Country. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Pisa*; and so passing through *Tuscane* into *Lombardie*, drew together the broken troupes of *Manlius* & *Attilius* that lately had bin beaten by the *Gauls*: with which forces he made head against the enemy, thinking to finde him over-laboured, with travaile of his painefull journey.

§. IV.

Scipio the *Romane* Consul overcome by Hannibal at *Ticinum*. Both of the *Romane* Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battell at *Trebia*.

FIVE Moneths *Hannibal* had spent in his tedious journey from *Carthage*; what great muster he could make, when he had passed the *Alpes*, it is not easily found. Some reckon his foote at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand; others report them to have beene only twenty thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyined with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Army, in short space. But when hee marched Eastward from the banks of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, & eight thousand horse; of which, all save those remembered by himselfe in the Inscription of his Altar in *Juno's* Temple, are like to have perished, by diseases, enemies, Rivers, and Mountains; which mischiefs had devoured, each, their severall shares.

Having newly passed the *Alpes*, and scarce refreshed his wearied Army in the Countrey of *Piemont*: hee sought to win the friendship of the *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Insabrians*, which were his good friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amity. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three daies. Their spoile served well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the *Gauls*, without more ado, fell unto his side: many for feare, many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Countrey: which joyned, or was all in readinesse to joyne with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of *Scipio* the Consul his arrivall, made some to be more advised, than the rest. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in those quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Consul was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had beene heard of his approach: many late still for very feare, who else would faine have concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their service against the *Carthaginians*, whom nevertheless they had wished well to speed.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals hasten to the trial of a battaile. Their meeting was at *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondered at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it strange that the Consul, whom he had left behinde him on the other side of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himselfe in the *Plaines*; *Scipio* admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountaines, and the great spirit of his Enemy. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibal's* successe, and sudden arrivall. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste unto *Sempronius*, the other Consul, that was then in *Sicilia*, giving him to understand hereof: & letting him further know, that whereas he had bin directed to make the warre in *Africa*, it was now their pleasure that he should forebare to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should return the Army under his charge, with all possible speed, to save *Italy* it selfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* sent off his Fleet from *Libyeum*: with direction to land the Army at *Arminum*, a Port Towne not farre from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haste. In the meane while, *Scipio* & *Hannibal* were come so neere, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the mindes of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoricke of a present example, that hee shewed upon certain

prisoners of the *Savoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into *Italy*. For these, having beene no lesse miserably fettered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their desire, than to bee delivered from their miseries by any kinde of present death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were slaine, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no sooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the *Gauls* were wont to use in single combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his owne lot might speed; whereby it should at least bee his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolutely: as rather desiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, upon whatsoever uneven termes, to ridde themselves out of slavery. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellows which beheld them, wrought also upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horse and armour: but even him also, who being slaine in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the same fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grievous) to live in a perpetuall slavery: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselfe any hope of life by flight; since the Mountaines, the Rivers, the great distance from their owne Countries, and the pursuit of mercilesse Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever bin broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, hee told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their owne soile, & in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many ways to save themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same necessity, (to which nothing seemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constrain them. In this sort did *Hannibal*, with one substantiall argument, that there was no meane betwene victory and Death, encourage his Companions. For, (saith a great Capitaine of France) *La commodité de la retraite avance la fuite; The commodity of a retreat, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

Scipio on the other side, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinum*, did not neglect to use the best arguments and reasons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he praised them withall to consider, that at this time it was not only so diminished in numbers, as it rather seemed a troupe of Brigants and Theeves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (saith he) yee your selves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after so many travailes and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the *Roane*, their horse-men were not onely beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himselfe, fearing our approach, ranne head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a lesse dishonour, to die there by frost, famine, and precipitation, than by the sharpe swords of the *Romans*, which had so often cut downe his people.

people, both in *Africa* and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the groffe of his Army, with his Horse; and the *Roman* having also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the *Gaules*, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the void ground betweene their troupes; to assist them: himselfe with his *Roman* men at armes, followed softly in good order. The *Gaules* (whether desirous to trie the mettal of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themselves courageously; and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should have aided them, shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for fear, of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the *Gaules* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as presuming that they were well backed. Neither was the Consull unmindfull to relieve them: their hardinesse deserting his aide; and the hasty flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he adventured himselfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this rescue to a *Ligurian* slave. Whilst the *Romans* were busied in helping their Consull; an unexpected storme came driving at their backs, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horse, to give upon the *Romans* in the flanke, and to compass them about, whilst hee with his men at Armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose looks were fastened upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the *Romans* were shuffled together, and routed: so that they all betooke them to their speed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horsemen thus beaten, and the rest of his Army thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of Wisedome, having lost so many of his Fleet upon the first puffe of the winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the tempest overtook him. For he saw by the lowering morning what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the retreat; and recovered the bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left fixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should have passed; and staid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of war, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitum miles arripit fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be understood in this sort: If a General of an Army, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or finde his Army fearefull or wavering, it is more profitable to seale a safe retreat, than to abide the uncertaine event of battaile.

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the River; *Scipio* the whilst refreshing his men, and easing himselfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as soone as *Hannibal* presented his Army before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their Campe: the *Gaules*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Anerostus*, *Britomarus*, & *Gessares*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell upon the *Roman* Campe; wounded and slue many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, & presented their service. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteously, and dismiss them to their owne places: as men likely to be of more use to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other service at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consull stole a retreat, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and security. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get farre, sent the *Numidians* after him: following himselfe with all his Army. That night the *Romans* had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of spoile, had not staid to ransacke their campe; & thereby given time to all, save some few in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the River of *Trebia*, and save themselves.

being both unable to travell by reason of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Consull; incampes himselfe strongly upon the bankes of *Trebia*. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gaules* fell to the *Carthaginian* side; among whom came in the late *Bajus*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their own hostages; but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose help they conceived better hope of recovering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Clasidium*, a Towne wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brundusian*, whom the *Romans* had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The newes of these disasters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a desire of hasty revenge, than any great sorrow for their losse received; seeing that in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore halted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him sent out of *Sicil*, awaited his comming. Hee therefore hasted thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the bankes of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls devised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibal*'s arrivall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the *Gaules*.

Sempronius, having received from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts; sought by all means to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainly obtained. Hee also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-nere expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrary; objecting the unskillfulness of the new-come souldiers: and withall, gave him good reason, to assure him that the *Gaules*, naturally unconstant, were upon termes of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; those of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to find out the dishonour which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gaules*; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions moving them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the *Gaules*, inhabiting neere unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at libertie, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his owne Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they fled to the *Romans* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honour of *Rome*, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injurie: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the *Gaules*. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse; which comming unlooked for upon *Hannibal*'s forragers, and finding them heavie laden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest even into their own campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* fallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was drawne forth; and a battell ready to be fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refused it.

This victory (for so the Consull would have it called) made the *Romans* in generall desirous

desirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the persuasions of *Scipio* to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was advertised by the *Gauls*, his spies, that were in the *Roman* Campe. Therefore he bethought himselfe how to help forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-courfe, over-grown with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he callt his brother *Mago* with a thousand choyce horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, he had sent over *Trebia* some companies of *Numidian* light-horse, to brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunity to fight: to and therefore not onely issued out of his Campe, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and cool their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines*: having of the one fixtene, of the other twenty thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thousand horse, thrusting their light-armed, and Darters, in loose troupes in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vanguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equal to their enemies, in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the *Roman* horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*, when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Elephants*; when finally the whole Armie was unawares prest in the Reare, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush, then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies swords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirtie thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errors *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deferred to be recompensed with the losse that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champeine, being by far inferior in horse, and withall, thereby subject to the *African* Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even grounds and wood-lands, would have bin of no use. His second error was, that he made no discoverie of the place upon which he fought, whereby he was grossely over-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty stomachs, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a most cold and frostie day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perillous, than to present an armie tired with travell, to an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generosity of minde is but as an unprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got thence with into *Placentia*; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, because of the showres; or would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extreme danger, flying through the Countrie that was over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could have made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of *Hannibal* from the *Cisalpine* *Gauls* into *Herruria*. *Flaminius* the *Roman* Consul saine, and his Armie destroyed by the *Carthaginians*, at the Lake of *Thrasymene*.

THE Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who, being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet; but vexed them with continuall Alarms: assaying divers places, and taking some; beating the *Gauls* their adherents, and winning the *Lyguriens* to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two *Roman* Quettors, and

Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in streight places, loaden with irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers hee not onely well intreated, but sent them to their Countreies without ranfome; with this protestation, That he therefore undertooke the Warre in *Italie*, to free them from the oppression of the *Romans*. By these means hee hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the *Gauls* were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in feare, lest he should make their Countrie the seat of War; and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their territories. Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gave him the advice, were ready soon after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use Perwigs of haire, and false beards of divers colours; to the end, that he might not be descried, nor knowne, to those that should undertake to make him away. Faine he would have passed the *Appenines*, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gauls*, till he had seen more swallows than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of these giddie companions, &c. bring the war nearer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Armie greatly increased with *Ligurians* and *Gauls*; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Countrie. That the passage of the *Appenine* Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the *Romans* found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all wayes soule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoide the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have beene erected upon the ordinary passages towards *Rome*: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travell through the Fennes and rotten grounds of *Tuscane*. In those Marshes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants; save one, together with the use of one of his eyes; by the moistnesse of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much ado recovered the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged about *Arretium*: where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the *Romish* Consuls.

C. Flaminius, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late bin chosen Consuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be served so againe, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, lest his adversaries, by feining some religious impediment, should detain him within the Citie, or find other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Town; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at *Arretium*. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their injunction; and hasting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised unto *Hannibal* great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the rest of the Armie. All the Countrie between *Fesula* and *Arretium* he put to fire and sword, even under the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stirre, that would not have sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captaine of France hath said; *Plus gaste n'est pas perdu; A wasted Countrie is not thereby lost.* But by this waste of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to be much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare: saying, that hee came not to defend *Arretium*, whilst the *Carthaginians* were burning downe all *Italie* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore heooke horse,

and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensignes stucke so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a jeast; saying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disgraceable hereto: for he commanded, that it should be digged up, if eare had made the hands too weak to lift it: asking withall, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Corona*, as far as to the Lake of *Thrasymene*, was on a light fire; which whilest the Consul thought to quench with his enemies blood, he pursued *Hannibal* so unadvisedly, that he fell with his whole Armie into an ambush cunningly layd for him, betweene the Mountaines of *Corona* and the Lake. There he was charged unawares, on all sides, (save onely where that great Lake of *Perusia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was he flaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thousand dead carcases of his Countymen. About fixe thousand of his men, that had the Vanguard, tooke courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If thesed returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which, kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardinesse, was well asswaged, when they ceased to despair of saving their lives by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any way discovering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noone the ayre was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they stayd not to lament: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were desferied and attached by the enemies horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no minde to returne unto the fight. For desferied they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who over-tooke them by night in a Village, whiche he surrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendering up their armes, upon his promise of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, That it was made by *Maharbal* without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or adde unto them what they listed; if the *Carthaginians* must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the *Romans*, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* be as a *Roman*, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand *Italian* prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he set free without ranfome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* hee kept in streight prison, and in fetters, making them learne to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italie*, if not alove of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the generall safetie, but onely the preserving of her owne necke from the yoke of slavery, which her over-strong enemies would thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partisans.

Presently after the battell of *Thrasymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand *Roman* horse, drew neere unto the Campe of *Hannibal*. He was sent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but, coming too late, he increased only the misadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept the companie

companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, drave the rest unto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercie the next day. *Servilius* himselfe was in the meane while skimming with the *Gaules*; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten backe to the defence of *Rome*.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the *Romans* to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errors, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken up but the yeare before, by this subtle *Carthaginian*; yet suffered hee himselfe to be caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battell, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would he not, contrary to all good advice, have beene so hastic to fight, before the arrivall of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had beene continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companie with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his government of *France* ten years, *Cesar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *German*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there beene every yeare a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeare compass, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a war to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them have returned as wife as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of War, and government, fitting the Country, they have bin called home, & new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever beene the course of the World rather to follow old errors than to examine them; and of Princes and Governours, to uphold their stollish ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

S. VI.

How *Q. Fabius* the *Roman* Dictator, sought to consume the force of *Hannibal*, by lingering to war. *Minutius* the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successefull attempting; adventures rashly upon *Hannibal*, and is like to perish with his Armie, but rescued by *Fabius*.

Greatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatened them in more terrible manner, than ever did war, since *Rome* it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrius* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italy* was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrius* his quarrell was not grounded upon hate: hee only sought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a braverie: demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemy. This *Carthaginian* detested the whole *Roman* name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, & his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled unto a remedie that had long bin out of use, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject unto controll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was seldom chosen, but upon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time the

one Consul being dead, and the other too farre off, the People tooke upon them, as having supreme authority, to give the Dignity by their election, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the best reputed man of war in the Citie. *Novum factum novum consilium expetit. Contrarie winds, contrarie courtes.* *Q. Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the horse; which Officer was customarily as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amiss in matters of Religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene also good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Bookes of *Sybil* were consulted, and gave direction in this businesse of devotion; then must we believe, that those bookes of *Sybil*, preserved in *Rome*, were dictated by an evill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not bin rightly made before: also that great playes should be vowed unto *Jupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with such other trumperie. This vehemencie of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And surely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly distempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sons returne alive from *Thrasymene*, may serve to bare witness; though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The walls and towers of the Citie were now repaired and fortified; the bridges upon Rivers were broken downe; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in *Spain*. Against these *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ships about *Rome* and *Osia*, to pursue them: whilest he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Fourre Legions he had levied in haste; and from *Ariminum* he received their army, which *Servilius* the Consul had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horse had over the *Romans*, he alwayes lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard access. *Hannibal* in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged over all the Countrey, and used all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to bear arms. Passing by *Spoleum* and *Anconae* he incamped upon the *Adriatick* shores; refreshed his diseased, and over-travelled Companies, armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*, and made his dispatches for *Carthage*; presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine: he followed the coast of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Province of the Kingdome of *Naples*; spoiling the *Marrucini*, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one Citie: onely he had assailed *Spoleum*, a Colonie of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended, presently gave it over. The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force oft spent in a great siege. This the *Protestant* Armie found true at *Poitiers*, a little before the battell of *Moncousours* and their victorious enemies, anon after, at *S. Jeand'Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detain him, and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battell, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But *Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences between souldiers bred up, ever since they were Boyes, in war and in blood, trained and hardened in *Spain*, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the *Romans*; and such, as had no other seen the enemy, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* so neer, as he kept him from traggling too far; & preserved the countrey from utter spoile. He injured his men by little and little, & made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and he brought them first to looke on the *Lyon* as farre off, that in the end he might sit on his taile.

Now

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and feare. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wife men are no more moved with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion and danger, than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth itselfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that desires battell: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the *Apennines*, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territories of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to adventure the *Roman* Armie in battell: but being far too weak in horse, he alwayes kept the Hills and fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no meanes draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns stood firm for the *Romans*, whose Legions were in fight, though as farre off; he resolved to rest his Army, that was laden with spoyle, in some plentifull and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this he done, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung over his head upon the hills of *Callicula*, and *Caslinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-countrey, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by mere error of his guide, that he first entered within these streights. For he would have bin directed unto *Caslinum*, whence he might both assay the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promises under hand, and hinder the *Romans* from comming neere it to prevent him. But his guide misunderstood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Caslinum* to *Caslinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blowes. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe, by a sleight invention, yet serving the turne as well as a better. In driving the country, he had gotten about two thousand King, whose homes he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be sworke of a terrible enemy. What it should meane, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it expedient to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops were horribly afraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no lesse afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army, recovered sure ground without molestation: where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted maner; keeping still on high grounds, betweene him and the Citie, whilest the *Carthaginian* wasted all the Plains. The *Carthaginian* tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forsaken by the Inhabitants, which hee turned into Barnes and Store-houses for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance hee did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about some businesse of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with *Minutius* the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiency. He was fully perswaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to prevent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he beene peremptorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his owne; and the love of the Armie, and the friends that hee had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter never so haughtily. *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more adventurous gamester. Therefore he drew neer, & to provoke the *Romans*, sent forth a third

part

part of his Armie to waste the Countrey. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seemed, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Campes; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* seized upon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, won it from them the next day; and intrenching himselfe thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which he knew to be the chiefe of his strength; that hee might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could give to the *Romans* another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Countrey at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Campe, the *Carthaginian* sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage *Minutius* wisely espied, andooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order, presented battell to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, even at his owne Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angered *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was meere weaknesse, which held him within his Campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from *Geryson* with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the *Roman* horse. This imboldned *Hannibal* to issue forth against the *Romans*; to whom neverthelesse he did not such hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of service *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he sent the newes, with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recovered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set upon *Hannibal* in his own camp; and that in fo doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saying that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good lucke, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsell, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Against these sermons every one cried out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said hee) that this our onely Man, chosen to be General, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all *Italy* to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unless he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consul all this while; *Servilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why: *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborne to spoyle some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into envie and suspition) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoyle all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the war to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and have the sole Government both of our Citie and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, should againe take it from him, and conferre it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him injurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will

only

only propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joynd in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publike, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) unto that dignity, whose great power had fired the State at severall times, from the greatest dangers. Onely *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had bene Prætor, was glad of such an opportunity, to winne the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being advanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very basenesse. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard push at the Consulship; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot invective, not only against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobility; saying, That it grieved them to see the people doe well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they sought to humble the Commons by povertie, and to impoverish them by Warre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would soone consume every poore mans living, and finde him other worke to thinke upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise; and since they had found one (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as hee had begun. So the Act

passed. Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consul, which was *M. Aulius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*; and, having finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude, in hindering the decree. The newes of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what fort hee thought it best to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equall to the Dictator, but that he should never be his superiour: Hee would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neverthelesse he meant to doe his best, and to taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and a halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Livie* seems to take him for it) that he should so doe: For where two severall Commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joynd in Commission, but have each intire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Campe shall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. *Polibius* neither findes fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chiefe successively (as the two Consuls used) with *Minutius*, by turns. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractary; and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choyce, either to divide the forces betweene them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the prooffe and assurance of their libertie.

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he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than once to have a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, desiring them to abstaine from hazzard of the maine chance; but nevertheless, to plic the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now levying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, is uncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and fixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

Hiero, the old King of *Syracuse*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were distressed by their owne Mercenaries; so did he now send help to *Rome*, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantitie of Wheate, Barlie, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsell, to send forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the warre from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to *Tum Othacilius* the Prator, which was to goe into *Sicily*, that he should accordingly passe over into *Africke*, if hee found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more serveto declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into *Sicily*, twentie five thousand, with *L. Posthumus Albinus*, another of the Prators, went against the *Gauls*, to reclaim that Province, which the presence of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdom. They also sent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not knowne: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soever) would have bin welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavill about forfeiture for non-payment of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as neere unto *Hannibal* as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a battell. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their successe, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only diminished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the miserie following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his store for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neere him, lodged about *Cannusum*; and, that they might not be driven to turne aside for all necessities, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of *Canna*: for the towne was razed the yeere before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not only furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, unless they would be troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrey, fit for the service of his horse, longer than the *Romans*, having so many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battell, which hee most desired. Of this mishap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them understand, how this Peeces taken by *Hannibal*, would serve him to command no small part of the Countrey adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure battell with the *Carthaginian*, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the ground.

of Italy. Nevertheless, answer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he should have patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the yeere commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their Army, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great solemnity: especially, whensoever they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemn Vowes, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good successe and victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, (not onely such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Emilius Paulus*, as the onely Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to doe his Countrey remarkable service. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no lesse in greeneesse, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to have exhorted the Consull *Paulus*, with many grave words, to shew his magnanimity, not onely in dealing with the *Carthaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous follie of his fellow-Consull. The answer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrey: but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would thinke it lesse rashnesse to adventure upon the Enemies sword, than upon the malice of his owne Citizens.

§. VIII.

Dissention betweene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that *Hannibal* was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of *Canna*.

These new Generals, arriving at the Campe, dismissed *M. Atilius*, one of the last yeeres Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weaknesse: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Emilius* thought necessary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not onely now, their victories in times past against the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their owne great numbers: which were no lesse than all that *Rome* at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Country stood; how the state and safety thereof rested upon their hands; using some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectual part of his Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that onely by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at *Trebia* & *Thrasymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one was not his enemies, untill hee was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head; by reason of the thick mist, through the darknesse whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the Enemy; and how destitute the Enemy was of those helps, by which he had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Armes, gave them cause to thinke, that under a Capitaine so well experienced, and every way sufficient, as *Emilius* was knowne to bee, they should easily prevaile against the *Carthaginians*, that came short of them in all things else, save craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient season. But they, having pre-conceived a victory, thought all delays to bee impediments: and thereby fought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which

on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and without any delay, passed likewise over, somewhat higher up the streame, which ran from the South; leaving in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He had them looke about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said hee) pray for any greater fortune than to joyne battaile with the *Romans* upon such a level ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said hee further) yee are first of all to thanke the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawne them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first: but now yee may even encourage your selves, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee have as often beaten as scene. Of one thing onely I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaul*; and to win the open Countrey, and fields of *Italy*, both of which yee have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had said this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; & what worke they were likely to have with these *Romans*? Work enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replied) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them never so diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladdened the souldiers, who thought their Generall would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thousand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no lesse troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant onely to correct the sad moode of his brother with a jest, and shew himselfe merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if *Hannibal* himselfe had beene sent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gamb*, before the battaile of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fift: saying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners, and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serve many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke upon such passions, as must governe more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boasts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his military skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiounesse of the place, into which he had long before conceived the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; He marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doe best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, hee sent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a *French* name *Enfans perduez*; but when we used our owne termes, the *forlorne hope*. The grosse of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* maner, with the spoiles which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thralymen*, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deepe in file. Betwene these he ranged his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their own Countrey manner; their shields alike; but the *Gauls* using long broad swords, that were forcible in a downe-right stroake; the *Spaniards*, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the *Gauls*, naked from their navell upwards, as confident in their own fiercenesse: the *Spaniards*, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple.

This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The *Gauls* were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were lesse eager, but more warie; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-pressed; nor afraid to returne, & renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whose name was growne terrible in *Spaine*, by their Conquests; and in *Gaul*, by this their present war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilst the wings on either side stood fast: these *Barbarians* had no cause to shrink, or forbear to employ the uttermost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the enemy could not presse fire upon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retreat. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these *Gauls* and *Spaniards* to advance; leaving void the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall backe, when they should be overhardly pressed. So, casting them into the forme of a *Crescent*, He made them as it were his Vant-guard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thin, as serving onely to guide it orderly backe, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened & thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have beene so great, that it shadowed the *Africans*, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in brasse, as I have scene of this Battaille, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Reare, to second the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, when they were driven to retreat; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood between the last ranks of his long battalions, and in the head of his Reare, doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betwene the left battalion and the River *Ausidum*, were the *Gauls* & *Spanish* horse, under the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was *Hanno* (Livie saith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Reare. The whole summe of *Hannibals* Army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and He, five to three against them in horse.

The *Roman* Army was marshalled in the usuall forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had beene found convenient against the *Carthaginians*, in the former warre. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Reare, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troupes might rally themselves. Thus much it seemes, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battalies accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than upon a long flanke. As for *Emilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horse-men, under the Consull *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Consull, with the rest of the horse, which were of the *Laines*, and other associates: *Cn. Servilius* the former yeeres Consull, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betwene the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibals* his Darters and slingers

slingers of the Balears: *Asdrubal* brake upon the Consul *Paulus*, and was roughly encountered; not after the manner of service on horse-backe, used in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherefore they not onely used their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the ground; where starting up againe, they began to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the *Roman* horse were over-borne, and driven by plaine force to staggering recoil. This the Consul *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to be resisted by these *Roman* Gentlemen, unequall both in number, and in horsemanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more than enough, to breake that great *Crescent*, upon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the *Gaules* and *Spanish* foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midst; by whose aide, these Opposites were forced to disband, and flye backe to their first place. This they did in great haste and feare: and were with no lesse haste, and folly pursued. Upon the *Africans* that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was voide roome enough; and forasmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the safe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight, of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*; it hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limbe or utter compasse of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, untouched, onely turning round, & recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottom of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming unable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot bin cast into this one great body, that was in a manner dissolved. But whilst the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, & thereby unwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either side advanced so far, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they enclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Crescent*, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behinde it. undiscerned, untill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themselves, as men that thought upon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gaules*. Neither is it credible, that they would have beene so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their Army, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. *Asdrubal*, having broken the troupes of *Roman* horse, that were led by the Consul *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River side, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consul himselfe was either driven upon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheless he cheered up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his owne stout behaviour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul received a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harue; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weaknesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his

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The greater
Camp of the
Romans

The lesser
Camp of
the Romans

The Roman Camp
beyond the river

L. Aemilius Paulus

The Roman
Velites

80000 foot
Cn: Scruilius

C. Terentius Varro

Asdrubal

The Palanques

Asri:

Asri:

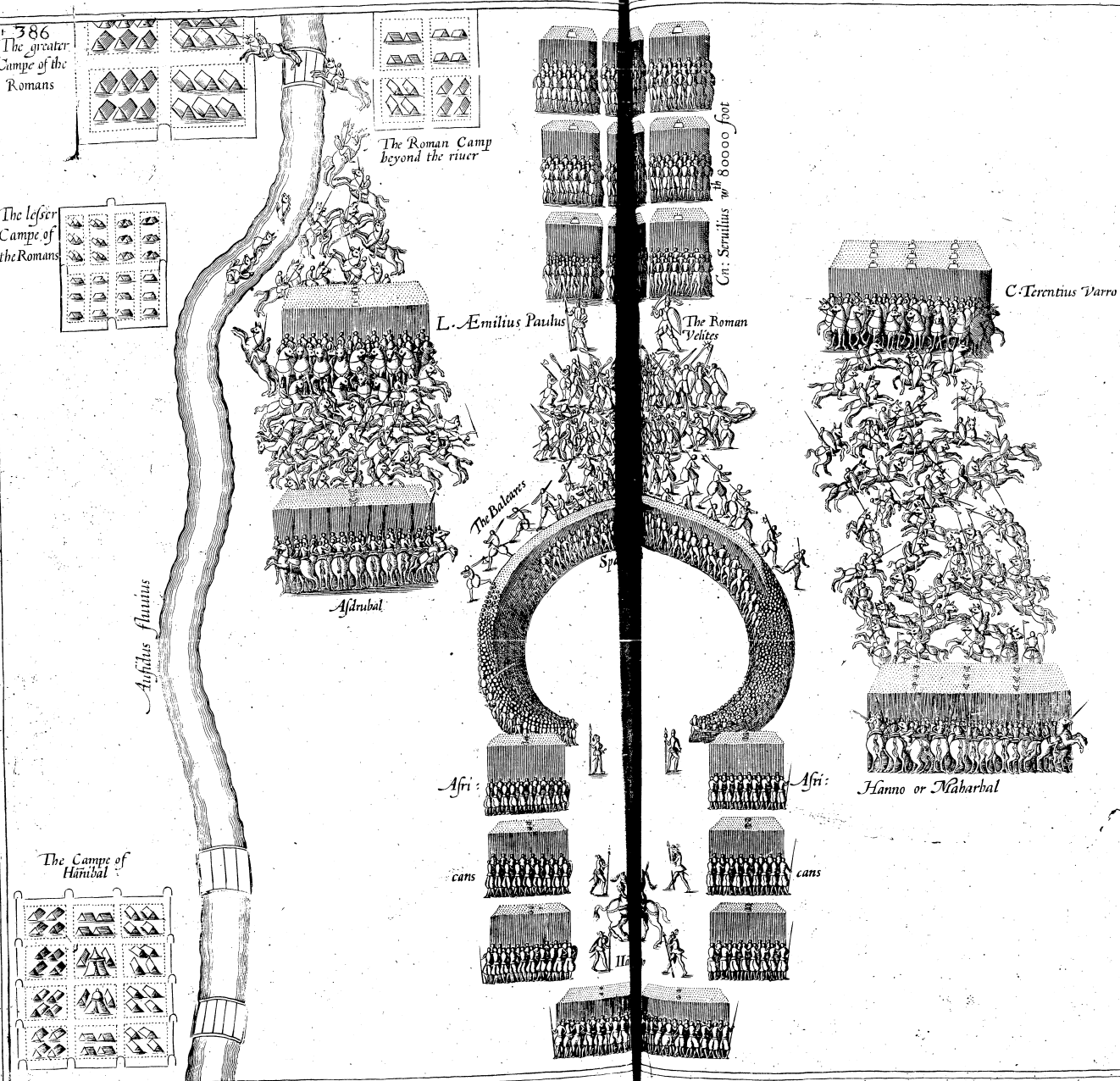
Hanno or Naharbal

The Camp of
Hannibal

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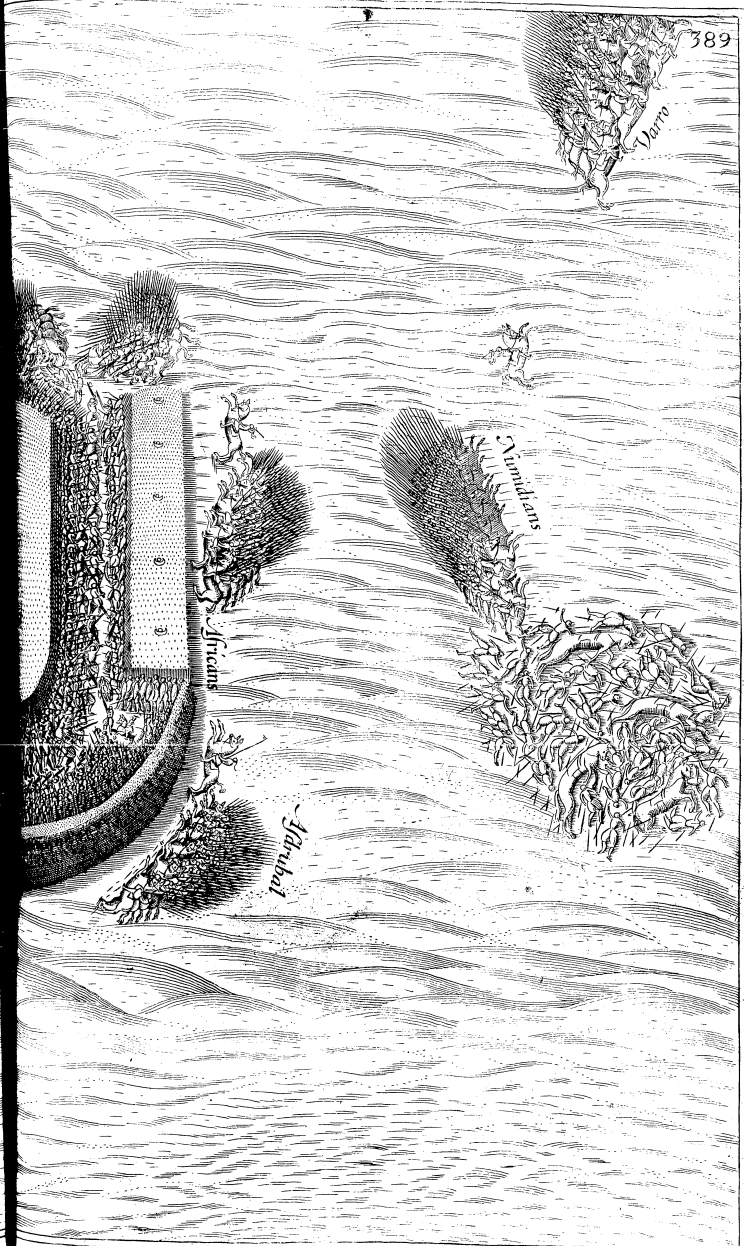
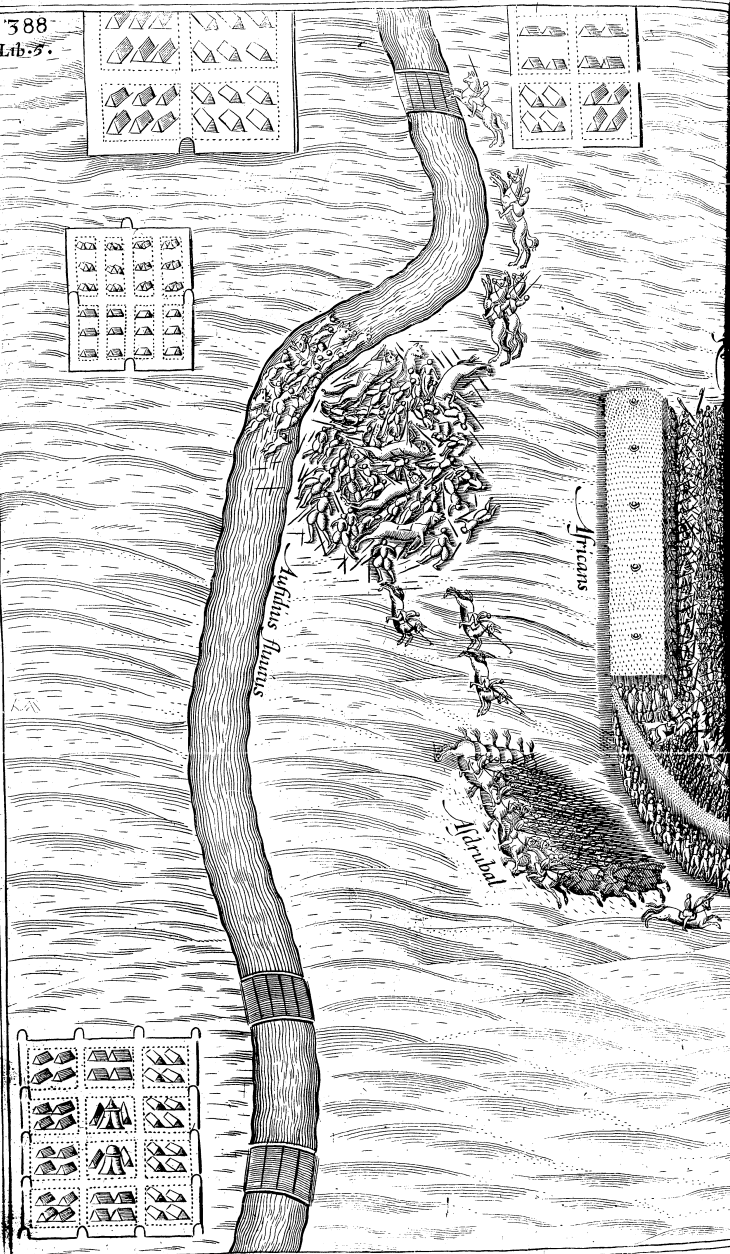


company alighted, thinking that the Confull had given order so to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horses, to help their foot in distresse. When *Hannibal* (for he was neer at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Confull had will'd his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand & foot*: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horse of his associates, in the left wing, was marvellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Ma-harbal*) and the *Numidians*: who beating up and downe about that great sandy Plaine, raised a foule dust; which a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomedly, drave in to the eyes and mouthes of the *Romans*. These, using their advantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Confull and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were even ready to joyne; five hundred of these *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellows, with their shields cast behinde their backs, (as was the maner of those which yielded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselves. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yielded. Under their jackets they had short swords and poniards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slain, and therewithall slew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, whilst all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischief, and raised yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine levell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the backe of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. *Asdrubal*, having in short space broken the *Romane* troupes of horse, and cut in pieces all, save the Companie of *Emilius* that rushed into the groffe of his foot, and a very few besides, that recovered some narrow passage, between the River and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell backe behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians*: with whom he joynd, and gave upon *Terentius*.

This fearefull cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to sustaine; thought it the best way, to avoid the danger by present flight. The Confull was no lesse wise than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in striving to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many thranke from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not have indured with their assistance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to encounter him. But of this, or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serve him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Asdrubal* unto the pursuit, as fittest for that service. *Asdrubal* himselfe, with the *Gaules* and *Spanish* horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; who before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on every side, not knowing which way to turne. Here began a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging up and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whilst every one sought to avoid those enemies, whom he saw neerest. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Emilius*, got up to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly understood how they could do; yet I will rather beleieve it, than suppose that *Livie* so reporteth, to grace thereby his History with this following tale. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place where he saw the Confull sitting all bloodied upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save himselfe; offering him his assistance and horse. But *Paulus* refused it; willing Lentulus to strive for himselfe, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into judgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty him-
selfe

selfe of that dayes losse. Further, he willed *Lentulus* to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to *Fabius*: willing them to forsake Rome, as fast as well they could; and telling *Fabius*, that he lived and died mindfull of his wholesome counsaile. These words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consull uttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaille, or when he beheld the first defeat of his Horse; at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consull & his troupe, in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Grosse of the *Romans*, was inclosed indeed as within a sacke; whereof the *African* Battalions made the sides; the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, & *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians*, the bottom; & *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed up the mouth: in which part, they first of all were shuffled together, and begonne the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. *Emilius* therefore, who could not fit his horse, whilest the battaille yet lasted, and whilest the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawne himselfe; was now (had he never so well bin mounred) unable to flie, having in his way so close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth unto his honour, that in the Battaille he fought no lesse valiantly, than he had warily before, both abtained himselfe, and dissuaded his fellow-Consull, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly lost, it had lien in his power to save his own life, unto the good of his countrie, never more needing it; I should thinke, that hee either too much esteemed himselfe; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his unthankfull Citizens. But if such a resolution were praise-worthy in *Emilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *English* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viscount *Lisle*, sonne to that famous Earle of *Shrewsbury*, who died in the Battell of *Chastillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Emilius* was old, grievously, if not mortally wounded, & accomptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, easily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaille, and not meaning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, save two or three thousand, who (as *Livie* saith) escaped into the lesser campe; whence, the same night, about fixe hundred of them brake forth, & joyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about foure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troupes, partly dispersed, into *Cannusum*: the next day the *Roman* camps, both lesse and greater, were yeilded unto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: onely hee reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Emilius* had left on the West side of *Ausidus* (as was shewed before) to set upon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-neere done, the battaille was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming over the water to them, drave them into their own campe; which they quickly yeilded, having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, comming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilest their fellowes, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the enimie busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having served at *Canna*, were afterwards extremely disgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Romane* horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertaine: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the River; and *Terentius* the Consull recovered *Venusia*, with threecore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvell: for *Venusia* lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neerest way thither, had bene through the midst of *Hannibals* Army, if the passage had bene open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of sight, he turned up some by-way; so disappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace with the Consull, but tooke other wayes, and were scattered over the fields; two thousand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all save three hundred; who dispersed themselves in flight, as chance



led them, and got into sundry Towns. There died in this great Battaille of *Cannæ*, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the *Roman* Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, foure score Senators, or such as had borne office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall mark, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors, or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the last yeeres Consul, and *Minutius*, late master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaille, *Livie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, & three hundred horse: too few to have defended for the space of one halfe houre, both the *Roman* Camps; which yet the same *Livie* saith, to have bin over-cowardly yeelded up. We may therefore doe better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, & saying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were onely such as the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their company were either slaine or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romanes*, especially the Consull *Varro*, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some foure thousand *Gauls*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the War had presently been at an end. But he beleevd not so far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get, not how to use a victory.

§. IX.

Of things following the battaille at *Cannæ*.

NOT without good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philius* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleasure of them, unto whose honour they consecrated their travailes, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites, and Fathers conscript. No man of sound judgement will condemne this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath used. For, to recompence his junioritie (such as it was) he produceth substantiall arguments; to justify his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines is to bee suspected, that he would not have taken, had he beene borne in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented, to have all men thinke better and more honourably than it deserved, of his owne Countrey. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and shall have some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse *Roman*, or else, that some Works of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides speake: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must bee sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and beleieve so much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reason, or (at least) faire probabilitie. This attentive circumspection is needfull at the present: such is the repugnance, or forgetfulness, which we find in the best Narration of things following the Battaille of *Cannæ*. For it is said, that foure thousand foot & horse gathered together about the Consull *Terenius* at *Venusia*; that others to the number of ten thousand got unto *Cannusium*, choosung for their Captaines, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consull *Terenius Varro*, joyning his company unto those of *Scipio* at *Cannusium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consull were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly risen, that had beene taking order for pacifying those tumults in the City, which grew upon the first brui of the overthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from *Capua* (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent unto *Terenius*, and found him at *Venusia*, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, which overtook (in a manner) at *Rome* the first news of the overthrow.

overthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion with matter ensuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the *Roman* camp, and trussed up the spoiles, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a disposition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the *Roman* partie, & make alliance with *Carthage*. The first towne that opened the gates unto him, was *Cussa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his brother *Mago* to take in other places, he hastened into *Campania*. The generall affection of the multitude, in all the cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him, not onely in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Country, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he used, unto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victory at *Canna*, He had lovingly dismissed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had sought to deliver them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their love by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all wayes & meanes, to make them his, whilst all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deale kindly (though against his nature) with the *Roman* prisoners; telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred unto their Estate; but being provoked by injuries, fought to right himselfe and his countrey; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, should beare soveraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to chooſe ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ranſome: and together with these, he sent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horse, to feele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But with the *Romans* these arts prevailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of *Italy*, all, or most of them, save the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Laines*, were not onely wearie of their losses past; but enterained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Bruians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not until the former generation utterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the *Campanians*, a Nation of all other in *Italy* most bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as straightly conjoynd, as were any save the *Laines*, changed on a sudden their love into hatred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Province of *Italy*, if not (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, answerable unto the country, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse convenient a seat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, bravery is the least requisite unto soveraigne command. The *Campanians* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like Jayes by their feathers, despised the unfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Parrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especial regard unto the Majestie of *Rome*, and could not indure to heare of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately so prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the *Capuans* had offered their city to the *Carthaginians* shortly after the battaile of *Thrasymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journey into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the neernesse of the *Roman* Army, or some other feare of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actual rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leisure served, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle usage, and free dismissing of some prisoners in good account among them) unable to hold any such negotiation, without advice of the Senate; which mainly impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld up their towne to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with some of their nobility that should assure

him of all faithfull meaning, were driven to sit still in a great perplexity: as having failed to let in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered themselves, to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incensed against their Senate, on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their owne cowardize. The people holding so tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawfull Government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression; had now good cause to feare lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, & by helpe of the *Romans* bring them under a more streight subjection, than ever they had indured. This feare being ready to breake into some outrage, *Pacuvius* made use of, to serve his owne ambition. He discoursed unto the Senate, as they fate in Council, about these motions troubling the city: and said, That he himselfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forsaking the *Roman* partie was not now the greatest: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, & after to joyne themselves with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and save them harmelesse. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloved himselfe by the People, and privie unto their designs. Having thoroughly terrefied the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promised nevertheless to deliver them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leave; He called the people to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, he told them, that these wicked Governours were surpris'd by his policie, & all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay upon them. Onely thus much he advised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should chooſe a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger upon the old. Sorehearing unto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their judgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Chooſe then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for such an election, was silent; untill at last, some one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were utterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some knowne fault, baseness, and insufficiency; or else even because they were unknowne, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilst more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, having beene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and easily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtlesse) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and esteemed him their Parron; but the Senators also were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themselves indebted, for saving all their lives. Neither did the Senate faile after this by all obsequiousnes, to court the People; giving the reines unto their lawlesse Wil, who else were likely to cast them down. All the city being thus of one mind; onely feare of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaille at *Canna*, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campanians*, did then serve the *Romans* in the Ile of *Sicily*: the Parents and Kinsmen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadors were sent unto *Terentius* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wheresoever they found him, found him weakly attended, and as weak in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their State; and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented unto them the greatnesse of the *Roman* misfortune: saying, that all was lost; and that the *Campanians* must now, not helpe the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themselves, but make warre in their defence against the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had sometimes done for the *Campanians* against the *Samnites*. Hereunto hee is said to have added a foolish Invective against *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carcases, and to feed upon mans flesh; with such other stiffe, as only bewraied his own feare. As for the *Campanians* themselves,

He put them in minde of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; with money, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous in adventuring to seek their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they easily made alliance, upon these conditions; That the *Campanians* should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs should bee subject unto any *Carthaginian* Magistrate, in what case soever, whether in Warre or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliver unto the *Campanians* three hundred *Romane* prisoners, such as themselves would choose, whom they might exchange for to their Gentlemen which were in *Sicily*.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decim Magius*, an honourable Citizen, opposed himselfe earnestly: using, in vaine, many persuasions, to the wilfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors unto *Hannibal*: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a *Carthaginian* Garrison was entering the towne: at which time he gave advice, either to keepe it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of service, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forsaken.

Advertisement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about *Naples* not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refused: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection unto any *Carthaginians*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon halted himselfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*; which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the walls too high, & was not well provided to lay siege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great solemnity and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the towne, to behold that great Commander, which had won so many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly City, and passed over his first entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the *Roman* yoke; promising, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it selfe, should be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chiefe, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decim Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romans* their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a *Campan*, but a traitor to the State, & use him accordingly, giving sentence out of hand upon him, as he deserved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his first coming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* settled his friendship with the *Campanians*: among whom, onely this *Decim Magius* had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the sonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whilst he was at supper, the first night of his coming; had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the towne (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of *Capua*, ranne some other townes therabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Casert*, and *Acerre*, were the Cities next adjoining, that stood out for the *Romans*. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakly manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The *Romans* at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled townes; but were faine to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it selfe was in extreme feare of *Hannibals* coming, at the first report of the overthrow at *Cannae*: and the griefe of that losse was so generall and immoderate, that it much disturbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the losse already received, or the feare of destruction presently threatening, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to steepe the noyse and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courtiers were sent

sent forth, to bring assured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Consul *Varro* had thoroughly informed them, they were so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; and taking direction (as was said) from their fatall bookes, buried alive two men and women, *Gauls* and *Greekes*, in their Ox-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gave them such instructions; we may justly thinke that *Sibyl* her selfe was instructed by the Divell. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Sooth-sayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards, for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the bookes of *Sibyl*. An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what prayers and supplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatnes of their feare; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicily*, from the Prator *Octavius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe over into *Africke*. In these were contained newes of one *Carthaginian* fleet that wasted the kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend & confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the *Iles* & *Egates*, which was in readinesse to set upon *Lilybaeum*, and the rest of the *Roman* Province, if the Prator stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the midst of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take sovereign charge of the Weale publike, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thanks for that he had not despaired of the Weale publike. But this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtlesse) provided wisely for upholding the generall reputation. If his coming into the Citie had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what else would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedness, among those that were subject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noysed abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the eares of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might seem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Lucius* would have us thinke, that it was done fearfully, and out of great spirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleve him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have struck off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, and was banished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised foure new Legions, and 1000 horse: though with much difficulty; as being faine to take up some that were very boyes. These foure Legions are elsewhere forgotten in account of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions onely set downe, that had bin enrolled in the beginning of the year for custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field; foure new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding unto them 8000 sturdy slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manfull service. This not sufficing; the Dictator proclaimed, That whatsoever ought money and could not pay it, or had committed any capital offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arme these Companies, they were faine to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bin there set up: among which, were 6000 Armors of the *Gauls*, that had bin carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions; that they were faine to issue forth of their own gates, in the habite of strangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman* like.

About the same time it was that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Cannae*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whilst he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captives, audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poor kinsfolke, but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their

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their suites; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former Warre) not to be too tender of such as had yielded to the enemy; much was alledged against these who now craved ranfome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have saved themselves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the disburfement: whether it were fo, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must wee regard it, that the slaves which were armed for the warre, are said to have cost more, than the summe did amount unto, that would have ranfomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had bene severe; when as indeed they were futable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little prooffe, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaves, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, as no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ranfome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have bene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet must we wicall consider, that these private men did onely lend these slaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbear the price of them (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchised) untill the Warre should be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have bene his Chapmen: but, seeing hee dealt onely for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the souldiers that escaped from that great Battell. These were charged for having fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done so. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call *ragione del Stato*, may serve for an excuse: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miserable exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had served at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicily*; and there to serve, not as others did, untill they had fulfilled twenty yeeres in the Warres, or else were fifty yeeres of age; but untill this Warre should be ended, how long forever it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure was afterwards layd upon others, for their mis-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, save only (a good while after this, at better leisure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fooles his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terror of so great a losse, were devising, after the battell, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by a *Tribune of the people*; nevertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparent than the fault.

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evill: for of any evill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weak estate, onely *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ostia*, with a Fleet ready to set saile for *Sicily*, having one Legion aboard his ships, and fiftene hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces hee was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Canna*, he sent these of his new Levies to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (assisted, as were the rest of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginians*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacie. Wherefore hee made great journies thitherward; and arrived even time

enough

enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by faire words and terrible threats the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyaltie: had also a faire Haven, whereby it stood in the lesse feare of sustaining much inconvenience, by spoyle of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field; which if he laid waste, all the poore people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and such talk used some, that had little feare of their own private want or poverty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginians*. Of these, one *L. Banius* was chiefe: a stout young gentleman, and Souldier of 10 speciall make, well beloved in the Citie, and one that had done good service to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* halfe dead at *Canna*; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thanks hee could unto so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had bene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserved of the *Roman* state, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance: So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this *Banius* so faine in love with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*, whereof he had not presently 10 advertisement. At the coming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he tooke by composition; and so returned backe againe to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bestead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assailing him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their owne desires. He therefore brought his Armie close to the Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but onely to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which he sought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rise; and seizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertised: and fearing lest the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him busied within the Citie, whilst the *Carthaginians* should scale the walls; hee thought it the surest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three severall gates, looking 10 towards the enemy: he gave a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discovered, and *Marcellus* now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he had his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walls, and thought nothing lesse, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and oldest of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected fallie the more terrible. Whilst the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. The sudden terror was more available unto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that Warre, forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict account of the Citizens of *Nola*; condemning above

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three score

threecore and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the meane season was gone to *Acerra*: where being excluded, hee thought it no wisdom to lose time in perswasions, but layd siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrified the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he lacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about *Casiline*, thither went *Hannibal*; as being unwilling that an Enemy so neere should disquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It seemes, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durst with a small part of his Army seeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battell, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, and how Crest-fallen they werethat having three yeares since demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to bee delivered unto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not far from *Rome*, hee appeared to be a man, and not resistlesse. At *Caslinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Prætor* fines there were, and about foure hundred of *Perusia*, with some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battell at *Canna*, being sent by their severall States to the Campe: whether whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountered them; and sent them back forrowfull; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*. How that great Citie became the King-leader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those *Prætorines* and their fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Westerne part of the Towne (for it was divided by the River *Volturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themselves might have bin reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprisid it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountered with greater forces: but these few found him more worke than he expected. Divers assaults he gave, but was still repelled with losse: and many sallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River: who faime would have relieved *Casiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had given him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the overflowings of *Volturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his journey, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Casiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was lost, because the *Romans* durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of corne were sent by night, floating down the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of the water, stucke among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of reliefe was discovered and prevented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the poore besieged men. At length when all food was spent, and whatsoever grew greene under the Wall was gathered for Sallers, the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground; whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Casiline* untill the Rapes were grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any Composition,

as intending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranfom; which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them, according to his promise. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Casiline*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he restored it. To the *Prætorine* Souldiers great thanks were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were in *Prætorie*: which is no weake proofe, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the *Roman* Government. This siege of *Casiline* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise have bin better spent. For Winter overtook him long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at *Carthage* to be sent to *Hannibal* into *Italie*. How by the malice of *Hanno*, and sloth or parsimony of the *Carthaginians*, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the *Carthaginians* grew faster, than of the *Romans*. Of *Fabius* and other old *Roman* Historians how partiall they were in their writings.

When *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battell at *Canna*; his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, and thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chased, wounded, or slaine; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war never shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the onely good Captaine, because he never durst adventure to come to battell; That, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slaine of them above two hundred thousand, and taken above fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest hee magnified *Capua*, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not onely (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe seat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the war, He said it was even at an end, if they would now pursue it closely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that so many battells had much diminished his brothers Armie: that the Souldiers, who had so well deserved, ought to be considered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of money, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage*; which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels; or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the * principal of that order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

Who so considers the former *Punicke* warre, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull advertisements from their Capitaines abroad. Wherefore it is no marvell, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to have demanded of that great perswader unto peace with *Rome*,

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Wh ether quiet,

* Thus Livie reports it; and credible it is, that while Rome was poore, the bravery of private men was not altogether so great, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwise *Jun. Amm.* The wearing of the King, was the generall privilege of the *Roman* K.

Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yeelded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for their good success. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formal answer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Parres conscripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull overthrow received at the Ilands *Ægæis*: yet the summe of his speech appeares to have been no lesse malicious than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill befel them well, who had vanquished the *Romans*; to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their camp, filled forsooth with spoile, to make request for meat and mony. To these cavils, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few silver studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine convoy of mony and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great army in some other Province, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards said to have done, when they wan the campe of *Asdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spain*, in his journey towards *Italie*) then might such an objection more justly have bin made unto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and where in he best might hope to prevail, contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilest they had so much the better in war.

What would have bin the issue of this counsell, if it had bin followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely, that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have bin kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shamefull overthrowes; since after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve *Carthage* from ruine, longer, than untill such time as *Rome* was at leisure from all other wars. This counsell therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and served onely to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of silver, should be sent over to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be levied in *Spain*; not onely to supply, as need should require, the Armies in that Province, but to be transported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it bene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not have found cause, to tax the retchlesse improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Armie among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would have finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be employed in the following Warre. But either the too much carelesnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreme necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellows, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than sense of the publike need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had bene so well set down. The Elephants were sent: and some money peradventure, uncertaine it is how long after. But those great forces of three score thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Armie, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of warre. Onely some small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spain*; and the journey of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many yeeres were past, and the *Romans* had recovered their strength.

Here wee may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both

by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the Warre of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessitie twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse at *Ægæis*. Yet we see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in *Italie*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, having three or foure yeeres together bene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe upon credit, even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such advantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterranean* Sea, even from *Tyrrus* their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the streights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans*: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falsehood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainly whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty City would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hostages, even before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to perform whatsoever should be enjoyed them, with condition, that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded up all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the *Romans* told them plainly, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should be twelve miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandize, by which ye now live, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conversation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glossing words, plainly shewes, what good observation the elder *Cato* had made of the hastic growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoever it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thus I thinke; and thus Carthage should be destroyed*; Hee may seeme, not onely to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not bin in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so came they far short of them in the honourable care of the publike good: having every one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the war strongly) was over-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had bin requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was secured, they might send an Army into *Italie*; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdom to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazzard of fortune, against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could so doe) finished the warre, might easily make

* *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulity, dulnes, or nigardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spain*, than to set up all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spain*, free from all incursions of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had bene, to make a running Warre; by

* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying, that he made warre, that he might live compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himself a King. *Liv. lib. 21.*

which the *Romans* might have bin found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their maine intendment against *Rome* it self, untill such time as every little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Province, then must *Emporie* have been besieged and forced: which, by reason of alliance with the *Masilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the towne of *Emporie* was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*; having not above foure hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend unto the *Gracians*, though not over-much trusted. Wherefore to force this towne of *Emporie*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Masilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, would have bin a worke of little lesse difficulty, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battell at *Canna*: yea, it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the seate of the warre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, neere unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborne; great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spain*: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making strong war upon their Citie. For even so the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeavoured to change the seate of the warre, transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spain*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is necessary to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they set not too their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourages, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they suffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselves in travell for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakly assisted; as if the industry of these *Barbines* had bin somewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in generall, were far lesse honourable than the people of *Rome*; not only in government of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their own estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parsimony used toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* warre was finished: so the conclusion of this war present, will make them complaine, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal* after the victory at *Canna*; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeem the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it were cost enough to send a few handfulls into *Spain*.

Bell.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Africk* it selfe, depended wholly, or for the most part, upon successe of things in *Italy*, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spain* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For, though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Livie*, the tender love of his owne Countrey, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others: yet must we not, for his sake, believe those lies, which the unpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having cleane spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we finde in the life of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in such fort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any war. These words, being referred to the brave resolution of the *Carthaginian* Souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall, insufling such spirit into them, may be taken as not over liberall. For in the treaty of peace betweene *Amilcar* and *Caulus* when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes and forsake *Sicily*, threatening, that otherwise hee would not talke of any composition.

A milit.

Amilcar boldly bad him chuse, whether he would talke of it or no; for that the Armes which his Country had put into his hands to use against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld up unto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custome upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his wil, & not to stand with him upon point of honour, whilst otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would have him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth, saying, that howsoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sence thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betweene *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* story) & those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty city of *Rome*: we must take it in good part, that howsoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joining very foolishly his own shame full overthrow at the Islands * *Ægates*, with the great services of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the losse of their Fleet in that battell at Sea: wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antius*, & others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to think too well of their relations; which are such as follow.

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spain, before Asdrubal the son of Amilcar followed thence his brother Hannibal into Italie.

It hath bin shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, returning from *Gaul* into *Italy*, so encounter with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alps*, sent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with foureteene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had been allotted unto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spain* against *Hannibal*: who, since he was marching into *Italy* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleaved, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; & therefore made bold to carry some of the number back with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lievtenant. *Publius* himselfe remained in *Italy* all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, he was sent Proconsul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of feight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain*, against the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquished in so many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we have cause to wonder, how the enemy could so often find means to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst adventure to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serve to arme the Naturals against these Invaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill successe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure: which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or serving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipio's*, were neither so many, nor so great, as they are set out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth

doth answer, That if *Asdrubal* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spain*: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to *Rome*, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal*, being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battell; have onely by the steep descent of *Rockes*, over a great River that lay at his backe, ran away with all his money, Elephants, and broken troupes, over *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*, upon which he fell with more than threefore thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That hee chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that hee sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so have they said to have done in the last battell between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Campe. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this Warre, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us: unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; not greatly insifting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporia*, an Haven towne, not farre within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little infection. That by the fame of his clemencie hee assured many Nations to become subject unto *Rome*, as the storie begins of him, I could easily beleve, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give such famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and having no justification in the Countrey. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the love of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better successe, for that hee seemed to have none other errand, than setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with money: and some hee compelled to yeeld by force or feare; especially, when hee had won a battell against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is, that hee remembered to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgate, unlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiors; *Majestatem Pop. Rom. comiseri conservent*, which is, as *Tullie* interprets it, That they should gently (or kindly) uphold the Majesty of the People of *Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implied it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *diuinitis Romanis*; of the *Roman* jurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Countrey wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Barguins*; *Hannibal* had found at his coming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore hee not onely appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province betwene *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceive; for I doe not thinke he gave the Principality of their Countrey unto *Hanno* and his Heires,) He made him not onely Lieutenant-generall over them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of *Scipio*: with whom others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanais*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turnes of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more sensible still of the present evill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, whereinto they ran by seeking to avoid it. This bad affection of his Province, would not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left unto him: besides which, it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore hee adventured a battell with *Scipio*; wherein hee was overthrowne and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Stilsum*, a towne hard by, and wonne

it. But *Asdrubal* having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre from *Tarracon*, whom he found carelesse, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the countrey; and with great slaughter drave them aboard their ships. This done, hee ranne up into the Countrey, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had given Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the same season was gone to visit and aide his Fleet: where having set things in order, he returned backe, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his coming, but withdrew himselfe againe over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force; having lost *Athanasia* their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Austani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their distressed Neighbours, and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembered, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ*, subject unto *Rome*, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleve, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charme, stirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whilest himselfe had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ranne away, and saved himselfe beyond *Iberus*. *Phelimus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by *Asdrubal* backe to his ships, whence he durst not stirre, untill winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* wonne, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deepe snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they sought their owne benefit: helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening againe unto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their owne Countrey Lawes, and not under Governours sent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: even from henceforth unto the dayes of *Augustus Caesar*; till when they were never throughly conquered.

The yeere following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory against the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too farre on ground, hee tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates in *Spain*, are said to have submitted themselves unto the *Romans*, or given Hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to flie into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in *Lusitania*. Yet it followes, that the *Ilergetes* did againe rebell; that *Asdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having easily vanquished the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the *Celiberians*, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him hostages. These tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquished him in two battels; whereinto they slew fifteene thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand Prisoners. Then arrived *Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren joyntly admittred the businesse in *Spain*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celiberian* Warre; the two *Scipio's* did haake *constant*, without both feare or doubt, passe over *Iberus*, and besieged *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same *Celiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish *Asdrubal*.

Asdrubal, *Boſtar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favor and hearty good will of the country, was by freely reſtoring unto them their hoſtages; as reſting, without any pledge, aſſured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being truſted with this meſſage and reſtitution of the hoſtages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals: perſwading them, as he had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find, that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can believe ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelves with theſe.

The yeare following was like unto this: *Asdrubal* muſt be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* divide their forces: *Cn.* makes war by Land, *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten foure thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe out of *Africk*: He repairs his Fleet; and provides every way to make reſiſtance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Maſters of his ſhips, revolt unto the *Romans*: becauſe they had bin chidden the laſt yeare for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navie. The revolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spaine*. Theſe doe much miſchief, ſo that *Asdrubal* is faine to make a journey to them. His ſudden coming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, ſo valiantly aſſaile him, that they drive him, for very feare, to encampe himſelfe ſtrongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battell. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and ſhortly make themſelves Maſters of the Country round about. This good ſucceſſe breeds negligence; for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* ſhould leade his Armie forth into *Italie*; which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe, if they had bin informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakly ſupplied him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almoſt all *Spaine* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore ſends word preſently to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo; or, if they will needs have it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a Succellor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to employ they ſhould find worke more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuſe; *Asdrubal* muſt needs be gone: *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſervice, both by land and ſea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to doe, than to furniſh himſelfe with ſtore of money, that he might have wherewithall to win the friendſhip of the *Gauls*; through whole Countries he muſt paſſe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembering to eaſe him of this care. But ſince it can be no better, he layes great Impoſitions upon all the *Spaniards* his ſubjects: and having gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing theſe newes, are carefull how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Ibera* (ſo called of the Rivers name running by it) the richeſt towne in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battell with him: which they winne the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquiſhed at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italie*. Great numbers are ſlaine: and few ſhould have eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Campe the *Romans* take and ſpoile: whereby (queſtionleſſe) they are marvellouſly enriched; all the money that could be raked together in *Spaine* being carried along in this *Italian* expedition. This dayes event joyneſs all *Spaine* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* ſo far from all thought of travelling into *Italie*, that it leaves him ſmall hope of keeping himſelfe ſafe in *Spaine*. Of theſe exploits advertisement is ſent to *Rome*; and Letters to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they have neither money, apparell, nor bread, wherewith to ſuſtaine their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: ſo as unleſſe they may be ſupplied from

Liv. lib. 23.

Rome,

Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an evil ſeaſon: the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſſe at *Cannæ*, to help it ſelfe at home. Yet reliefe is ſent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſe-where, into the relation of things whereof the truth is leſſe queſtionable. At the coming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio's* purſue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. Wher ſelfe can we thinke, that remember the laſt newes of him, and how fearfully he miſtruſted his owne ſafety? They find him, and *Magus* and *Amilcar* the ſon of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threeſcore thouſand men, beſieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Orielius*, and others, probably conjecture to have ſtood, where *Carinena* is now, in the Kingdom of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgi*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Illegeres* their neereſt Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The towne is greatly diſtreſſed; but moſt of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore brake through betweene the Enemies Campes, with terrible ſlaughter of all that reſiſt them: and having victualled the place, encourage the towne-men to defend their walls as ſtoutly, as they ſhould anon behold them fighting manfully with the beſiegers, in their behalfe. So they iſſue forth, about ſixteen thouſand againſt threeſcore thouſand: and killing more of the enemies, than themſelves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and tooke that day, beſides priſoners and other bootie, fifty and eight Enſignes.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibi*, that ſtood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by warre, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondered, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: ſince *Asdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in his journey, had loſt his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battell by *Ibera*. Howſoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their cuſtome) are beaten againe at *Incibi*: where there were of them above thirteene thouſand ſlaine, and above three thouſand taken; beſides two and forty Enſignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spaine* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antius*, or ſome other Hiſtorian, to whom *Livius* gave credit, conquer all *Spaine* twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof theſe good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large acceſſe of Dominion, winter on their owne ſide of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* riſe againſt *Asdrubal*; and are overthrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to help theſe his friends, is forced to make great haſt over the River. At *Caſtrum Alium*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and ſtores the place with victuals, being ſtrong and defensible; as intending to make it his ſeate for a while. But the Country round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horſe have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling alſo upon ſome ſtragglers, or ſuch as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thouſand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoovefull, to retire unto ſome place more aſſured. So *Publ.* withdraws himſelfe unto *Mons viſtoriae*: that riſing ſomewhat Eaſtward from *Incibi*, over-looketh the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* purſue him: His brother *Cn.* repairs unto him; and *Asdrubal* the ſon of *Geſto*, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with ſome light-armed, going cloſely to view the places thereabouts, is diſcovered by the enemies: who are lik to take him, but that he withdraws himſelfe to an high piece of ground; where they beſiege him, untill his brother *Cn.* fetch him off. After this (but I know not why) *Caſtulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being farre diſtant from them, and ſeated on the head of the River *Bætis*. Nevertheleſſe the *Carthaginians* paſſe over *Iberus*, to beſiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garriſon, hoping to win it by famine. We may juſtly wonder, what ſhould move them to neglect the rebellion of *Caſtulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying ſo cloſe by them, and to ſecke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been ſo grievouſly beaten

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the yeere before. But thither they goe: and thither follows them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out upon them the next day, and in two battels kils above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fixe and thirty Ensignes. This victory (doubtlesse) is remarkable: considering that the greatest *Roman* Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thousand men. The vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigarra*: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasted foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* beene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, & twelve thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensignes. The *Carthaginians* flee to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquished the *Carthaginians* againe: but kils not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature so set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troups of *Asdrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten againe: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* entrallled unto the *Carthaginians*; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may we thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Country once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*; and were faine (as appears) to goe their way without it: so as they need not be blusht, for having so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to performe. At the present they wonne *Saguntum*: and restored the possession thereof unto such of the poore disperfed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the *Saguntines*. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them, if they had beene able.

But over-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they have landed at *Emporia*, an Haven towne, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocaeans*, kinne to the *Masilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have easily wonne to their party, lost, recovered, and lost againe, some petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by persuasion, other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne unsettled passions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held intire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleve, that when they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we finde no particulars remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembered, after every one of which *Asdrubal* fate downe before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the levie and arrivall of new supplies. And surely, if the *Romans* had beene absolute Masters of the field, when they wonne *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole yeere following, in practising only with the *Celiberians* the next adjoining people. Yet made they this, little lesse than two yeeres businesse. Of these *Celiberians* we heare before, That they have yeelded up themselves unto the *Romans*; for security of their faith, given Hostages to *Scipio*; and at his appointment, made warre against the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive;

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perceive; unlesse perhaps in those daies it were the *Roman* custome, or rather the custome of some bad Author whom *Livie* followes, to call every messenger, or straggler, that entered their campe, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to helpe the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chosen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deal with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne backe into *Spain*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellows at home are the lesse unwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*. Hereof we finde more than probability, when these mercenary *Celiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seeke out the Enemies, who lie not farre off with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, is nearest at hand; even among the *Celiberians*, at *Anisorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being destroyed; *Mago* the sonne of *Gefso*, hearing the newes, will make use of their distance, which is five dayes march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Country, save themselves from being over-taken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better souldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Armie; leaving the third part, and all the *Celiberians*, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gefso*, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessity. They joyne their forces together; meet with *Publius Scipio*; and lay at him so hardly, that hee is driven to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherein he thinks himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masanassa*, Prince of the *Masagis*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremisen*: to whom the chiefe honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a Spanish Prince, is coming with seven thousand & five hundred of the *Sussetani*, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way; leaving *T. Fomertius* his Lieutenant, with a small company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have beene ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all sides: neither are the *Carthaginians* farre behinde; but come so fast upon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio*, uncertaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where need most requireth, is strucke through with a lance, and slaine: very few of his Army escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celiberian* Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Country. If *Anisorgis*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it, a *Celiberian* towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly beleve, that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should have had for hazzarding their lives. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them, and no lesse unable, without their helpe, either to resist the enemy, or to joyne with his brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein onely differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gefso*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steales from them all, by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where growes not so much as a shrubbe, unfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes of easie ascent on every side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soone teare in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape unto *T. Fomertius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on

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every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could breake out, and throwd themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fontem* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North side of *Iberus*, fearfull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the *Roman* Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Marius*, a yong *Roman* Gentleman of a notable spirit: who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this *L. Marius* before *Fontem* the Lieutenent, as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gefeo* comming upon them; this *L. Marius* so encourageth his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely founds the retreat; preserving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken; but when they see, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they returne to their former security; and utterly despising him, let neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neere. *Marius* therefore animates his souldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being under-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steales upon the Campe of *Asdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabines, and gives a terrible alarme; so that all affrighted, the *Carthaginians* runne head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Campe, *Marius* hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, save by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many do, that there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Annius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battailes. That, whilest *Marius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Lucius* reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine *Marius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in such distresse, He could cleerely get off from the Enemies, & give them any parting blow, though it were farre lesse than that which is here set downe.

Of these occurrents *L. Marius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vice-gerent in *Spain*: which the better to intimate unto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse moved with the tidings than the case required: and therefore tooke such carefull order, for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the companies levied to serve in that Province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the City it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for that tide of Propretor, which *Marius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended

offended at his presumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*: carrying with him about sixethousand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Lutines*, with three hundred *Roman* horse, and of the *Lutines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of *Rome* began to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of *Marius* would ill have served, either to keepe footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Marius* and *Fontem*; he found surer tokens of the overthrowes received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Marius* had made his vaults unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends: whom how to reclaime, it would not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Ausetians*, neer enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lagules arvi*; out of which there was no issue, but only through a streight, whereon the *Roman* seized at his first comming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incampe in such a place, I do not finde: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spain*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition, that he and his Armie might bee thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parlee with *Claudius* about this businesse; That night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a misty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spain*; we shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke misty day. Wherefore in giving beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have been of far lesse value. Howsoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in *Spain*, or to recover the old which had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Marius* their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a Proconsull, & (perhaps) yong *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the sonne of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsull into *Spain*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the warre into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, & singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase love, of which qualities what great use he made, shall appear in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; How he used to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*; How a Dragon (which must have bene one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himselfe) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entering her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble City might seeme, not onely to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serve to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter

of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsull was to be chosen for *Spain*, there durst not any Capitaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to adventure himselfe in such a desperate service; and finally, That this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure & twenty yeeres of age, getting up on an high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Marius* no better than dreames: and either very unreasonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I finde in the two partiall *Roman* Historians, I doe not willingly insift.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsull into *Spain*; & with him was joynd *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them tenne thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies. With these they landed at *Emporia*; & marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio*'s arrivall, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with such a majestie, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the 20 enemies, they were greatly afraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could give any reason of it. If we must beleve this, then must we needs beleve, that their feare was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His first enterprize was against new *Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea-forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and worne it by assault the 30 first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it, by their too much confidence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have bene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had not discovered unto *Scipio*, a secret passage unto the walls; whereof the Town-men themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation; standing upon a demy-Iland, betwene an Haven and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of *Tarracon* had founded; and finding some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navill, *Scipio* thrust therein to some companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walles without resistance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it selfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Towne, *Livie* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some *Roman* Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of *Africke* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* Hostages: (or at least of the adjoining Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with singular courtesie; restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neerest Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-side of *Iberus*, forsooke the *Carthaginian* party, & joynd with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended: for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies, but rather excused this his changing side, as being there-to compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*; & invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*.

Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Scipio*; then could nothing have bin devised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when hee should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipio*'s had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, & held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never masters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recovering 10 their Hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himselfe the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generalls, when they heard of this losse, were very sorry: yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, having stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farre transported, and over-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time busie, in setting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, under-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, fate downe before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not bene much amiss, if the passage over the Lake had bene undiscovered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in coming to such good issue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the business, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that halfe of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; *Mago*, & *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Geso*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingering warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilst the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprize: even to fight in triall of the Em- 30 pire. But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*; his Vant-currers charged so lustily the *Carthaginian* horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small peece of service, how full of spirit the *Roman* Army was, and how dejected the Enemie. *Asdrubal* therefore by night rettyred out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the River, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of access on the fore-side; by which himselfe got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly encamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, betwene 40 the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more upon bravery, than he might not seeme to hide himselfe within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battaile, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plaine, up into his Campe on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to sie. Out of such a battaile, wherein hee had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troupes, to have marched towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Geso*, are reported after this, to have consulted with him about this Warre; and finally to have concluded, that goe he needs must, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have bin true, it shall appeare at his coming into *Italy*; whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affaires have too long detained us.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome. Posthumus the Roman Generall, with his whole Army, is slain by the Gauls. Philip King of Macedonia enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joining with the Aetolians, make warre upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.

W Elest Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from Carthage of such mighty aide, as was decreed to be sent thence unto him. In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the Romans corne into his owne barnes, and to drive away their Cattell to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army; by making him Master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled townes, in like sort as he did Geryon, and the Castle of Canna: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and Spring following, untill corne were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such employment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon Rome, after his victory at Canna. For had he failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the Citie at his first coming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battaile: if being, either for want of means to force the Citie, or of necessities to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walles of Rome, he had presented himselfe unto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and travell was past, when so many States of Italy were become his: the yeere following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege unto that proud Citie, so which so long had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was passed over joyfully, saving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arrived no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, save one, that he brought over the Alpes, had bin lost in his journey through the Marshes of Hauria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truly, what mischiefs the perswasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was as thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as he himselfe had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the Barbarians in the journey; thant to commit the maine strength of their Citie, to the hazzard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull provisions. With these allegations Hannibal must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere served, He tooke the field: and having finished what rested to be done at Cassinum, sought to make himselfe Matter of some good Haven-town thereabout; that might serve to entertaine the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same end to the Lucians: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of Italy, yea, the Isles of Sicill and Sardinia; since the siege of Rome must needs be deferred unto another yeere. Hanno made an ill journey of it, being met, or over-taken, by T. Sempronius Longus: who slew above two thousand of his men; with the losse of fewer than three hundred Romans. But Himilco sped farre better. By helpe of the Brutians, his good friends, he won Peitella, or Peitilia by force; after it had held out some moneths. He won likewise Consenza; and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of Locri, which

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was of great importance, yeelded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except onely the Towne of Rhegium, over against Sicill.

The great faith of the Peilians is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government, under which the Roman subjects lived. As for the Samnites, Campanians, and others, whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seeme to prove the contrary, we are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Sovereignty, and were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The Peilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to Rome for helpe: where their Messengers received answer from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not
10 lef meanes, to relieve their Associates that were so farre distant. The Peilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publicly sent from Cities of the Roman subjection, that had a private jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to give them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoever was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation againe: and having thoroughly considered all their forces remaining, plainly confessed, that it was not in their power to give any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their owne safety, as having already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the Peilians (as was said) held out some moneths: and having striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparent
10 possibility, gave to the Carthaginians a bloody victory over them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The Romans at this time were indeed in such ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Carthage, might have reduced them into termes of great extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their losse at Canna, they had shewed their high minde, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay upon them so neere at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. L. Posthumus Albinus their Praetor they had sent, with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into Gaule; to the Illyrian King Pinem they
10 had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliver hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip King of Macedonia they had sent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them Demetrius Pharius, their Subject and Rebell, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little suitable to their former glorious conceits. Posthumus with all his Army was cut in pieces by the Gauls, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gauls, Litana; through which he was to passe. Against his coming, the Enemies had sawed the Trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them downe: When therefore Posthumus, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous passage, the
10 Gauls, that lay about the wood, began to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were over-whelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious worke of sawing so many Trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might have blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet some such thing may have been done: and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the savage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Country now so civil, was infected in elder times, That of Posthumus his skull, being cleansed, and trimmed
10 up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessel, for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no lesse than the calamity. But sorrow could give no remedie to the mischiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pleuratus, & Scerdileus Illyrian Kings, as also with Gentius, who reigned within a few yeeres following, the Romans dealt upon even termes; entreating their assistance against Philip and Perseus; not commanding their dutie, as Vassalls. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For
having

having assured his affaires in *Greece*, & enjoying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, He sent Embassadors to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, upon these conditions; That the King in person should come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, untill it were finished; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the spoile therein to be gotten, should be left entire unto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Army should passe into *Greece*, and there assist *Philip*, untill he had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving semblably unto him the full possession of that country, and the Isles adjoining. But such predisposition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly controlled by the divine Providence, which therein shewes *It* selfe; not (as *Herodotus* fally termes it, and like an *Atheist*) envious or malicious, but very just and majesticall, in up-holding that unspeakable greatnesse of Sovereignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadors that *Philip* sent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: & being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of *Macedon* to *Rome*, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessity. These newes were so welcome, that the joy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should lead them the way, and shew them how to avoide the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse, about which they came, upon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe unluckily to be decryed by the *Roman* fleet; which, mistrusting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chase. They did their best to have escaped: but being over-taken, they suffered the *Romans* to come aboard; and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it againe, That having beene sent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reason of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now less credible than before: and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Boskar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquisition served to finde all out: so that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadors and their followers were sent close prisoners to *Rome*: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with some losse of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavey weight this *Macedonian* warre, in an evill houre, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the load of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and sutable unto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would have beateen upon them from *Spain*. They judged it more easie, with small forces to detain *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their strength to resist him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegiance, not onely of the *Latin*, and other, their most faithfull Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all privileges of the City, it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quinquaginta* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to set on foot some commotion in *Greece*; or to nourish the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards *Italy*, setting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*; which he won, and so returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirots* craved helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other busines to do. The garrison that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was strong enough to hold the Towne-men in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspicion. *Valerius* therefore easly regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand

thousand men, under *Nævius Crispus*, an under-taking and expert Capitaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. These made a notable fallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with lo great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his campe, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his fleet from *Oricum*, stopped up the mouth of the River, so that he was faine to burn his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crowne of *Macedon*: & easly perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else where beene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them great assistance from the *Romans*. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; & whereof the *Roman* was as liberal in making promise, as if already it had bin his owne. So a league was made betweene them: and afterward solemnly published at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitol*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Coreyra*, in which space *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrey should be subdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage onely to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it should bee with Provision, to hold no longer than whilst hee abstained from doing injurie to the *Romans*, or their Associates. This was indeed the onely point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the *Romans* behalfe, That they should not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unless it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reserved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to those that had made or favoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Antalus*, *Pleuratus*, & *Sceurdileus*: the first of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Asia* the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates are thrust into the Treatie, rather to give it countenance, than for any readinesse which they disclosed to enter therinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorimachus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the *Roman* Generalls must make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had onely the title of *Nacarre*, was said to court the Maiors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when hee heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Army; made a countenance of warre upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to inest the Kingdom of *Macedon*; wasted the Countrie about *Oricum* & *Apollonia*; and over-running the *Pelagians*, *Dardaniens*, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into *Thessaly*, whence he made shew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stir up all the *Greeks* adjoining, against the *Ætolians*; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrey. To which purpose, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, He left *Perses*, his son and heire, with foure thousand men, upon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should over-take and entangle him; Hee made a long journey into *Thrace*, against a people called the *Medes*: that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whenever the King was absent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the *Acarnanians*; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrey, ere he should be able to returne. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniade* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conveniently situated to let in an Army; and consigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we say) every Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrey; together with the great haile of the *Macedonian* (who layed aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the *Ætolians* to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyra*, which they tooke: the *Romans* assailing by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne, and the *Romans* the spoile.

For these good services *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at *Rome*; & *P. Sulpicius* sent in his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in *Greece*. But besides the *Roman* helpe, *Antalus* out of *Asia* came over to assist the *Ætolians*. Hee was chiefly mooved by his owne jealousy

lousie of *Philips* greatnesse: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity of being chosen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titular, he tooke in very loving part. Against the forces which *Antalus* and the *Romans* had sent, being joyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, these his troublesome neighbours desired peace of him, and used their best meanes to get it. But when the day appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadors, in stead of making submission, proposed unto him such intolerable conditions, as ill befecemed vanquished men to offer: and might therefore well testifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but feare of being besieged in their owne Towns, that had made them desirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the encouragements of *Antalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever: and thrust a garrison of their owne, and some *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatened *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the Ireight from *Naupactus*, wasted the country in a terrible bravery: wherein *Philip* required them; comming upon them in great hast from the *Nemean* Games (which he was then celebrating) and sending them salter away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Antalus* no lesse than *Antalus* held suspected the power of *Philip*, sent a Navie into *Greece*, to assist the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and upon greater reason; as being more interessed in the successe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weak by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the *Roman* *Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him, to use the helpe of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first have kept those Enemies from fastening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could serve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians*; his principall Confederates. But in assailing their Town, hee was encountered by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* garrison, which drave him backe with some losse. In such cases, especially where God intendeth a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very powerful in working. The King had received no great detriment, in his retreat from *Elis*; rather he had given testimony of his personall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horse was slaine under him. He had also loone after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thousand, with some twenty thousand head of Cattel, which they had brought together into a place of safety, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the *Roman* foragers about *Sicyon*, his horse running hastily under a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Crest. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of *Philip*'s death. The horse was well knowne, and the tale beleaved. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproare: and not onely the Borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but some Captains of *Philip*, easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men, to assist his friends the *Achaians*. He also tooke order, to have Beacons erected, that might give him notice of the Enemies doings, upon whom he meant shortly to returne. The affaires of *Macedon*, his presence quickly established. But in *Greece* all went ill-favouredly: especially in the Ile of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betrayed to *Antalus* and the *Romans*, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to helpe it: where also the strong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been lost, if he had not come so the sooner. He made such hasty marches, that he had almost taken *Antalus* in the City of *Opus*: This City, lying over against *Eubœa*, *Antalus* had wonne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had used: now because the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the sacke of *Oreum*, and taken all to themselves; it was agreed, that *Antalus* should make his best profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his thursers. But while he was busie, in drawing as much money as he could out of the Citizens: the sudden tydings of *Philip*'s arrivall, made him leave all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-side, where he got aboard his ships, finding the *Romans* gone.

gone before, upon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this misadventure, or tydings of *Prusias* the *Syrian* his invasion upon the kingdome of *Pergamus*; made *Antalus* returne home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Trionos*, *Drymus*, and many small towns in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more braverie than importance, against the *Ætolians*. In the mean season, *Archandaris*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had bene busie in *Peloponnesus*; but hearing of *Philip*'s arrivall, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to choose two new kings, and to conform themselves to their old manner of government. But their estate was so far out of tune, that their hope of redressing things within the Citie, proved no lesse unfortunate, than had bin their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a tyrant rose up among them: upon whom succeeded this *Machanidas*, and shortly after came *Nabis*, that was worse than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* side, for feare of the *Achaians*, that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*; and bared extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of these we shall speake more hereafter.

Philip entring into *Achaia*, and seeing his presence had brought the contentment of assurance to that Countrey; spake brave words to the Assembly of their States, saying, That he had to doe with an Enemy, that was very nimble, and made warre by rusting away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where finde them, such haste they made, for feare of being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not alwayes prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he sundry times had done, and still to their losse. The *Achaians* were glad to heare these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored unto their Nation some Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymaans*, that had bene taken by the *Romans*, and sold for slaves, he sought out, ransomed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing over the *Corinthian* Gulfe, he fell upon the *Ætolians*; whom he drave into the mountains and woods, or other their strongest holds, and wasted their Country. This done, he tooke leave of the *Achaians*, and returned home by Sea, visited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they rested fearelesse of any threatening danger. Then had he leisure to make war upon the *Dardaniens*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom nevertheless he was not so far occupied; but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himselfe Master of the Sea; the *Romans* (since the departure of *Antalus*) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of *Greece*, fast by them where they lay.

This good successe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make strong warre upon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*, either some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates, or some feare of danger at home; when *Asdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italia*; caused them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore, being driven to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace unto *Philip*; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no looner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gallies, came over in great haste (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aside to *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, making a great noise, as if with these his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battell, but he refused it: and suffering the *Macedonians* to waste the Country round about, before his eyes, kept himselfe close within the wals of *Apollonia*, making some Overtures of peace: which caused *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not so great cause to be displeased with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in vill part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For, notwithstanding the royall offer that he made them, to serve their turne in *Italia*; and assist them, in getting their hearts desire, before he would expect any requital: they had not sent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation

of his Armie, or to free his coast from the *Roman* and *Etolian* Pyracies. Onely once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone againe before his arrivall: having done nothing, and pretending feare of being taken by the *Romans*, even at such time as *Philip*, with his owne Navie, durst boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This retchlesse dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore seeme to have bin one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to heare that so great a King made offer to serve in person under *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as Envie could suggest, to perswade the *Carthaginians* unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their *Italian* warres so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should doe well to save charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrifie the *Romans*, and compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might finde this Enemy worke abroad. So should the *Roman* Armies bee lessened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once he was engaged in the warre, be urged unto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thanks. Now if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* every day did promise, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* should be free, so as the troublesome *Greekes* might addresse their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges betwene them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africa*, should wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hateful in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsell of *Hanno* and his fellows were such as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainly given credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the *Etolians* had submitted themselves already: and when the *Romans* desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have succoured them in their necessitie, he might give over the warre, and, without reprehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meereley his owne, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appeare unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* should retaine three or foure Townes of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this war, being part of their old *Illyrian* conquest: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants, that somewhat might seeme to have bene gotten. On the other side, the *Aimanes* were appointed to returne under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Oriclus* probably conjectures) the people of the Countrey about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not give peace, as they would seeme to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependents of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achaens*, *Boeotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* side were named, first, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* descent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the tyrant of *Lacedaemon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Messenians*, and

and *Athenians*. The *Etolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the *Eleans* and *Messenians*, followers of the *Etolians*, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their league with *Philip*) were also infected by the *Romans*; that were never flow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*: they stood much upon their old honour; and loved to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting downe of their names in this Treaty, served the *Romans* to good purpose: for as much as they were a buisie people, and ministred occasion to renew the War, when means did better serve to follow it.

§. XIII.

How the *Romans* began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the *Romans*, in relieving the publike necessities of their Common- weale.

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halves: and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole Warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This error had become the lesse harmfull, if their care of *Italy* had bin such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal* to weary himselfe with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeare to yeare, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could have desired. The death of *Polthumius*, and destruction of his whole Army in *Gaul*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuse*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of *Sicily*; as also that War, of which we last spake, threatened to *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that so nearely after their terrible overthrow at *Canna*, among so many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have funke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter unto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, wherupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italy*: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new concurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their severall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been thoroughly prosecuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Warre, should have been strengthened; whatsoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troupes, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the Warre in *Spain*; the lingering ayd which they sent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-near beaten downe; their triling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at *Sicily*: little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered apart by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed, as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content *Hannibal*, then must he patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cume*, and other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard siege, that was to be relieved for a worke of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but always with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battell with him there: yet under the very Walles of the Towne; having the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great marvel; his forces being then divided, and imployed in sundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was even in those dayes, a strong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force.

unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unless sicknesse forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to Beneventum: where the newly enfranchised Soldiers were feasted in publicke by the townsmen; some sitting, some enstanding, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custome of slaves manifesting) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first battell, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had lost since the coming of *Hannibal* into *Italy*; the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hama*, being things of small importance.

Thus the *Romans* through industry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Canna*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasure was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serve to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serve to feed their Townes and Armies, without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few there were in *Italy* that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worke doe than before; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it selfe. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised upon them by the Poll, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greauesse of the warre within the bowels of *Italy*, that could not bee thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* stood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Easterne parts of *Italy*, if they were not at the cost to finde him work at home; the greater threats of *Albinus*, to follow his brother over the *Alpes*, as soon as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; and the povertie of the common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers; were driven almost even to extreme want of counsell. But being urged by the violence of swift necessity, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spain*; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the Citie could not have subsisted.

They called the people to assembly; wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor layd open the publicke wants; and plainly said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparel, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuffe, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities and labours, untill the warre were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Armie in *Spain* as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had beene full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intensitive to the correction of those, that had mis-behaved themselves in this present warre. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*; who, after the battell at *Canna*, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italy*, had beene no better than lost. After him, they tooke in hand those, that having brought to *Rome* the message of their fellowes made prisoners at *Canna*, returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his Campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also were a great many more; even whosoever had not served in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate,

Senate, following; That all such as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should bee transported into *Sicil*, there to serve untill the end of the Warre, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at *Canna*. The office of the Censors was, to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senators; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those, whose unhoneest or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compasse of the Law. They tooke also an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publicke Horles of service, unto such as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their mis-behaviour. Generally, they had the over-sight of mens lives and manners: and their censure was much revered and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Morallitie, they had the charge of all publicke Workes; as mending of High-ways, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-ways, or other places that ought to bee common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publicke Revenues to farme: so that most of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this Office; as maintaining themselves by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Censors; which were alwayes of that Order, and carefull to up-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-wealth being now impoverished by Warre, and having small store of Lands to let, or of customes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselves much with perusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations; or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generosity of the *Romans*. They that had beene accustomed in more happy times, to undertake such pieces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Censors, as if there had beene no such want: promising liberally their cost and travel; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the Warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had beene enfranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forebare the price of them, untill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as farre forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Questor kept a Booke of all that was layd out for the sustenance of these Widowes and Orphans: whilst the whole stocke was used by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Countrey was in so great want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe so much commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, wherinto their Estate was now reduced. Nevertheless if we consider things aright, the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome* to deale with those Enemies, whom the forthwith under-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metall grew more hard and solide: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of *Athens*, when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the universality. Certaine it is, (as *Sir Francis Bacon* hath judiciously observed) That a State, whose demerion or stemme is small, may aptly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comesto passe, where all regard of domestick prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Countrey. Hereof I might say that our Age hath seen a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches, and

and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilst the generality was oppressed by the Duke of *Alus*, were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industry, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasure, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. Wherefore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Common-Weale, which was found in *Rome* in these dangerous times: we may truly say, That the Citie was never in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all respect have bene more deare unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Asia* had not infected them with sensuality, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens and Subiects of *Rome* could have beleev'd their owne interest to be as great, in those warres which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon so great vertue, could not have been throwne down by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they never so many. But unto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on these fatal changes, in their times appointed.

§. XIII.

The Romans winne some Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

AS the people of *Rome* strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the Warre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in seeking to recover what had been lost. The Towne of *Casiline*, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the Carthaginian garrison; and likely to have bene relieved by those of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Nevertheless, the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to give it over: saying, that the enterprize was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. Hee said, That many such things, as were not at first to have been under-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, unto be prosecuted to the best effect. So the siege held on: and the Town was pressed so hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craved parlee; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of conditions: or whilst they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversly reported) *Marcellus* leizing upon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fifte of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul, who saved them, and sent them to *Capua* in safety; all the rest were either slain, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserved commendations, by holding his word good unto these fifty; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the *Roman* fashion, with some equivocation, but hee shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was *Mount Marsam* in *Gascogne* taken by the Marshall *Monluc*; when I was a young man in *France*. For whilst he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their severall guards, upon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions propofed. The Marshall therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all save the Governour unto the sword. Herein that Governour of *Mount Marsam* committed two grosse errors; the one, in that hee gave no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for assurance given and received. Some such oversight the Governour of *Casiline* seemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honorable.

table. When this Work was ended, many small Towns of the *Sannites*, and some of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken, or slain, about five and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the Country grievously waisted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying sick at *Nola*.

Hannibal in the meane while was about *Tarentum*, waiting to heare from those, that had promised to give up the Towne. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thrust so many men into it, that the Traytors durst not stirre. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* was faine to depart, having vvearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he vvas not the Country, but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which hee chose for his wintering place; and began to victuall it when Summer was but halfe past. It is said, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in vvvhich regard if he began his winter more timely than otherwise he required, He did not like the *Romans*; vvvhom necessity enforced, to make their Summer last as long as they were able to travell up and downe the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicily*, whither *Marcellus* the Consul was sent, to take such order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which were out more time than his Consulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publike service, to employ oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; vvithout regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant unto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reverence, to passe by them on horse-back, vvvhich was against the custome. But the sonne perceiving this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feet. The father cheerfully did so; saying, *It was my minde, sonne, to make tryall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to be Consul.* *Cassius Albinus* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battell at *Cannae*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, seeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came privily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it backe unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Albinus* a patterne to all traytors; using him as *Camillus* and *Fabritius* had done those that offered their faithfull service against the *Falisci*, and King *Epyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turne unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee should be sent to the Towne of *Cales*, and there kept as prisoner; untill they could better resolve, what to doe with him, or what use to make of him. *Hannibal* understanding that *Albinus* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not forrowfully; but thought this a good occasion to seize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might seeme rather severe, than coverous, he sent for the wife and children of *Albinus* into his camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and tooke all their goods unto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to *Arpi*: which hee wonne by *Scalado*, in a stormy and rainy night. Five thousand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the town; and of the *Arpines* themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust most by the *Carthaginian* Garrison; when it was understood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the town to be suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdom to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: protesting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become subject to the *Carthaginians*, against their wils. In proceffe of this discourse, the *Arpine* Pretor went unto the *Roman* Consul: and receiving his faith for security of the Town; presently

presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is that *Hannibal* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the *Roman* side, it was yet covenanted, That the *Carthaginians* should be suffered to passe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed : and so *Arpi* became *Roman* againe, with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors : and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their service; upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of small importance : but considering the generall harred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it served to discover the inclination of the *Italians* in those times ; and how their affections recoyled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from *Carthage*. The *Consulines* also, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yeelded themselves to *Hannibal*, returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himselfe a Capitaine, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in foraging that Country, was slaine by *Hanno* ; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum* ; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing over that helpe out of *Macedon*, so which his *Carthaginians* hazarded to fend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to passe : and being loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to prevaile by intelligence ; He contented himselfe with taking in some poore Townes of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Phileas*, that was of their conspiracy, who lay at *Rome* as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, and such as had the keeping of them, conveyed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his company the next day were so closely pursued, that all of them were taken, and brought backe to *Rome*, where they suffered death as traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, so they followed their business the more diligently ; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent againe to *Hannibal* : and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chiefe among them, used much to goe forth of the Towne on hunting by night ; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or never they missed of their game : for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seeme to have been abroad upon other occasion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three dayes journey to *Tarentum*, if he should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place so the lesse to be suspected : as also to make his enemies the more secure. Hee caused it to be given out, that he was sicke. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were growne careless of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their business in order ; He tooke with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot ; and long before breake of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourescore light horse of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare lest he, and his troupe following him, should be discovered. It had beene often the manner of some few *Numidian* horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged ; and gave order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to stripe them of their booty, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night ; *Hannibal* guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the towne : where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to shew his arrivall, *Nico*, that was within the Town, answered him with another light, in signe that he was ready. Presently *Nico* beganne to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another Gate : and whistling (as was his manner) called up the Porter ; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heavie, that scarce two men could stand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket : and forthwith

forthwith entered two young men, loaden with the Bore ; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondering at the largeness of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-speare : and letting in some thirty armed men, fell upon all the Watch ; whom when he had slaine, he entered the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal* entering *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an uproare : but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskillfully sounded by a *Greek* in the Theater : which helped the suspicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to spoyle the Towne ; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port : and taking boate, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Haven ; whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal* assembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them ; inveighed bitterly against the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppressors ; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done, and having gotten such spoyle as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, he addressed himselfe against the Citadell ; hoping that if the Garrison would fall out, he might give them such a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery falling forth, gave charge upon his men : who fell backe of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a signe to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpose : and fiercely setting upon the Enemy, drave him backe with great slaughter, as fast as he could runne ; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood upon a Demi-land, that was plaine ground ; and fortified onely with a Ditch and Wall against the Towne, whereunto it was joyned by a cawsey. This cawsey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell ; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his helpe, to keep themselves from all danger thence. His worke in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Piece it selfe, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilst he was busied in his works, there came by sea a strong supply from *Metapontum* : which took away all hope of prevailing ; and made him returne to his former counsell. Now so farre as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not passe forth, whilst the *Romans* held the Citadell : it seemed likely that the Towne would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea : whilst the *Roman* garrison by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, it was rather wished by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven ; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done : for that their Town standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the sea without. This he undertook, and effected : whereby the *Roman* garrison was reduced into great necessity ; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required.

Thus with mutuall losse on both sides, the time passed : and the *Roman* forces, growing daily stronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and hastie growth from that want of men, and of all necessities, whereinto the losse at *Canna* had reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, they were faine to take up young Boyes, that were under seventeen yeares of age : and to send Commissioners above fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare serviceable, and pressing them to the Wars ; making yet a Law, That their yeares of service, whereinto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had been of lawfull age.

Before

Before the *Roman* Army drew neare, the *Campani* felt great want of victuall, as if they had already bene besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoyle, which the *Romans* had in fore-going yeares made upon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadors to *Hannibal*, desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to be shortly. Hee gave them comfortable words, and sent *Hanno* with an Army to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be ready with all manner of carriages, to store themselves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of graine, that had bene laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Campe, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few packe-horses, as if this had bene enough to victuall *Capua*. Such was the retchlesse of the *Campani*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts, since hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; against which he made provision to store them thoroughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the *Roman* Consuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needfull for the service, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemy. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make provisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carts and other Varies, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their Campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set upon a great harvest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves to assault the Enemies Campe: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that he was there with the first breake of day. By coming so unexpected, he had well neare forced the Campe on the sudden. But it was very strong, and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the lesse desire had *Fulvius* to lose more of his men the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul, with the rest of their Army; and to lye betwene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campani* should depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus discoursing, and about to sound the retreat; he saw that some of his men had gotten over the Enemies Rampart. There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the Souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unlesse they would indure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Fear of such ignominy, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers adventure so desperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and encouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Campe was wonne: in which were slaine above fixe thousand; and taken above seven thousand, besides all the store of victualls, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Consuls, made them of *Capua* send a pitifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the love that he was wont to protest unto their Citie; and how he had made shew to affect it no lesse than *Carthage*. But now, they said it would be lost, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoyle, whilst he himselfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many Townes adjoining, to yeeld unto him. Among the Hostages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Easterne part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Græcia*. These people took to heart the death of their hostages; and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as soon as the *Roman* garrison was taken from them to defend the Citadell of *Tarentum*, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurini* would have done the like, upon the like reason, had not some Companies lye in their Towne;

Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to Master. Nevertheless, they helped themselves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neare at hand: against whom whilst they proffered their service to *Atinius* the *Roman* Capitaine, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, closed up their gates. A little formality they used in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should break in together with the *Romans*, in saving *Atinius* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they should yeeld to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this disposition lasted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, easily prevailed in the rest; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilst the Consuls fortifying *Beneventum* to secure their backs, addressed themselves to the siege of *Capua*.

Many disasters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of Warre, that had of late been twice Consul, was slaine, either by treachery of some *Lucans*, that drew him into ambush, or by some *Carthaginian* stragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himselfe, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to secure the backe of the Army that should besiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that businesse. The Volones or Slaves lately manumitted, forsooke their Ensignes, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seek them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheless, the Consuls went forward with their work, & drawing neare to *Capua*, did all acts of hostility which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were lost. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better; in somuch, that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went severall wayes: *Fulvius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compasse about, and returned to *Capua*. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Cæcilius Penula*, a stout man, & one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of wonders which he would work, if he might be trusted with the leading of five thousand men. The Fathers were unwilling in such a time, to reject the virtue of any good Souldier, how meane soever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thousand: and hee himselfe being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gave proofe of the difference betwene a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellows were all (in a manner) slaine, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Pretor with eighteen thousand men was in *Apulia*, very carelesse, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore hee hastened to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of *Rome*, which pointed at *Capua*, when he should have cut off those forces, that lay in the Provinces about, under men of small ability. Coming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battell to *Fulvius*, he soone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape alive; leaving all, save two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blowes, received the one presently after the other, much astonished the *Romans*. Nevertheless, all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of *Capua*: which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sat downe before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from *Suessula*, to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoever would issue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, should

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have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged : which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed up, they sent messengers to the *Carthaginians*; which found him at *Brundisium*. He had made a long journey, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brundisium*, upon advertisement that he should be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them consider, how a few daies since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither againe, and send the *Romans* going as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almost intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendship, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leisure to do what he thought requisite among the *Tarentines*, and in those Easterne parts of *Italy*; whilst the *Roman* Army spent it selfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingered, and thereby gave the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at *Capua*, and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in *Rome*; whilst he himselfe pursued hopes that never found successe.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at *Capua*, retaining the same Armies as Proconsuls. The Town-men often sallied out; rather in a bravery, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the *Campan* horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the *Romans* used to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skirmish. In these exercises the *Campan* usually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy; who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore devised, that some active and courageous young men should learne to ride behind the *Roman* men at armes; leaping up, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the *Velites*, having each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thick upon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kinde of service, they much disheartened in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the same time the *Capuans* issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could devise: setting all their multitude of unservicable people on the walls, which with a loud noyse of Pans and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himselfe to the *Campan*s, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nevertheless, in pursuing them to their gates, He received a wound that accompanied him in short space after to his grave. *Quintus Fulvius* was held harder to his taske by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* camp was even at point to have bin lost; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slain upon it, fell into the ditch; & filled it up in such sort, that their bodies served as a bridge unto the Assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitives that could speak Latine well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Consuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should thrust for himselfe, and flie betimes unto the next hills, forasmuch as the Campe was already lost. But all would not serve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched it selfe, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchase of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it selfe: and now his desire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadell, had well-near lost *Capua*; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have bin much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater use: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, even to set upon *Rome*; and carry to the Wallies of that proud City, the danger of Warre that threatened *Capua*. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one

one of them at least, unto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campan*s, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despair, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His onely feare was, left the *Campan*s, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to *Capua* by a subtle *Numidian*: who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveyed himselfe thence over the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good successe resting in the suddenesse of his arrivall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to have in a readinesse ten daies victuals; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night transport his Army over the River *Fulturnus*. This could not be done so closely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by some fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diversity of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counsell to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places else, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondered how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, should judge himselfe strong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serve the turn well enough, to keep him out, and send him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* & *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in *Rome*: who, since they knew best what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these Generals at *Capua*, to doe as they thought behoovefull: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Quintus Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Army: with which he hastened toward *Rome*, leaving *Appius Claudius*, who could not travell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at *Capua*.

Hannibal having passed over *Fulturnus*, burnt up all his boates; and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hastened he away toward *Rome*, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken downe by the people of *Fregelle*: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grievously to spoyle their lands, whilst the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waste he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Country, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the City; some few bringing true advertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets and Temples in *Rome* were pestered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Assembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being uncertaine, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came newes that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was hastning to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by coming into the City in time of such need, an Act was passed, That hee should have equall power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one soone after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in passing over *Fulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Country was able to give. The Consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; so took they more careful and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne; whence he advanced with two thousand horse,

and rode along a great way under the Wall, viewing the fire thereof, and considering how he might best approach it. But either went, or (as the *Roman* Story saith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had shifted side, and fallen (upon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were some twelve hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the Consuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Colina*, where it was thought that their service might be usefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred such mistaking, as caused a great uproare among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken; and the Enemy gotten within the Walls. The noyse was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of cartell, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoining, that the passage was stoped up: and the poore *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the house toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gares, had it not bene certaine who lay under the Wall. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, That all which had bene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should have authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following *Hannibal* passed over *Anien*, and presented battle to the *Romans*, who did not wisely if they undertooke it. It is said, that a terrible shewre of raine, caused both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to returne into their severall Camps: and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as soon as they were departed asunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes provision, could not indure to stay there, until his victuals were all spent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parred (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great soever it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time the supply appointed for *Spain*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was sent out of the Town, & went forth at the gate, whilst one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Punick* terrours, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they wist not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish uproare in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell who had sent the Asse into the Camp. But in this present example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no lesse, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seeme to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was sold in *Rome*: and sold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bin in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made sport-sale of the Silver-smiths shoppes, which were neare about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the houses within the Towne were no white worke, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he sold his Tent. But this counter-practise was nothing worth. The *Romans* did seek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make shew of contriving in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed unto himselfe, this journey had brought forth none other, than the same of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake up his Campe: and doing what

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spoil he could of the *Roman* Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest over the Country, and ran toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the Citie of *Rhegium* before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for *Capua*, he gave it lost: and is likely to have cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieve that faire City, since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

Q. Fulvius returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that who so would yeeld, before a certain day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to understand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his owne evil defects, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Boissar*, Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garrison within the Towne, that *Hannibal* should come againe; if means could only be found, how to convey such Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by some *Numidians*: who running as fugitives, out of the Towne into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packers. But it hapned ere they could convey themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Boissar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreaty unto *Hannibal*, that hee would not thus forsake the *Capuans* and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make Warre against *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but against the *Romans*: whose Legions, wheresoever they lye, there also should the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, have we gotten those victories at *Trebia*, *Thesamene*, and *Canna*. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising to make a desperate sally, if he would once more adventure to set upon the *Roman* Campe. Such were the hopes of *Boissar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now beganne to faint under the burden of that Warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. It may well bee, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in *Capua*, had bin sent over by the *Hannibals*, to observe the doings of *Hannibal*, and to checke his proceedings. If this were so, justly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the *Roman* Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, as carried such messages, whipt them back into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the *Capuans*, so that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble and consult, about the yeelding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The bravest of the Senators, and such as a few years since, had bene most forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, understood well enough wherunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them such an health, as should fet them free from that cruel revenge, which the Enemies sought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking poyson. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; whereat a *Roman* Legion, with some other Companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* camp. At their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons upon them all; and commanding them to tell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custodie; some to *Caler*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall multitude, they were referred unto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly used by *Fulvius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought unto the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the *Capuans*; as having loved them well in former times, & having given his daughter in marriage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we spake before. But this facility

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of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more basty in taking vengeance: for feare, lest upon the like respects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoove to fall to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the paines to ride by night unto *Thebanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he caused all the *Campans* prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all townes of *Italy* the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campans*: and bred a general inclination, to returne upon good conditions to the *Roman* side. The *Astellans*, *Galatines* and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made also now the like submission, for very feare and want of ability to resist. They were therefore used with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*: who dealt so exactly with them all, that he brought them unto desperation. Wherefore some of their yong gentlemen, burning with fire of revenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to set on fire so many houses, that a great part of the city was like to have bin consumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave, and other sufficient reward casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave, and other sufficient reward casualty. Thus all came out; to any free man, that should discover who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a slave of their owne (to whom, above his liberty promised, was given about the sum of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their deserts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incensed against this wretched people, held them in a manner as prisoners within their Walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become Suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that some period might be set unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had beene an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children sold for slaves; and their goods confiscated; others laid in prison, and referred to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certaine day, and confined unto severall places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the towne of *Capua*, it was suffered to stand, in regard of the beaurty and commodious site: but no corporation or forme of politie was allowed to be therein; onely a *Roman* Provost was every year sent to govern over those that should inhabit it; and to doe justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great losses in the present war. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dim light than before: his oyle being farre spent; and that which should have revived his flame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

§. XV.

How the *Carthaginians*, making a party in *Sardinia* and *Sicil*, held War against the *Romans* 40
in those Islands, and were overcome.

W Hile things passed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raised in *Sardinia* & *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* & their friends, were brought to a quiet & happy end by the industrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and sudden: above thirty thousand being up in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to suppress it. One *Harficor* with his son *Hyofius*, mighty men in that Island, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promised the assistance of his country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of their maine undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had beene better if their care had been directed unto the prosecution of that maine business in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have sufficed, if they could have hindered the *Romans* from sending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harficor* with his followers might well enough have served to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor: who lay sicke in the Province; and not more weak in his owne body, than in his traine. But whilest they sought revenge of that particular injurie, whereof the sense was most grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiring those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enter-

enterprise was such, as may seeme to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent over *Asdrubal*, furnished the *Bald*, with a competent fleet and Armie; assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barbine* house, and neerer kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet, by extremity of foule weather, was cast upon the *Baleares*; so beaten, and in such evil plight, that the *Sardinians* had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from *Rome* with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Island, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the *Romans*, to preserve and up-hold in their severall Provinces, the greatness and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had beene first subdued unto their Empire. If any injurie were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatsoever accident required the assistance of a Patron; the first Conquerour, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved meanes, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very sure intelligence, in every Province, and had always in readinesse fit men to reclaim their Subjects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise have required a greater charge and trouble. The coming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harficor* so strong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we have spoken before: he landed at *Calariis*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ships, he passed up into the Countrey, and fought out the Enemy. *Hyofius*, the sonne of *Harficor*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their side. This young gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battell to the *Romans* at his owne discretion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom he received a terrible overthrow; and lost in one day above thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hyofius* himselfe, with the rest of his broken troups, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soon after this defeat came *Asdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to winne all *Sardinia* in such haste as he might have done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage: yet soone enough, and strong enough to save the Towne of *Cornus*; and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himselfe backe to *Calariis*: where he had not stayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (such of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his assistance; their Countrey being wasted by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to joyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calariis*: where, if he had stayed a little longer, *Asdrubal* would have fought him out with some blemish to his reputation. But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company, appears to have bin greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in a few skirmishes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazzard of a battell; wherein he slew twelve thousand of the enemies; and tooke of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thousand. Four hours the battell lasted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had beene broken in their unprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hyofius*, and of his father *Harficor*, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captivity of *Asdrubal* himselfe, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into *Cornus*; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space won the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*, and yielded unto the *Romans*; who, imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best suited with the nature of their severall offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calariis* with a great booty, & from thence to *Rome*, leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicil* was of greater length, and every way more burdnesome to *Rome*: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not onely saviors of their owne, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Countrey, by annexing the City and dominion of *Syracuse*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after

after the battell of *Canna*, the old King of *Syracuse* died; who had continued long a steadfast friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this present warre. He left his kingdom to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteen yeeres of age; *Gelo* his sonne, that should have bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his successour, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themistius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest were such, as he judged most likely to preserve the kingdom, by the same art, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing wearie of so many coadjutors, began to commend the sufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and said, that he was able to rule the kingdom without help of any Protector. Thus, by giving over his owne charge, he caused others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to passe, in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of government, gave himselfe wholly over to his pleasures: or, if he had any regard of his Royall dignity, it was onely in matter of exterior shew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never seene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more he offended them, when by his insolent behaviour, suitable to his outward pompe, he gave proofe, that in course of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. He grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to avoid the danger of his displeasure, that seemed worse than death it selfe. Onely *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraso* continued in grace with him, and were his Counsellors, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoever they agreed in other points, were at some dissention about the maine point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thraso*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whilest as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull which way the King would incline, a conspiracie against his person was detected by a Groom of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confessed, that he had bene set on by *Thraso*; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were necere in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the streets, and never shrunke for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all escaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when *Thraso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolved upon siding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Masters of themselves, love to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great needesse, had of late been such, as might have been termed excessive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he tooke order for his owne Estate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things present; the weaknesse of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vaine, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a banished *Syracusan*. These grew into such favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when *App. Claudius* the Roman Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betwene the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuse*; his Messengers were disinified with an open scoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Canna*; that he might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe; saying, that he could hardly believe the *Carthaginians*;

so wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Having thus disinified the *Romans*, he sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he should reigne over all *Sicily*; and the *Carthaginians* rest satisfied with what they could get in *Italie*. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertaine more quarrels, than were enforced upon them by needesse; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had received such blemish, by that which hapned unto him in his journey, as much discountenanced him when he came into *Sicily*, and forbade him to looke bigger. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their needesse, this *Appius* was to tarry backe unto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater braverie than their present fortune would allow. But instead of returning the money with thanks, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noised abroad that he should doe: the warre against *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have spoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aside their vaine glory, and send word after him, that he should consign that money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwise wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the Roman magnanimitie, into such a pitifull tune of thanksgiving, as must needs have bred forrow and commiseration in so true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilest *Hieronymus* was more desirous of war, than well resolved how to begin it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innovation in the state of *Syracuse*; which thereby might have prospered more than ever, had it been wisely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Countrie with two thousand men, to sollicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteen thousand horse and foot, went to *Leontium*, a City of his owne Dominion: hoping that the same of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept him for Sovereigne. There the Conspirators took him on the sudden, as he was passing through a narrow street: and rushing betwene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the sound of that word so joyfully answered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Masters death. Yet, for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Armie, as in detestation of his bad life, suffered his carcasse to lie unburied. These newes ranne quickly to *Syracuse*: whither some of the Conspirators, taking also of the Kings horses, posted away; to signifye all that had passed, to stirre up the people to libertie, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellows would make offer to usurpe a tyranny. The *Syracusians* hereupon presently tooke Armes, and made themselves masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other side fortified the Palace and the Island; being yet uncertaine what to doe: between desire of making himselfe a soveraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment as a Tyrant, if his enterprize mis-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that well-knowne Proverbe, which *Dionysius* had used; *That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till he were baled out of it by the beeles, and not ride away from it on horse-backe*. But feare, and better counsell, prevailed so farre, that *Andronodorus*, having slept upon the matter, disinified his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a speech unto the people; telling them, that he was glad to see, how prudently they behaved themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, lest they would not have contained themselves within the bounds of discretion; but rather have sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to ravish their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendered up the charge committed unto him, by one that had bin an

evil

evill master both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors chosen (as in former times) to governe the Citie, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Sovereignie, and so vehement were the infligations of his wife, that shortly he began to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himselfe strong by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had bene with the *Syracusian* Prætors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they according to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilst he lived, what service they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed; and with a convoy, that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and set them safe at *Locri*. This was easily granted; both for that the *Syracusian* Magistrates were well contented to earne thanks of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtisie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good fouldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two *Sicilians*, to be gone so hastily as they made shew; they were more mindfull of the businesse for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselves into the bosomes of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the *Roman* fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the *Romans* and *Syracusians* were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entering into the Senate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the evill which they had done, whilst *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in seeking to usurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessory to this dangerous treason: and that the unquiet spirits of these women would never cease to work, untill they had recovered those royall ornaments and Sovereigne power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were also condemned to die, and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserved this heave sentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sofippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hastie execution of this rash judgement. Her husband *Sofippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that respect loathed by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassador to King *Ptolomie*, &c. he durst not returne home, but stayed in *Egypt* as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude, that (pardonning themselves) all cried out upon the Authors of so foule a butcherie. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Citizens; but of fouldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall crieforded them to be accepted. These being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betwene the *Syracusians* and the *Romans*. But having striven in vaine, and seeing that the people stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicily*; they gave way unto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be reconfirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practise. The *Leontines* had some need of a garrison; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by such fugitives, and mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to *Syracuse*. Thither when he came, he began to doe many acts of hostility against the *Romans*: first in secret, afterward more openly & boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word unto the *Syracusians*, that they had already broken the

the league; and that the peace would never be kept sincerely, untill this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicides*, fearing to sustain the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe unto the *Leontines*, whom he perswaded to rebell against the *Syracusians*. For he said, that since they had all of late served one Master, there was little reason why the *Leontines* should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the *Syracusians*; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streets the Tyrant was slaine, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of *Syracuse* were not contented to enjoy the freedome purchased among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reason, that they should beare Dominion over those that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that such their arrogance should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracusians*. For it was agreed, That all which had bene subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, should henceforth be Vassals unto the State of *Syracuse*. Against this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicides* told them, that in this novelty of change, they had fit opportunitie to recover the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it unreasonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had bene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the *Syracusians*. But seeing they had long since yielded unto *Syracuse*, and bene subject unto that Citie, by what forme soever it was governed; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable, than just. Nevertheless, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inso much that when messengers came soone after from *Syracuse*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done against the *Romans*, and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they should get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in *Sicily*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requested the *Syracusians*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracusians*; who offered him their assistance in doing justice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with took the businesse in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault *Leontium* was taken, all save the Castle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and stealing thence away by night, conveyed themselves into the towne of *Herbesius*. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other *Roman* Captains used after victorie, to seek out the fugitive *Roman* slaves and renegado's, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Towns-men and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy, forbearing also to strip or spoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrarie sort. It was said, that he had slaine Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Towne to sacke. These newes met the *Syracusian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joine with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had bene sent forth of *Syracuse*, under *Sofis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Prætors, to serve against the *Leontines* and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Country: but the Souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had bene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it best, to turne their unquiet thoughts another way, and set them to worke in some place else: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their service. So towards *Herbesius* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischief, devising what further harme they might doe; but now so weakly accompanied, that they seemed unable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little lesse desperate than their present case. They issued forth of *Herbesius* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Cree* were in the vanguard; that

that had bene well used by *Hieronymus*, and some of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the *Italian* warre, and lovingly dismissed them. These *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare, saying, That no man should doe them harme, as long as they could use their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by severity, which would not serve. For when they commanded these two traitors to be layd in Irons, the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, uncertaine what course to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* devised a trick, whereby to help himselfe, and better the uncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused Letters, of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie *Cretians*, directed (as they made shew) from the *Syracusan* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the *Leontines*: but that it further behoved him, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuse*; which were offensive, all of them in generall, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed, the uproare was such, that *Sofis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forsake the Campe, and flie for their lives. All the *Syracusians* remaining behinde, had bene cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the sedition had not saved their lives; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischievous knave, that had served amongst the *Leontines*, to justifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the newes to *Syracuse*, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not onely the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (said some) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like sort gotten into *Syracuse*, would have dealt much worse, where their greedy appetites might have bene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discourting, and devising how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unlesse for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faine have kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong fury of those within the Town, that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers untill night. The next day hee went openly to worke: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all slaves and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuse*.

When *Marcellus* was advertised of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadors to *Syracuse*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he neere with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Town, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpose to doe hurt, but in favour of the *Syracusians*, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, that if their errand had bene to him, he could have told what to say to them: but since it was directed unto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the government in their hands. As for the warre which they threatened, he told them, they should finde by experience, That to besiege *Syracuse* was another manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus hee sent them gone; and returned backe into the Citie. Immediately began the siege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quick and easie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of wals as compassed *Syracuse*, being manned

with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terror in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Nevertheless all his labour was disappointed; & his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hastie victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes*, the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of Warre, as being in this extremity put in use, did more mischiefe to the *Romans* than could have bene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age bene knowne. This *Archimedes* discounting once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proofe of this bold assertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to convert his studie unto things of use: that might preserve the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberal Sciences, to submitt learned Propositions, unto the workmanship, and gaine, of base handi-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians; that seemed unto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly taske a man so wise *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularity in his reprehension. For it hath bene the unhappy fate of great inventions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames before they were published: and being once made knowne, to be under-valued; as falling within compass of the meanest wit; and things, that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discoverie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he underwent before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proofe. He that looks upon our *English Brewers*, and their Servants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of *Malt*, was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the lesse, for that the labour of workmanship growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may bee said of many handi-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being devised, and bettered, by great Scholars and wisemen, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily over, and feede their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others that have, or would seeme to have any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good unto mankind; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of injustice, that the long travells of an understanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth; yeeld lesse benefit unto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Envie have in it any thing allowable and naturall, as having Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and serveth against those, which would usurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to induethem. Nevertheless, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to beare unto the generality of mankind, after the example of him that suffereth his Summe to shine upon the just, and unjust: it will appeare more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the world, those good things that lye buried in their owne bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning; that may bee perverted by evil men to a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare *Anidote*, contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison: much better it were, that such a jewell remaine close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common, binde all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiefe. But the workes which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, serving unto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusians* to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to use them; but reserved so much to his owne

direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done especiall benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wal. Against these *Archimedes* had sundrie devices; of which any one fort might have repelled the assailants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He shot heavey stones & long pieces of timber, like unto the yards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the wals, lay open to a continuall volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoysted up, shaking out all the men, and afterwards falling downe into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted up into the ayre, where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast upon the rocks: and all of them were so beaten that they durst never come to any second assault. In the like fort was the Land armie handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like haile, did not onely over-whelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engines of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the assault. For remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get neere unto the walls; they should be (as it were) under the point blanke, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woond up hard to shoot a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the assailants lives: For the shot came downe right upon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrefie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare, against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood upon the wals, subject to firing, or any such annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by some device, to make them unserviceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streetes behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of victuals, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate peece of worke. For the enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so soone to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admiral of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicily*, being by *Hippocrates* advertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage* and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make warre upon the *Romans* in *Sicily* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld unto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He tooke *Pelorum* and *Herbesus*, which yeelded unto him. He tooke also *Megara* by force and fact: it either to terrefie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Army must have somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to have saved *Agriumentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backe toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuse* unto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse,

horse, intending to joyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victorie against the disperfed and halfe unarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne over all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battaile to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilear* also a *Carthaginian*, entered with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuse*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed to againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arrived at *Marcellus* his Campe: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betrayed the *Roman* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that hee might not seeme to have given over the siege, went unto *Leonium*, where he lay intente to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turn all his forces to *Agriumentum* against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as unable to prevaile: & he himselfe was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feisible, an enterprize that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; & no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially he assaied to prevaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Campe; exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the City. This was not easie for them to doe, because the Towne would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where hee talked in private with some few, as hee had beene instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators used to send him advertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of foure score, and thought themselves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damaspippus* a *Lacedaemonian*, that had been sent out of the Towne as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransom him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romans* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometric, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, judged it lesse than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevaile by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surpris. But a fugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to last three daies: and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunity could not bee wished. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Festivall night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scaloda*. *Syracuse* was divided into foure parts (or five, if *Eppole* were reckoned as one) each 10 of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of bootie; and better opportunity than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradinia* & the Island, inner parts of the Town, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto composition, as being much terrefied by the losse of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sacked. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, unto those that were sheltered under strong houses: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurnished of his helpe; since they held out a good while, and were not taken

by force. The *Roman* fugitives and *Renegado's*, were more carefull than ever to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could prevaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; & *Bomilcar* was lent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* sallied out of *Acradina* who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whilst *Epicides* sallied out of *Acradina* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Nevertheless, they continued to beset the Towne. But the pestilence at ner as streightly besieged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to doe his Countre service: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better serve the enemy than him. Thither sailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, he stood off into the deepe; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agigentum*: where he expected the issue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as neere as they could safely, unto *Marcellus*, and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicil* was given as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave care: for he had staid there long enough; and had cause to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoying their liberty and proper lawes; yet suffering the *Romans* to possess whatsoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Prætors chosen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercenarie Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themselves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke Armes, and fell upon the new chosen Prætors; whom they slew, and made election of fixe Captaines that should command over all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting onely the fugitives. The Treatie was therefore againe set on foote, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delayed; either by some feare of the Citizens, that *Agigentum* had seene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* avarice in the sack of *Epiro*, *Tybe*, & *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might use the liberty of a Conqueror, & make it wholly subject to *Rome*.

Merim a Spaniard was one of the fixe Captaines, that had been chosen in the last commotion: a man of such faith, as usually is found in Mercenaries; holding his owne particular benefit above all other respects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Romane* Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftie Agent perswaded *Merim*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spaine*: and that if ever he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where else; it was now the onely time to do it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By such hopes the Spanishe Captaine was easily won, and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusan* Embassadors to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards thoroughly approved at his coming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had bene such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countre: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister

unto the people of *Rome*, advantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired fouldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld unto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had bene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themselves had also bene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the *Rafcalie*, and some ill advised persons, joyned with the fouldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*; and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne City which was taken? Ought therefore the *Romane* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargain under-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against *Marcellus*, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, & promise of good usage in time to come; than to restore the booty, and give over the Dominion of a City, so great, wealthy, strong, and many ways important. Nevertheless if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefs whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious, both by evil neighbours, and by that very forme of policie, after which it was governed: wee may truly affirme, That it received no small benefit, by becoming subject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not onely assured against all forraigne enemies, domestickall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of olde had reigned therein: but freed from the necessitie of banishing, or murdering, the most worthy Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, wherein they held their liberty in vaine. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was thoroughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injustice the more excusable: unless we should approve the answer of that Thiefe, who being found to have stolen a silver cup from a sicke man, said, *Hee never leaves drinking*.

By the treatie of *Merim*, the *Roman* Armie was let into possession of all *Syracuse*: wherein, the booty that it found, was said to have bin no lesse, than could be hoped for; if they had taken *Carthage* it selfe; that maintained war by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was marvellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched; save onely the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himselfe. He was so busie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures; that he harkened not to the noyse, and uprore in the City; nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heavily the death of him; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere; with an inscription of the proportion betwene them; which he first found out. An Invention of so little use, as this may seeme, pleased that great Artist better, than the devising of all those engines; that made him so famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men; and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would thinke the monie lost; that had bin spent upon a sonne, whose studies in the Univerfity had brought forth such fruit; as the proportion betwene a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Townes in *Sicil* yeelded unto the *Romans*, except *Agigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, & *Mutines* an African, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good peeces of service, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and whichall made his owne name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne; and not behave themselves as men expecting to bee besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set upon the *Romanes*; where they lay encamped, and drove them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred envie in *Epicides* & *Hanno*; especially in *Hanno*, that

that having beene lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had sent unto him this *Muines*, to be his Companion, & to take upon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignity seemed the greater, when *Muines* being to step aside unto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; advised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemy, untill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: & offered battell unto *Marcellus*, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoever disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the odds betweene the Capraines. For howsoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious envie of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a foolish desire to get victory, without the helpe of *Muines* their Countreiman. Wherefore they sent unto the *Roman* General, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but only looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did lustily set upon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, drove them backe into *Aggrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of Warre than himselfe; and not have hazzarded a battell without need; the *Romans* would shortly have beene reduced into termes of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leave the Province; and loone upon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Canna*, tooke it very haينously, that no good service done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, and not suffered to returne back to *Rome* with their Generall. *Muines* had pacified his countreimen the *Numidians*; & like an honest man, did what he could for those whom he served, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have beene, if the Army lately overthrowne had beene entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, used all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered those In-land Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Muines* from over-running all the Countrey; yet he hindered the Countrey from revoking unto *Muines*. Above three score Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*: of which *Aggrigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Muines* as often as hee pleased, in despite of the *Romanes*: not onely to the succour of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good services, was filled more and more with envie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilst *Italy* was neglected; that should have beene regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Muines* his charge, and gave it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed; as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this spitefull dealing occasioned the losse of whatsoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Countreiman, being such a brave Commander, that they offered him their service to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, the *Roman* Consul, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Muines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these

these indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his own game, and forsake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the evil counsell that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Countreimen had lately done, content himselfe to see his Adversaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious over-weening; and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them to deliver up *Aggrigentum*, and to helpe to expell them utterly out of *Sicily*. The Consull was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Muines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize upon a gate; whereas they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noise, thought it had beene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Muines*, forthwith he betooke himselfe to flight: and saving himselfe, with *Epicides*, in a small Barke, set saile for *Africke*; leaving all his Army and Adherents in *Sicily*, to the mercie of the *Romans*; that henceforward continued matters of the whole Iland.

Levinus the Consul having taken *Aggrigentum*, did sharpe execution of justice upon all the Citizens. The principall of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the maner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the money that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessity of gold, than of Steele: which may have been the reason, why *Levinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Aggrigentines*. Nevertheless the fame of such severity bred a terroure among all the Dependents of the *Carthaginians*, so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About forty Townes yielded themselves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treason; and fixe onely stayed to be wonne by force. These things done, *Levinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about foure thousand men from *Agatirna*; that were a company of out-laws, bankrouns, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoile of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exercise their own occupation against the *Brutians*; a theevish kinde of people, that were enemies unto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Muines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipios* in their journey against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall service. So by this enterprize of *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have beene employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the *Romans* and *Hannibal* in *Italy*, from the taking of *Capua* to the great victory at *Metawrum*.

Shortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good services done in the Iland of *Sicily*, he had granted unto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because hee had not finished the warre, but was faine to leave his Army behinde him in the Province. He staid not long in *Rome*, before he was againe chosen Consull together with *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, who succeeded him in the government of *Sicily*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consull *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusan*s, for that which he had done unto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome* than to all good men that lived in *Syracuse*. The Consull, on the other side, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to becomae themselves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessity; and not unto

the Romans whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controversie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath bene shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lavinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicil*. The Isle of *Sicil* fell unto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Collegue; so to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet bene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindred by feare, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his businesse with them was dispatcht, he gently undertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countrey in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicil*, whose doings there have been already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the war, and most of all, with getting Mariners for their Navie. They were all of the poorer sort, that used to be employed in Sea-services, especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasure to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should bee let out at the expence of private men; who in this necessity of the State, were driven to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition, had not the Consuls deferred the matter unto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could undergoe; and somewhat more, than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was impossible to maintaine the war against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasure was so empty, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no persuasions would be so effectual with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasure, all the money that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoever; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as every one did use, and those of as small value as might be. This advice of the Consuls was not more thankefully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonalty refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publike necessity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wracke, in vaine could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deserved well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City against *Hannibal*; & *Lavinus* toward *Sicil*. The army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke upon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakened, by the losse of *Capua*: which gave them cause to looke unto themselves; as if in his helpe there were little trust to be repowed, when they should stand in neede. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his Armie, that he should not be able to keepe the field: or else he must leave them to their owne fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealousie grew so outrageous, that he sacked, and wasted those places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause

to doubt. The Towne of *Salapia* yielded unto *Marcellus*; and betrayed unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that served under *Hannibal*; which was a greater losse, than the Town it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dafus*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dafus* in private; and was by him accused unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convicted and charged of Treason, hee so stoutly denied it; and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter devised out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his adversarie anew, and urge him from time to time, with such lively reasons; that he who could not be beleevd by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul took by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Sammies*; wherein he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch advantages, where he might get them; the Romans now being growne stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themselves with ill speede in many petty enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow businesse of far lesse importance; had now at length resolved, to send presently the great supply, that had bene so long promised & expected. This if they had done in better season; *Rome* it selfe might have beene stricken down, the next year after that great blow received at *Canna*. But since that which is past cannot bee amended; *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty succour would come time enough. For *Masaniissa* was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidians*, ready to set saile for *Spain*; whither when he came, it was appointed that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his journey into *Italy*, of which there had bene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* & his followers, than terrifie the Romans. Wherefore each did their best; the Romans to prevent the threatening mischief, and winne as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the coming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his owne, and weaken the Romans as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a Roman Prator, lay neere unto *Herdonea* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, since neere unto the same place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had lost his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; & came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the Roman Prator; who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The Roman Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himselfe, with twelve Tribunes or Coronels, were lost: of the common Souldiers, that were slaine, the number is uncertaine; some reporting seven, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of *Herdonea*, because it was at point to have yielded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire; and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: & exhorted them to be of a good cheere; for that hee would shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numistro* in the Countrey of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, lasted untill night; & ended, by reason of the darkenes, with uncertaine victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Fennsia* they met, & had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and fought to bring the enemy within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, untill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the Romans affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yeere to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good City would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Collegue, and *Masaniissa*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served under him the yeer before) to presse the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might have no leisure to helpe

Tarentum. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannusum*, and thence from place to place: desiring ever to come to battaile, but upon equall termes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemy with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Army strong untill the coming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not avoide the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brooke the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be lusty, and to beat foundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captaine, that would never suffer them to be at quiet; untill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory: tooke fixe Ensignes, 10 & slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rared his men, as *Pesants*, and bafe cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any stratageme. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, he did so vex them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall; they besought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies foremost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their 20 shamefull overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight againe; since all other motives continued the same, and his men had beene hartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred up with desire of revenge, & of repairing their honor lost, which afflictions gave a sharpe edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slaine, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, 30 than even to recompence the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Nevertheless: it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consull hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Consull, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volscians*, that willingly yellected themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving sort; gently rebuking them for their errors past, without punishing those that had beene authours, or busie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* thieves, which *Levinus* had lately brought from *Agaturna*, was then also set on worke to besiege *Caulonia*, a Towne of the *Brutians*; 40 and nothing was omitted, that might serve to divert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consull, having taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, sate downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whose brother served under *Fabius*. Hereof, she gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Consull acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Brutian* were farre in love, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Mistis, to doe what he would have him. The Consull hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his souldier to convey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne persuasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister, wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the businesse, and resolved how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consull with his proceedings: telling him in which part 48 that

that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Capitaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get up, and brake open the next gate, whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapeneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democritus*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, 10 used now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Caribalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well used, because of hospitalitie that had passed between his Father and the Consull. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have beene made by appointment of the Consull, to the end that he might seeme to have wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* 20 was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasurie, which it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, becuing very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell upon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his coming: but he was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yellected. When this businesse was done, he 30 hasted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieved him: yet he said no more than this, The *Romans* have also their *Hannibal*; we have lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne backe amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Consull; he incamped a few dayes together, so neere as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same Citie; who did their errand so well, that the Consull wrote backe by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrefied the superstitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatened with torture, they discovered all.

This yeere was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got every where, save onely at *Caulonia*; where they lost a company of such lewd fellows, that it may seeme good fortune, to have so been rid of them. But their common poverty, & disability to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was considered; that the Legions of *Cannae*, and those unhappy Companies that had beene beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were transported into *Sicily*; where they lived, in a sort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money: in every of which yeeres they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes 48

homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should be all confined: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones never returned. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicily*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelve, That they should boldly deny unto the *Romans* their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Townes make such declaration, and protest their disability of giving any farther helpe; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadors to returne home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campians* or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serve: the Embassadors continuing to protest; that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other twelven Colonies did not imitate these twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergoe whatsoever should be layed upon them, without shrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commendation of all their former good services, this their present love unto the State was magnified, and thanks accordingly bestowed upon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute, it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their owne consideration of their illbehaving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were so willing to help the State, if *Asdrubal* had been then coming into *Italy*. For then must the *Romans* have beraken themselves wholly to their owne defence: whereas now, to the great comfort of their subjects, they employed their forces in the conquest of *Italy*, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Nevertheless, they were faine to open their most privet treasure; and thence take out the gold that had beene layed up to serve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Consul, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spain* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before: But to stop the journey of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spain*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Nevertheless it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this yeere, and the next were spent, before his coming; and they better prepared, than at lesse warning they could have beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessity of money, were driven to furnish the *African* *Spain*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was farre lesse than *Fame* had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoever *Livie* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soon after his arrivall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, & *T. Quintus Crispinus*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*: In their yeere it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his journey out of *Spain*, though he came not into *Italy* until the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cannæ* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haven, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come. But since his hope was vanisshed, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later than had bene expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deale with the people of *Herraria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein he might make a partie against the *Romans*. The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, & many other Townes, might have terrified all other of the *Italian* Townes, from barking

to any solicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, & the weariness of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army coming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did embolden many of the *Hetrurians*, especially the *Arretines*, to take such counsell as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into *Herraria*: whose coming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeare following they were devising how to breake out: as contrariwise the *Roman* Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judgments and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and tooke many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong Warre upon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in battell they should bee too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the Winning of some good Towne: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the siege of *Locri*, one of the best Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*; and brought thither all sorts of engines, sending for a Fleet out of *Sicily* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieve the City: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprife, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venusia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*, to whom the Consuls daily offered battell. This great man of Warre had no need to stand upon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisdom. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage; reserving his owne numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater employment. In this lingering manner of War, *Marcellus* tooke no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battell, whether he would or no. The Admirall of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicily*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assaile the Towne of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venusia*. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay at *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, wherinto the *Romans* fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprife, and save their owne lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Consuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal* to waste their Army by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hill, over-grown with wood, that seemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiscerned, might fall upon such as should straggle from the *Roman* campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the Consuls thought it fit to remove their Camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows who discovered not themselves, until they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves hoping to be quickly relieved from their Campe that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weak assistance of no more than forty horse-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. These *Fregellans* abode by the Consuls, and did what they could to have brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began every one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his death wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their campe: The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slain or taken. To the dead body of the Consul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a silver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to yong *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himselfe, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was false into the custody of *Hannibal*; vvhio might use it to his owne purposes, ere that vvhich had hapned vvere vvel known abroad. Wherefore he sent vvvord unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague was slain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: vvvishing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithall signed. This providence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to *Salapia*, vvhen another Messenger arrived there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such employ-¹⁰ment as he should thinke needfull. The device was plaine, and no lesse plaine was the revengefull mind which he bare against that City; because of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their enemy in his own snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any signe of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the vvvay. These all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened faire and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawup no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But vvhen fixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus over-reached vvith this stratageme, hasted away to *Locri*; where unto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicily*, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcursors, made the *Romans* in all confused haste, run to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever was in their Campe, to the enemies disposition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of these accidents, sent unto *Crispinus* the surviving Consul, & requested him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Common-wealth,³⁰ and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, vvith other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soon after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay so neare unto the Enemy, vvithout any Generall. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men as vvere not onely valiant, but vvell advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himselfe so strangely, had given them a faire warning, not to commit their Army unto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one,⁴⁰ whose temper needed the allay of a more stayed wit. The fathers therefore endeavoured to joine unto him in the Consulship, *M. Livius*: one that had borne the same Office long before. This *M. Livius* had been Consul vvith *L. Aemilius Paulus*, in the yeare foregoing the beginning of this Warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called into judgement by the People: and this *Livius* condemned; *Aemilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath bene once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it againe: how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankfull *Romans*, vvith the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battell of *Canna*, it was apparent, what lamentable effects the memory of their injustice wrought: vvhen *L. Aemilius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell upon the State of *Rome*, than by resisting the pernicious courtes of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himselfe anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in aduers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been absent out of the City, and lived in his Country Grange; still vexing himselfe vvith the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Levinus*, being Consuls two or three yeares agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private in discontented sort, as might appear,^{both}

both by his carelesnesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very rarely he was compelled by the Censors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he used to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed, either in short formal words, or in passing from side to side, vvhen the house was divided. At length it hapned, that in some businesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman, he stood up and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had bene. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many brave men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather served to fill up the number, than to answer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left¹⁰ of ancient standing, had even spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to say; that it was great pity, so worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of vvhom the Common-wealth stood in great need, yet had not used in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a *Patrician*, the other, of necessity a *Plébeian*: and since neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Levinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned vvith *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two sifter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livius* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him vvith one Consulship, vvhat meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by perswasions, and examples reheard, of such as had patiently digested injuries done by the people, and repaid good for evil; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, vvith which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: resembling himselfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes vvhere of men breake in faire weather; but run under it for shelter in a storme. Such unthankfulnessse, to well-deserving men, is not rarely found in the outrageous multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the second King of³⁰ *Spaine* his dealing vvith the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, upon some small offence conceived, vvithout all regard of his former deserts: yet vvhen his intended conquest of *Portugal*, required the service of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, vvhom he had newly disgraced. Thus is vvifedome often taught by necessity.

It was a dangerous yeare toward, vvhen *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were chosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was already come into France, and waited onely, to have the wayes of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his passage into *Italy*. The *Romans* used at this time the service of three and twenty Legions: and vvanted not employment for many⁴⁰ more, if they had knowne how to levie and maintaine them. Of these vvich they had, foure served in *Spaine*, two in *Sicily*, and two in *Sardinia*: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of *Italy*, vvhere need seemed to require, that onely two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution: and vvould not be tyed to the punctuall observance of vvhat the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* vvould not stirre out of *Rome*, against so mighty a power as followed *Asdrubal*, untill he had first obtained, that he might carry vvith him as many as could well be spared from other employments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serve under *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yeare, among the *Cisalpine Gauls*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to vvhom the War against⁵⁰ *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the *Salentine*, neare unto *Tarentum*, under another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Nevertheless, the Consuls, by the especiall instance of *Livie*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Asdrubal* was already passing the Alpes; the *Ligurians*, vvho dwell in the Countrey about *Genua*, vvith their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to joine vvith him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he vvould adventure no further, than he safely might. Vvhen all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each his severall way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwise affected,

affected than they had beene, when *L. Aemilius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes : but rather they stood in feare, left all diligence, wisdom and valour should prove too little. For since few years had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not been slaine ; and since it was manifest, that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst ; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyne, and make short worke with the other : it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victors ; and come off with honour, from such mighty opposition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever since the battell of *Cannæ* : though it were so, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another sonne of *Amilcar* ; and one, that in his present Expedition, had seemed a man of more sufficiency than *Hannibal* himselfe. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountains, that were thought unpassable, *Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie : this *Asdrubal* in the same places, had multiplied his numbers ; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-ball, farre greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his first setting out of *Spain*. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many unto them ; caused the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Consuls out of the Towne, like a penfive traine of Mourners : so thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, upon whom in the like sort they had given attendance the last year ; but saw neither of them returne alive, from a lesse dangerous Warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accustomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he should abstaine from giving, or taking battell, untill he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day : for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victory ; or by seeing the overthrow of his owne unjust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the joy of a great, though not an honest revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Asdrubal* received in *Spain* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his journey into *Italy* ; such mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Livie*. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his History concerning that accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in *Spain* ; by reason of those Capitaines that were sent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyne with him in the administration of that Province : they being, as it may seeme, of the *Hannonian* faction ; which is to say, thus farre forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courses undertaken, it cannot be knowne : since of those bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to us remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the spitefull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicily* ; *Mutines*, a better man of Warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Island : we may conceive, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by these mischievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to use the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Nevertheless, *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot : and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His journey into *Italy* being resolved upon : he lay with part of the Army at *Beula*, not farre from the Mines of silver ; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio* : and drave him out of his Campe, though hee were strongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Capitaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The overthrow seemes not to have beene so great, as it must have beene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appears, that *Asdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced sent away all his money with his Elephants before him : but staid behind himselfe to sustaine the *Romans* a while, untill his carriages might be out of danger. Merely he had his desire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together : and retired in such sort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed over *Togus*. Then taking unto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees : leaving the care of *Spain* unto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the

the sonne of *Gisco* ; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. *Faine* would *Scipio* have stopped him on his journey, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Asdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Comming into *Saule*, and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal* : he found the Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, either to him or to his money, that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made ; but he, and his Armie well entertained, and their number much increased, by access of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choyce : for that he was driven to winter in their Country ; whilst that the passages of the Alpes were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his journey over the Alpes, were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Country. For these poor men, at the first comming of *Hannibal*, were verily persuaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattell ; and to make spoile of that little wealth which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in procieffe of time, they were better informed. Therefore understanding, that there were two mighty Cities, farre disjoynd asunder, which made Warre upon each other, by Land and Sea ; and that the Alpes did onely lye in the way : they gladly consented to take their part in the fortune of the Invaders. The last affliction upon greater cause, was afterward found in the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The *Ligurians* also joynd with *Asdrubal* : and so would the *Helvrians* have done, if he had arrived in their Country. There was no other *Roman* Armie neare, than *L. Porcius* with his two Legions ; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colonie : in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there he lost a great deale of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise : by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Consuls leisure to make ready for him ; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who upon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the Alpes, was about to leave his wintering Campes, and goe forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haste.

C. Claudius Nero the *Roman* Consul, made what speed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from joyning with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse : with which he daily offered battel to the *Carthaginians* ; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Country of the *Brutians*, there to encrease his forces ; which were otherwise too weak for the journey intended. Afterward comming to *Grumentum*, a Towne of the *Lucans* ; he there fought unprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Nevertheless, he got off, and marched away to *Venusia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to returne to *Metapontum* : where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he assayed againe, to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to *Venusia*, having *Nero* still at his heeles. Thence went he over the River *Asidus*, to *Cannusum*, where he fate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit downe by him : and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Country very vvell ; that his brother might with little impediment, overcome the vvvay to *Cannusum* : vvhere if he could once againe deale vvith both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Country. If this had so fallne out ; *Rome* vvould have beene undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* should not have needed to vvith any second victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Canna* ; if such an Army as this vvich *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*, vvhen he vvvas in his full strength ; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this vvorthy General had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* vvvas the man, vvho by delaying the supply, did beate him out of *Italy* ; vvich esse no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whilst *Nero* vvaited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting vvith the Army that vvvas comming to their succour : he vvvas advertised of

fell by the means of those Captaines that were sent from *Carthage* into *Spain*; to have performed in this last battell all duties of a worthy General; and finally, when he saw the losse irreparable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was slain. Of the number that died with him in this battell, the report of *Livie*, and of *Polybius* doe very much disagree. For *Livie* saith, that the *Carthaginians* had no lesse an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannae*; that fiftie fixe thousand of them were slain, five thousand and four hundred taken prisoners, and above foure thousand *Roman* citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered, and set at libertie. He saith also, that of the *Romans* and their Associates there were slain eight thousand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kinds, but in gold and silver. Concerning the bootie, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have bin as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well stored with money. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battell of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannae*) reports no more than about ten thousand of the *Carthaginian* side, and two thousand of the *Roman*, to have bin slain. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battell. Whereby it may seem that they were all *Barchines*: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no lesse in *Rome*, than had bin the feare of the event. For ever since it was knowne in what sort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his coming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consull should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to have notice of this his departure, and either pursue him, or set upon the Army that staid behind, much weakened, and without a General? Thus did they talk; yet reserving their censure unto the success; with liberty to approve or condemne, according to the issue. In the mean time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsell, waiting still ready at hand upon the Magistrates, as if some great matter were likely to fall out, that would aske every ones help. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholy, that when the first newes of victory came, there were not many that would believe it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Consuls, with Letters containing all that had passed, there was not onely great and joyfull concourse of all sorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborne to do) and attending their own affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*; and producing his *African* prisoners bound, sent two of them loose to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might have served well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the mis-adventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and faire different manner, had given buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whose carcases fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weale: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civill, and lesse prone to the insolency of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may also be said, That hee forgot himselfe, being so over-joyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For it was the battell of *Metaurus* that weighed downe the balance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* Fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not bee contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having lost in this unhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in *Italy*, with-drew himselfe into the Country of the *Brutians*; and thither he caused all the *Lucans*, that were of his partie, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For hee wanted men to defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Where-

Wherefore he drew them all into a lesse compasse in the utmost corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this businesse *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, having all his forces united; or because it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Consull tarried among the *Cisalpine Gauls* until the end of summer; there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, he desired leave to returne home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was, to have the honour of triumph, as he well deserved. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was given, that not onely *Livie* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*, though leaving his Armie behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof, *Livie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Armie also being present at the triumph. But *Nero*, that rode on horse-backe, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Vaurim Philo*, and *Q. Cassius Maellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good service. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Consulship. Neither indeed from this yeere, which was the thirteenth of the present warre, until the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; save only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by surprise. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himselfe upright. And surely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein followes: That making war upon a People, of all other the most warlike, he obtained so many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of so many sundry nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, &c. *Greeks*, which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they never fell to sedition among themselves, or against their General. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry soile of the *Brutians*: which, vvhhen it was best matured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, hee made no invasion upon the vvealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himselfe still among the poor *Brutians*. Where vve must leave him, until he be drawn into *Africa* by *Scipio*; vvhose doings vwill henceforth entertaine, and lead us unto the end of this War.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman made entire conquest of Spain.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

Mago and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italy*. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levie a supply of men;

Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over, till they had forced the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to have made an orderly retreat; and afterward againe, to have caused his men turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished, led by the obstinate passion of feare, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Camp of *Asdrubal* had that day bin taken, if a storm of rain, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superfluous in the *Romans*, had not caused them to give over.

The same night *Asdrubal* gave no rest to his men: but caused them, hungry and over-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his *Spanish* Souldiers. One *Ananes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his subjects: many followed this example; and soone after two strong Townes were yielded up to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seems that the perverse fortune of this late battell, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the *Spaniards* a disposition, to beleve the more easily those reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Asdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away faster than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, save onely seven thousand that with *Asdrubal* himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessaries to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence, he tooke shipping, and set saile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* understood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masani* staid in it) whilst he with the rest of the Army did what was needfull in the Countre abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Masani* followed *Asdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army dispersed it selfe; some flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they liked. So upon all the Continent of *Spaine*, there were only three Towns left, *Illurgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, that made continuance of war against the *Romans*: of which only *Castulo* had a *Carthaginian* garrison, consisting of such as had saved themselves by flight in the late overthrowes. Hereby it seems, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that *Castulo* yielded long since unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three townes that held out on the *Carthaginian* side. *Illurgi* had sometimes bin inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and slue the poor men that escaped thither from the overthrowes. *Astapa* was a town that still adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoyle of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not untill the next year) *Scipio* went against these, and tooke himselfe *Illurgi* and *Castulo*: *Illurgi* by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; *Castulo*, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. *Astapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcium*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and silver, with whatsoever else was precious; the women and children standing by it under a sure guard, that should kill and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Town. So this provision being made, all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; where striving beyond their power, they vvere every one slain. Then vvas the Town forth-vvith set on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* consumed with the flame; vvhist they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold and silver, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal being beaten into the Island of *Gades*, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, vvith seven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to vvait upon occasion,

occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Mae-sili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendship of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the same time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forth-with bethink himself, how to finish the War, by putting them to the like distresse in *Africk*. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much available: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moved to seek revenge. He had also bin beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him over a Caprain into *Africk*, who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons, the *Numidian* King sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and made league with the city in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*, upon the friendship of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cause he sent over *C. La-bus* his Embassador, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did verily ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to doe in *Spaine*, easily perswaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only *Syphax* requested that the *Roman* Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far distant from *Spaine*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the same time with *Asdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous to him, had he been descried by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbore to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captains of two most powerfull Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excused himselfe, by want of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entered into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by *Scipio*. A Duell between two *Spanish* Princes. A digression concerning Duels.

Scipio returning into *Spaine*, and resting that Winter, took vengeance the next year, upon those of *Illurgi*, *Castulo*, and *Astapa*, as hath bin said before. The Conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great solemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazzard their lives, as was used in the City of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proofe in single combat, of the valour that was in their severall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controversies, to tryall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orfus*; *Cosen*-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our *Irish* *Tamistry*. But the father of *Orfus* stood lately seized of the principality: which, though himself received by the death of his elder brother, yet this his son would not let it goe back, but claimed to hold it as heire unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vaine, to take up that quarrell; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battell, should be Umpire between them. So they had their wils: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skillfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foolle-hardinesse of the younger.

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Such

Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We read of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the Warre of *Troy*, the one betweene *Paris* and *Memelaus*; the other betweene *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*: whereof that betweene *David* and *Goliath*; and others performed by some of *Dauids* Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kinde appertaines the fight betweene twelve of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjaminites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of 10 *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gauls*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of lesse importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought betweene *Edmund Ironside*, and *Cnutus the Dane*, for no lesse matter than the Kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reigne of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Montfort* against the Earle of *Blois*, contending for the Duchie of *Brittain*; there was a fight for honor of the Nations, betweene thirty of the *Britons*; and thirty *English*: two of which *English*, were *Calverley*, a brave Captain; and that *Sir Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is 30 descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *English*, *French*, and *Italian* Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *Guy de Caur*, as the *French* terme it; for honour of severall Nations; for love of Mistresses; or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life; or upon tryall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we spake even now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orsha*. Unto these (mee thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; such as were that betweene *David* and *Goliath*, or that betweene the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is ad- 30 ventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed betweene the Lord *Henry* of *Boulainbrook*, Duke of *Hersford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolke*. There was a combat performed by *Sir John Ansley* and one *Cattington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betweene *Robert* of *Montfort*, and *Henry* of *Essex*. The like also, betweene a *Navarrais*, and one *Wells* of *Grimby*, whom the *Navarrais* accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our tryall by battell doe determine, that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had beene due to the offender, if the accusation had beene proved; I cannot affirme. But we every where finde, That 40 if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for tryall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to doe, in the reigne of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, he that is beaten or yeeldeth, loseth onely his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in *Campe close*, that is, within railes. Now this essay by combat was ordinary in *France*, before the time of *S. Lewis* and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Jurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorials* of the Chamber of *Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings six pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custom grew the *French* Proverbe; which they use when as any man hath had an hard and unjust judgement; saying, That *Hee* was tryed by the Law of *Loray*, or *Berne*; on le battu pay l'amende, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent 45 trials

trials by battell that great learned man *Tuo*, Bishop of *Chartres*, did often complaine, and specially against the *French* Church-men: as appears by * his Letters to the Bishop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbishop of *Seas*, and to others; wherein herebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kinde of tryall, was retracted by *S. Lewis*, and *Philip the faire*, so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himselfe. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the *French* Kings, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, against *Jacques le Gris*; and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, against *Moro* his countinman: wherein *Sir Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of *Chastif*. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those onely) the rule held, That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ses defenses par un dementir. The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the *Lie*: otherwise it was concluded, that the Defendant did taiblement confesser le crime; silently confesse the crime. But after such time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lie* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: every petty Companion in *France*, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the *Lie* mortality it self; holding it a matter of no small glory, to have it said, That the meanest Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fifth had patiently endured.

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryall of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe so many Duels, as are founded upon meere private Anger, yea, or upon matter *seeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes unto himselfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats, the giving of the *Lie*, which ought to be the Negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is growne to be a custome: whence we have derived a kinde of Art and Philosophie of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yeathere are (among many no lesse ridiculous) some so mysticall curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one having relation to a slave, the other to a souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretty: though for my owne part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him such an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

40 But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these, who profess death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsely. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having assumed and sworn to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not break their word and promise as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Justice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promised 50 that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lyed to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now-a-days? What is the vowing of their service, and of all they have used in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and Court-like kinde of lying? It is (saith a wife *French* man, deriding therein the Apish country of his Country) *un marché & complet fait ensemble, se moquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres: A kinde of merchandise, & complet made among them, to mocke, belie, and delude each other: and so farre now-a-days in fashion, and in use;* as he that useth it not, is accounted either

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dull or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity upon breach of promise; and those which men use out of cowardize and feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other siled the most villanous. But now for the *Lie* it selfe, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I say, That whosoever giveth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more haينfully taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing, tells him, to whom he hath promised, that he will performe it; and, in not performing it, hee had made himselfe a Lier. On the other side, He that gives any man the *Lie*, when he himselfe knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lied; doth therein give the *Lie* directly to himselfe. And what cause have I, if I say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it is mid-night; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himselfe a foolish Ruffian, and a lyer in his owne knowledge? For he that gives the *Lie* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudeness to taxe any man in publique with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered:) but all that is rude, ought not to bee civilized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsell of God. But you will say, that these discourses favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to feare God or hell: whereas he that is truly wife, and truly valiant, knowes that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword, we shall finde ten thousand seven-penny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance lesse, than any profest Sword-man in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitudo is a diligent preserver of it selfe.* It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martirem pœna: sic nec fortem pugna sed causa: As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause.* In which, whosoever shall resolutely end his life, resolutely in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Country: as he may justly be numbered among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Divell. Neither doe we indeed take our owne revenge, or punish the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our owne consciences; *Animasq; in vulnere ponere, And to drowne our soules in the wounds and blood of our enemies.* Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries: I say that I doe not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; doe favour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the assailant. You will secondly aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to satisfie the challenger in private combat? I answer, that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can destroy it: except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror, and the Lawes of God appointed the Divell to second the Conquered, dying in malice: I say, that he is both base and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of England, & other Christian Kings, have seldome taken any such advantage over men of quality, who upon even termes have slaine their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they have not often done it; so did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, sue unto the King, to approve themselves by battell and publique combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; so did they disdain to submit themselves unto the shamefull revenge thereof; the same revenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Thieves:

Nay

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders: Yet is not the man-layder freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the party grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Assize, or by battell, upon his appeale, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I use his owne words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-layder) be convinced either by great Assize or by Battell, upon that appeale; the man-layder shall dye notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to justice and to the punishment of blood violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentlemen shall be repared in honour, where an enemy, taking the start either in words or blowes, shall lay on them an infamy unsufferable? I say, that a Marshalls Court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit our selves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things else by which the lives of our selves, our wives, and children are sustained, to the Judges of the Law; because it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selves unto the Judges of honour in cases of honour, because to recover our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet againe, it may be objected, That the losse of honour ought to be much more fearefull unto us, than either the losse of our goods, or of our lives; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be so deare unto us, other than a kinde of history, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publique good? In these, he that is employed and trusted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult, because even and equal in persons and armes: Neither for a publique good, but tending to the contrary; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to save every mans fame and reputation, so farre as reputation may sustaine injury by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that wee have given, and to confesse that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them upon adviſement, hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Monſieur de Plessis*, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gave judgement, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chaire under the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sat: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado, where-with he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he delivered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himselfe to such revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls having formerly left it to the will of *Plessis*, to use his owne discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who struck *M. de Plessis* like a Ruffian comming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horses ready, shifted himselfe away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner:) or whether *Monſieur de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubteth) had not farre juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wise man judge. To this, if it be said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace unto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is

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Sir Thomas
Smith in his
Commonwealth
of England.

no disgrace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sins to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall it selfe, or out of the acknowledgement of our own weaknesse. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or sudden injuries, that are not offered from malignant force-thought, than revenge them: so men apt to quarrell, do commonly suspect their own valour; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleve them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe indeed to be an honest man, scornes to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshals of France have, hath also a Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose judgement, in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preserved; we may therefore as well submit our selves to the Judge of honour in all disputes of honour, as we do submit our selves in all controversies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalrie in England, in France, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politike. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *hony bees*; as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Revenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten up, of severall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God upon supreme Governours, than the permission.

His Majesty therefore (which *Henry* the fourth of France also endeavoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessors could never doe: in beating downe and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice, called *the deadly fend*; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no lesse happy in preventing the like mischief, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outrageous vanity of Duellists.

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their severall degrees. There is much difference betwene Lies, as necessity upon breach of promise; or complementall lyes; and such pernicious lyes, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former fort being excusable by weaknesse or levitie; the latter being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betwene killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; & that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile, dolo or per insidias*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priviledge, commandeth that the *guilefull* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *overt* violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poisoning; and by *the pen*, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betwene committing presumptuously upon a man, *to slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cause*, upon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds. Francis the first, *Queen Mary* of England, and the Kings Majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull murder*. Of the first kinde, King Francis upon the Lord of Talar: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporté de plusieurs grandes alliances*; who being of high and ancient lineage, and supported by divers great alliances, of which the Cardinal of Bellay (in especiall favour with the King) was one, was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Mary*, upon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects very deare unto her. His Majesty, upon a Baron of Scotland, whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefull by poison, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not speake of any English Judge) the Author of the French *Recherches* gives unto us two notable instances: the one of *des Esbars*, who (saith Pasquier) *fit mourir M. de Montaigne grand Maître de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celui dont il estoit lors idolâtre; & Dieu permit que depuis*

il fut pendu & estranglé; who caused Montaigne great Master of France to die to content his mind (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Esbars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first, upon his Chancellor Poyet: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall Chabot: a man most nobly descended, and of great service. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of love growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, he charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming upon the great good service which he had done the King in *Piemont*, and in the defence of *Mar-seilles* against the Emperour, gave the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publique triall. Hereupon the King (it being easie to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings advocate, to question the Admirals life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Judges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as albe it nothing could be proved against the Admirall, worthy of the Kings displeasure, yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty; though not able to prevail against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the king hating falshood in so great a magistrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes (saith Pasquier) à tout Juge par demeurer toujours en soy, & ne laisser fléchir sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge; & faire selon à all Judges, to dwell always in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginarie favour, which in the end overwhelmes them.* And as for the Admirall, though it might have bin answered unto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as undeserved; That he was tryed, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surmounting all other his passions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Estate.

t. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spain. His return to Rome, where he is chosen Consul.

THE last businesse that troubled Scipio in Spain, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his souldiers. He fell dangerously sick, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ran current throughout Spain. This encouraged Mandonin and Indibilis, petty kings, that had forsaken the Carthaginians, & followed Scipio a while before, to take arms against the Romans. They were vainly perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driven out, they themselves should become the mightiest in all Spain. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the *Suffetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the Romans; and wasted their Country. Part of the Roman Army lying at *Sucro*, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of the Roman conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported, they thought, that the time served very well, to enrich themselves with the spoyle of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driving away their Colonels, that should have bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, *Albin Calenus*, and *Arrim Umber*, to their Commanders. These rooke upon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Marcius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipios. But whilst they were devising what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion as was expected there arrived more certain news, that Scipio was both alive, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent unto them from their Generall: who mildly rebuking their vvant of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further

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Exod. 21.

Exod. 21. 14.
Prov. 2. 11.Lib. 5. c. 18. c.
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his partie; and to helpe those whom he thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unsteady *Gauls* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the *Romans*; that under Prætors, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardie* and *Liguria*, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet, either coming to his aide from *Carthage*, or by him sent thither (the report is uncertaine) laden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor, that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much disaile him: and though after a while, there came letters from *Carthage*, together with store of mony, heartning him in his proceedings; yet some impediments which he found, and that farall voyage of *Scipio* into *Africke* disturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Against *Hannibal* was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Historians have bin pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in *Punike* and *Greek* letters. Such account of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission and carelesnesse; in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infesting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Campe, is said to have been the occasion of this yeeres idleness; which fell out not much amisse for the Citie of *Rome*, that was marvellously impoverished by this warre; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessitie, it was well thought upon, that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeeres since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receive no losse, the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make preffe of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refused, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themselves; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is usually found in Councils of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carry all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne judgements, to the wisdom that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that repositeth himselfe upon the advice of many, shall often find himselfe deceived: the counsell of those many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the businesse, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well advise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the severall Townes: Come, Iron, Canvas for sailes, Axes, Beed-hookes, Hand-mills, and the like implements; Fitte for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helms, and Spears of all kinds: every place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could afford.

Unto this willingnesse of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compasse of five and forty dayes, he had both sell'd his Timber, built, and lanced so twenty *Trieme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; where with he transported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at *Canna*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himselfe well knew) not guilty of the overthrow, for which they had long under-gone a heavey censure. They had served under *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in *Africke*, where would be store of such employment. For increasning the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred *Sicilians*, all wealthy young men, and such as loved well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly

highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliver their Horse and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilett he was providing to have things in a readinesse for *Africke*, the banished *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handcraft-men, that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*, (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the *Romans*, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed and rewarded. *Scipio* being advertised of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadel was surpris'd. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like sort, fearing lest their owne paucitie should make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craved helpe of the Consul *Scipio*. The Towns-men were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the *Romans*, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the coming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the *Carthaginian* Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate: not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Pleminius* the Capitaine, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoyled by these barbarous Theeves. The *Locrians* therefore advised the Senate to make present amends to the goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good care to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redressed the injuries done unto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principall offenders, whom they cast into prison, and used according to their deserts: as also they restored unto *Proserpina* her mony twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these wicked courses. By the sharpe invective that *Q. Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of *Scipio*, as against the dissolutenesse of his Army; which lay, as they said, idle in *Sicil*, neither mindefull of any service toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten Legates were sent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the *Ædiles*; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into *Italy*, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him so well prepared against *Carthage*, as that they hastned him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employed *Lalim* in *Africke*; rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took a great bootie: and strucke no little terror into the *Carthaginians*, who saw their affaires to be upon terms of change. But the greatest fruit of his journey was, That speaking with *Masanissa*, he well informed himselfe of the state of *Africke*; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to joyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made under-hand with the *Romans*, *Livie* doth profess, That there was no such evident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to prove, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian far inferior to *Livie*, both in Worth and Time) gives so one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Onely the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should have escaped the diligence of *Livie*, if it had been true: unlesse we should beleieve, that he wilfully forbore to rehearse a Tragedie; for the sorrow whereof would cause men to thinke amisse of *Scipio*. Howsoever it was, thus *Appian* tels it: and many circumstances of things done, confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Geso*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loved. *Masanissa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to bee his sonne-in-law. When

When the virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spaine*, and there did great service. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal* daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her upon *Syphax*, without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was advertised; and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conveyed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus far forth we may beleve *Appianus*: that the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Onely it seemes, that howsoever *Sophonisba*, the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet in fine this their courtship proceeded from fear, he thought it wilde to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the *Romans*, untill *Asdrubal* had sent for his daughter from *Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the war it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

Masanissa was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whose father dying, the Crown descended, by order of the Country, unto *Desfalces* the brother, not unto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Uncle of *Masanissa* shortly dyed: and his elder sonne, who took possession of the kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battell by a Rebel, that made himselfe Protector over the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not serve: He and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reason would have beene glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Estate; had they not beene guiltie of the injury by them done unto him; whilst his Uncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrivall, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdome. Nevertheless *Masanissa* still retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained strong enough, to infest both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser *Syria*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamans*, expected the coming of the *Romans*: yet so, as he made long roades over all the Country, even as far as to *Hippo*; and when *Lelius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the invasion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good successe, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Masanissa*, sent an Embassage into *Sicily* about the same time, which was little pleasing unto *Scipio*. He excused himselfe of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not choose but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheless he promised to remain a Neuter, so long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could have done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterprize; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Adventurers. Left therefore the falling of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion, Hee thought the best way, to prevent all discourse, and set the warre undertaken immediately on foot. The Embassadors he dismissed in haste, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to consider, that what hee had promised, hee had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Having sent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath been with *Lelius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent me; greatly wondering upon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine

rale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have beene made concerning the message of these Embassadors: whose followers had beene seene walking up and downe *Syracuse*. And left any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the businesse, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet unto *Lilybæum*: and requesting by letters *Ma. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicily*, to meet him there; halted thither with his Army. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the division of the Legions between them; which to leave behinde for defence of the Island; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning onely ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to five and thirty thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them downe: since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither hee, when hee tooke his voyage into *Spaine*, nor others upon like occasions, have omitted; they being also word for word set down by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This Roman Army landed in *Africk*, neere to a fore-land then called the faire *Promontorie*: which how farre it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is uncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-east of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by West. The coming of *Masanissa* unto *Scipio* at his first arrivall, helps to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*: who thinks the faire *Promontorie* to have been the same, that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficulty *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser *Syria*, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment soon after his arrivall, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that stood West ward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the *Promontorie* of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is also strongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were sent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his dis-embarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roved about the Countrey with a troupe of horse, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farre from the place to the which he usually resorted, like as before hee had met with *Lelius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Arnie and Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compasse to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have dis-embarked neerer unto it. Nevertheless it may passe as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the lesser *Syria*; since he gave charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from *Lilybæum*, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified unto *Lelius*, when he spake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howsoever they made brave promises, would not come strong enough to fight at hand. But when he saw their Fleet and Army to bee such, as not onely served to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatened a conquest of the City and whole Estate: then might he better advise them to set saile for *Utica*, and make War upon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haste. *Asdrubal* the son of *Geseo*, the same that had lately been chased out of *Spaine* by *Scipio*, was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellows, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him passeable. He was then with the King his son-in-law, working him no doubt against the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invasion: entreating the one of them to give assistance, and commanding the other to make his repair unto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, besides other booty, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which hee conveyed aboard his Hulks or Ships of

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burden, and sent them backe loaden into *Sicil*. He tooke likewise a Towne called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand *Nu- midian* horse: whose service being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfullnesse of their Leader, that had thus hooved them. Wherefore he sent *Masaniissa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* so farre, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victorie was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the *Romans* entred pell-mell into the towne, which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath bene formerly made, and fate downe before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his engines of batterry, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which must be well stored against the yeere following. Whilest thus necessity urged him to leave *Utica*: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprize, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a faire pretence to leave the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Levie of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neere unto the *Romans*, before the coming of *Syphax*: *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which joyning unto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*: who thereby tooke occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-Campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Navie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shore: in the bottome of the Creek he moored his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole campe he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the yeere, when it should serve him againe to fight. Of cattell and other bootie *Masaniissa* had brought in great store, by driving the Countrey, before the coming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne also he had gotten some: and great store was sent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewise apparell for his 30 Souldiers, was sent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though scarce enough to serve turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he freighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with captives to be sold for slaves. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neere unto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the severe institution, which the *Romans* used in the discipline of warre, or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue forth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neere, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be wonne by perswasions to forsake the *Carthaginians*. 40 It was considered, that those *Barbarians* were naturally unconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proofe before this of his much levitie. It might therefore be hoped, That having wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peradventure no lesse weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: he might be moved with a little entreatie to withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Neuer*. But it is not unlikely, that such a friend as this King, had bene highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had bene invited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe a while: his wife *Queen* *Sophonibala* being also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, 50 *Syphax* did onely make an overture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should by recalled out of Italy by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like sort should quietly depart out of *Africke*, and so make an end of the warre: whereupon now both *Africke* and *Europe* were disquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the first give care: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors, he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, That the Enemies had their camps without any great defence of earth, full of wooden Cab-

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bins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, used coverings of Mattes and Reeds; others, that came later, had tharched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaves: under which they lay carelessly without their Trenches. Upon this advertisement he bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their camps on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, hee fore-saw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his warres when time should serve. It was a plaine open Countrey wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, upon such ground, could not be resisted by the *Roman* Legi- 10 ons. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt upon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embassadors, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concerne the intended surprize. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, disguised like slaves; that wandering (as it were) idle up and downe the Campe, might observe the wayes and entrances, with whatsoever else was needfull. When he had learned as much as he desired: upon the sudden hee sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as he could not get the content of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his designe in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very penfive; as having lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to devise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and provoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of war repent as greatly the refusal of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him? which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* fleet should doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. 20 By such discourses these two comforted themselves; recompencing (in conceipt) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extremely and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was growne upon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe somewhat against *Utica*. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon he lay against *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it: partly to hinder those of *Utica* from setting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behinde him in his Campe. He caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes; that they might bee ready for the journey. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Campe; all the rest of the army he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him seven miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to undertake himselfe with the one halfe of his army; the other halfe he committed to *Lelium* and *Masaniissa*, whom he sent before him to set upon the campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might seeme to have taken hold by casualty upon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of *Asdrubal*; it would be suspected as the doing of enemies; and give *Syphax* warning to looke to himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and 30 softly; that *Lelium* & *Masaniissa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compass about for feare of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the *Numidians*, but their King himselfe, imputed unto a casualty; as thinking themselves safe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interposed betwene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe-asleepe; and others; that had sitten up late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were, nor give any remedie to the mischance, as it 40 was

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was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischief, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell upon the enemies sword, which was ready to receive them: Especially *Masanissa*, that best knew the Countrey, did great execution upon them; having laid all the waies, by which hee foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance: so that some ranne out to help the poore *Numidians*; carrying onely what would serve to quench the fire. Others ranne up to the Rampart: where, fearelesse of any danger towards themselves, they stood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore lost no time: but setting upon those that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed some, and pursued the rest back in to their campe, which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* seeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not stand to make resistance, but shifted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in such a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have bene said, that with lesse than one halfe of thirty thousand men, hee might at least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not bene only carefull how to save his owne fearefull head. Nevertheless *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have bene true, That if *Asdrubal*, or any of those about him, would have striven to shew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that consumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none that hath beene is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* in their severall wayes of flight. Besides these also there were some scatterers, especially of the *Numidians*, that saved themselves in the darke: but they were not many, as after shall appeare. Surely it must needs have bene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Livie*, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may seem to have followed some lesse worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting up the summe. For hee reckons onely two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped; forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire; and above sixe thousand to have bin taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes.

Asdrubal, putting himselfe into the next town that was very strongly fortified, thought there to finde the *Romans* worke, untill the *Carthaginians* at good leisure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which hee thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Towne-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw, that the arrivall of *Scipio* would soone give an end. Wherefore, lest they should lay hold upon him, and seeke the Victors favour by delivering him up; he shrunke away betimes, and made all haste to *Carthage*. As for the town, which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his first comming; and thereby preserved it selfe from all manner of loffe. The two next Townes adjoining would needs be valiant; and make countenance of war: but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the siege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were sore troubled, as they had good reason, when, in stead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessary enforced them to make hastie provision for the future: but how to doe it, few of them saw any meanes. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others, to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion. That notwithstanding the losse of this Army, they might well defend

defend themselves against the *Romans*, by raising new forces: especially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, That they should bend all their care this way, lewying in all haste another Army; and sending Embassadors to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not passing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the same their unfortunate Commander, *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesto*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queene *Sophoniba* went forth with Embassadors to her husband *Syphax*; who having gathered together as many as hee could of his subjects that had escaped from the late slaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. *Sophoniba* laboured so with her husband, that at length the wonne him to her owne desire. And it fell out at the same time, that foure thousand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to serve in *Africke*. Of these were made such brave reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they used, were not to bee resisted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* beleeveth these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, since in one Age, the whole countrey of *Spain* had beene twice conquered; first, by the *Carthaginians* themselves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* these tales prevailed much; which the *Carthaginian* Embassadors helped with a lye; saying, That there were come ten thousand of these terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered such spirit, that in thirty daies they made up an Army, consisting well-neere of thirty thousand men, reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called, *The Great Fields*, about fivedayes journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to visit them: leaving behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the siege. Two or three daies, after the meeting of both armies, passed away in skirmish, without any great thing done. It had now bene time for *Asdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and seeke to weary out the Enemy by delays. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worse Commander, or else, it was not in his power to give such directions as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the *Romans* were marshalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horse in the right wing; and *Masanissa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary side, *Asdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battaile. The victory was gotten without many blowes: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, could not sustaine the first charge of the *Italians*, or of *Masanissa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner slaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, since they were thus come over to fight against *Scipio*, who had otherwise deserved of them, than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacie was beneficiall to those that fled; for that it hindered the *Romans* from making any great pursuit. Hereby *Asdrubal*, and *Syphax* escaped: *Asdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his owne Kingdome: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of the field, tooke counsaile about the prosecution of the warre. It was resolved upon as the best course, That he himselfe, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Masanissa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Laelius*, with some of the *Roman* Legions, should followe after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it seemes that *Masanissa* gave: who knew best the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might bee done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his restitution into his owne Kingdom, usurped by *Syphax*: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the *Romans* at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded, *Laelius* was sent away with *Masanissa*; and *Scipio* stayed behinde, carrying the warre from towne to towne. Many places yielded for feare; many were taken by force; and all the subjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Masters had laid upon them for maintenance of the warre in *Spain* and *Italy*. What to doe in this case, the *Carthaginians* could hardly resolve: Fortune was their Enemy; they had lost their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne subjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheless of

their own free-will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to send for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet since there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embassadors should be forthwith sent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to set out a fleet against that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, and easie to be taken, whilst *Scipio* himselfe was buried in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it should be their principall care, to fortifie by all means the City of *Carthage*: upon the safety whereof they laid all depended: adding, that whilst they were true, and at unity among themselves, they might well enough subsist, and expect those opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtlesse) would present them. These counsels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheless, it was considered, that hereby they should onely protract the warre, without any advancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victory, no, though it should fall out, that all the shippes at *Utica* might be taken or destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he should immediately come over into *Africke*, as the last refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no sooner broken up, than all the Senators betooke themselves to the execution of that which was decreed: some, to the fortification of the Towne: some, to make ready the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to imbarque themselves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* came to *Tunes*, a City in those dayes very strong, and standing in prospect almost of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather some defensible place adjoining, he easily tooke; the garrison forsaking it, and running away as soone as he drew neere. But whilst he was about there to incampe, and fortifie himselfe against the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet setting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived; and stood in great feare, lest his own ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily laden with engines of battery, & wholly disposed in such order, as was most convenient for assaulting the town) should make bad resistance, against a fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he halted away towards *Utica*, to assist with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have beene there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way: and at their coming to *Utica*, they tarried awhile to make a bravado; presenting themselves in order of battell, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea against them. But *Scipio* had no such intent: hee thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their braverie at Sea; it should little avails the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behinde another, made a foure-fold bridge over the Channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left, wherewith his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and backe againe upon any advantage or need: but these he covered with planks, using the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might helpe one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarce this worke finished, when the *Carthaginians*, seeing none issue forth against them, came into the Haven. The fight betweene them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the assaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unsteady, could not do. But the *Roman* Frigots & long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that stood upon the Bridge were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw upon the masts and yards which served as arches to joyne the bridge together: then row-

ing backwards, they tore all asunder; in such sort, that one ship followed another, & all the first ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but having haled away fixe ships of burden, and rowed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: because among so many grievous losses, only this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

Whilst things thus passed about *Carthage*, *Lelium* and *Masanissa*, in their journey against *Syphax*, found as good successe as could be desired. The fame of the victories already gotten, restored *Masanissa* to his Kingdome, without farther contention: the *Masseili*, his subjects, joyfully receiving him, & forsaking the usurpers. But here they stayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. Hee had such abundance of men and horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by *Aidruba* and *Sophomaba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloved wife; the losse of the *Masseili* would let him take no rest: neither was it the purpose of *Lelium* and *Masanissa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no lesse unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession, bee the title unto some part never so unjust. Hercunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that she had vomited up her owne gues; when it was onely the garbage of some other fowle, that she had hastily swallowed; and was not able to digest. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleaved the Kingdome of the *Masseili* to be part of his entrailes: *Lelium* and *Masanissa* will shortly give him somewhat that shall make him cast his gues. For to this purpose chiefly are they come so farre. It concerned the *Romans* to dispossesse (if it might be) that King, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had beene converted into strong enmity; as also to set in his place another, who might do them such good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How easily this might be effected, *Masanissa* knew best, as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries; wherein, even to this day though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the *Roman* order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the *Roman* Centurion; long agoe sent unto him out of *Spaine* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight courageously. They were a rabble of all sorts, gathered up in haste: and few of them had sene warre before. Encamping neere unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that some small troupes of horse on both sides, encountered one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worst, were seconded by other of their fellows. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: so that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to dishearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Masanissa*, whose numbers were farre lesse. But whilst he was prosecuting his hope of victory: some *Roman* squadrons of Foot came against him through their own Troupes of horse; which fell to the sides, and made a lane for them. So their battaile standing now more firme, than a little before, *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vaine, to make them give ground. *Masanissa* likewise, and his Troupes grew confident upon this assistance: and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to give backe. Herewithall the Legions came in sight: which terrified to the *Numidian* horse, that they beganne presently to disband. Faine would *Syphax* have stayed them from flight: and to that end made head in person against the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that hee was cast from his horse, which received a wound, and so taken prisoner. Of others that were slain or taken, the multitude was not great. It sufficed, that they forsooke the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Masanissa* told *Lelium*, that this victory should make an end of the *Numidian* war, if presently they halted away to *Cirta* the chiefe City of the Kingdome; whither he himselfe desired to

to be sent before with the Horfe, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lelius* agreed. *Masanissa* coming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings misfortune was there arrived, called out the chief of the City to parlee: wherein by many false promises and threats, but especially by shewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed so farre, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, *Queen Sophonisba* yielded her selfe into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suite, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; & to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to prevent *Lelius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lelius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainously, so that at first he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and have sent her unto *Scipio*. But being over-intreated by *Masanissa*, he suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other captives immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needfull in the Kingdome.

At the coming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Campe: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Adrubalus*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together fought his friendship; with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministering to every one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not onely to forsake the *Roman* friendship, but to make warre upon them, unprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moved him so to doe; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himselfe, since hee had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprive him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masanissa* and *Lelius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcomed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable service in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him understand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done (for which hee should bee highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he neverthelesse intreated, to thinke upon his faith given to *Sophonisba*, that she should not bee delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called unto him a servant of his that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes used then to have in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it unto her with this message; That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeeld thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*: willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her selfe.

At the receipt of this Message and Present, shee onely said; That if her husband had no better token to send unto his new wife, he must accept of this; adding, That she might have dyed more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funeral. And herewithall she boldly dranke off the poison. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it downe agreeably to that which hath beene spoken before, concerning the præcontract betwene *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embassadors from *Cirta* met with *Lelius* and *Masanissa* upon their way thither, yeelding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her owne private, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*: as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Masanissa* said, she,

was

was his owne wife, and unto him betrothed many yeeres before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime unto her, wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poison, wherewith she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa's* love, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him: added not so much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which *Livie* notes) of the sudden falling out betwene him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had bin trained up, and done them great service. Howsoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragick accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should lead him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crowne of gold, with other Royall ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile upon him.

This was the first time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit; neither should he have beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax's* Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Numidian* in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his troupe of horse, in such sort as he did before the coming of the *Romans*; he might neverthelesse have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his owne subjects without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice beene vanquished. As for the enlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the *Romans* then in case, to make a conquest of *Numidia* for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man, upon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Massejli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noised abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themselves, in a politicke sort of gravity, tooke highly upon them; as if even their saluting him by the name of King, had beene a matter of great consequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, inroaching upon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speake more) which held some piece of his fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the *Romans*, and promising by all meanes to deserve their love, requested therewithall, that they would call him King. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of suite: yet the *Roman* Senate was *punitious* herein, and answered very gravely, That it was not their custom to give the honour of that appellation, save onely unto such Kings, as had greatly deserved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in proceesse of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings, that no way depended upon them, the salutation by * that name, though it were not accompanied with any offer favour or profit thence redounding.

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce, and breake it.

THE *Carthaginians* were extremely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befallne their good friend *Syphax*, and understood that *Masanissa* their mortall enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The *Carthaginians*

nians had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth unto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the city, which were their Privie Councell, to make suite for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not only prostrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him, and of those that sat in Councell with him.

* Excerpt. 2 Polyb.
lib. 15.
Liv. lib. 30.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deserved whatsoever punishment it should please the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*; and let it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrowne. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begonne the Warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appears, that these Embassadors were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired worke in hand, of suing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made such adoration to the *Romans* in their owne necessity unless they themselves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not unknowne to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poore case the city of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the *Romans* themselves had very lately beene. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* resolution: and therefore distrusted the walls of *Carthage*, though *Utica*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though hee came into *Africke*, to make a conquest, and not a Peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Justice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed upon them, were these; That they should render up unto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive slaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaulle*: That they should not meddle in *Spaine*, nor yet in any land betweene *Italy* and *Africke*: That they should deliver up all their shippes of warre, save twenty; and that they should pay a great summe of money, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these Articles, he gave them three dayes: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadors unto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had beene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lalius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of these victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open; and an holy day appointed for thanksgiving and supplication to their gods. *Lalius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masanissa*: who gratulating the happy successe of the *Romans* in their *African* warre, and giving thanks unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Master, made request for the *Numidians*, such as were now his subjects and prisoners in *Rome*, that they might be bestowed upon him, who by rendering them to liberty, should doe an avery plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The *Roman* Senate were not behinde with *Masanissa* in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should doe for him, they called him King againe; released his *Numidians* that were captives; and sent him two purple Caffocks, that had each of them one gold button, with such other presents, as in time of their poverty might serve to restitute their good will. Scarcely were these and *Lalius* gone from *Rome*, when the newes came, that Embassadors from *Carthage* were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors

were

were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: untill *Lalius* being sent for, came backe from *Ofizia*, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs. The errand of these Embassadors, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their Citie, was only to winne time, and get respite for warre; untill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of *Italy*, either to chafe the *Romans* out of *Africke*, or to obtaine peace for *Carthage*, by terror of their great names and Armies, upon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded betweene them and *Lutaius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remaine in force: neither had there since beene any warre at all, betweene the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his owne head besieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like sort, without Commission, to passe the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being so, their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a jeast of a warre, that had beene so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that peace made by *Lutaius*, and other passages following betweene the two Cities. But they excused themselves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gaine time, untill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Lalius*, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiving advertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed betweene him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treatie of peace, approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto conclusion. This may with good reason be beleevd, since it was not unknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rest upon the most uncertaine issue of one battell betweene *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be averse to them, their forces in *Africke* were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in suspense, before the *Carthaginian* Embassadors came backe from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicily*, wherein were two hundred shippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africke*, to victual the *Roman* Campe, was overtaken by foule-weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wreck, was dispersed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in *Carthage*, which caused the people to cry out upon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger urged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedy desires: the multitude in *Carthage* understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of peace in hand, was no better than mere mockery, and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewise in *Alexandria*, for all the rascality together with women and boyes, to be meddling in uproares; the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvelle, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was sent out under *Asdrubal*, to gather up the dispersed *Roman* shippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recovered the station whereto their camp adjoynd) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not only for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-saw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the warre, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadors unto them, both to require satisfaction for the injury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gave the *Carthaginians* to understand, that Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (said they) we hold it strange, That ye, who so lately have cast your selves to the ground before us, kissed our feet,

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App. de bell. tri-
mice.

Excerpt. 2 Polyb.
lib. 15.

men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, provided every one for himself: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great cost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the loss of two thousand and three hundred of the Pretors Army, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides divers Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the assurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted these valiant sones of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himselfe (by easie journies, because of his wound) ¹⁰ into *Liguria*, found there Embassadors from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of *Italy*, since *Carthage* it selfe was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and imbarqued shortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to returne into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadors were delivering their errand. When their message was done; He told them, That *this was yet* ²⁰ *plaine dealing*. For, said He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long agoe done their best to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply that should have enabled me to mannage the Warre here*. Scipio therefore should not need to bragge, that hee had drawne me home by the heeles: it is *Hanno* that hath wrought this noble feat, and overwhelmed the house of the *Barchines*, for lacke of other means to doe it, with the ruine of *Carthage*. He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that which after came to passe: wherein he imbarqued, besides his owne men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that shrunk back from him, and refused to doe service in this expedition: of whom, such as he could take, he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which ³⁰ had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no lesse passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their owne Countries to go into exile. He looked back unto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that he had not led his Army from *Canna*, hot and bloudied as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of *Italy*; wherein hee had lived almost halfe his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*, in the first beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal*'s departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) lesse earnestly have pressed the *Carthaginians* to send him over thither. When sure advertisement was brought unto the Citty, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary great sacrifices publicly made, for joy of such happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his coming into *Africk*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Country, than ever he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the War from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped, was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embassadors brought unto them a great masse of Gold and Silver, together with some Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spain*: onely the *Carthaginian* prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had surprised it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies that had bin borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of meanes or of good will, had refused to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and enforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had

had been wont to set out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet futable to the greatnesse of their spirit) upon the good successe of the battell at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more nearely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few daies since discharged, was landed safe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thousand fearful matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* and *Afarubal* no specialty of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were either of those two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe scullions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such Souldiers. Likewise *Afarubal* the son of *Gesco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwise, one, that in the field was only good at saving himselfe by a swift retreat. But now there came an Army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in *Roman* bloud, and wearing the spoyles, not only of good souldiers, but of brave Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke used the people of *Rome*, saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet ¹⁰ in battell with many that had slaine *Roman* Pretors, yea, and Consuls with their owne hands; with many that had been first in getting over the Trenches of severall *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of Towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever had served in War, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

*Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treats with him about peace in vaine, le-
10 *seib a battell at Nadasara, and persuadest the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.**

H *Annibal* disembarked his Army at *Leptis*, almost an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behooved him to land, as he did, somewhat farr from the Enemy; that he might furnish himselfe of these and the like needfull helps against the day of battell. From *Leptis* he passed on to *Adrumetum*, and so along through the In-land Country, gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychem* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to have in those dayes the best Hordes of service, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his partie: making him understand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it should be easie for *Masaniissa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppress both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that used it, prevailed with *Tychem*; who shortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thousand Horse. *Appian* further adds, That *Megetullus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protector over *Masaniissa* his Cousins, and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise, that *Vermine* the Son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdom, began at the same time to assaile the places that yielded obedience to *Masaniissa*. This ¹⁰ *Vermine*, as we finde in *Livie*, came with more than 16. thousand men (for he lost more than so many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would have made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base as to make humble suit unto the *Romans* for peace; whilst they had such a brave Champion alive, to maintaine their cause by Warre. But when as they bethought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure

them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was Generall of their forces, He thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Nevertheless; to give them satisfaction, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence done to his Embassadors: and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to understand the resolution of the *Carthaginians*, which was, not to yeeld unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore he sent unto *Masaniissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businessse apart. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masaniissa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to doe him service in the establishing and enlarging of his Kingdome. But he well understood, that those and many more be sides all his owne forces, would but little avails him; if *Hannibal* should drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking such order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his owne kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and sixe thousand Foot, he made all haste unto *Scipio*.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embassadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Latus* and *Fulvius*: who brought them safe into the *Roman* Campe. There when they arrived, and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the *Roman* Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

M. Babius one of the late Embassadors that had bin in *Carthage*, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; sending word unto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make Warre in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the injury by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to heare of this; and commanded *Babius* to use them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory) far lesse honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithstanding, he made more cruell War upon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the mindes of those, with whom they had to doe, they used oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beasts, that ran athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of blood. This being their practice at other times: it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proofe of their vehement indignation, and revengefull minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at *Zama*, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discover where the *Romans* lay, what they were doing, and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, & brought unto *Scipio*: who in stead of crushing them up, gave them free leave to view his Campe at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them up and downe, and shew them whatsoever they desired. This done, Hee gave them leave to depart; and sent them away safe unto their Generall. *Hannibal* understanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his enemy: with whom on the sudden he grew desirous to have an Enter-view, and personall conference; and signified so much unto him by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned answer, that Hee would meete him shortly in a place convenient. The next day *Masaniissa* came with his Army: to whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Towne called *Nadagara*; neare unto which he satte downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close

by a water that might opportunely serve his Campe. Thence he sent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly serve, if he had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within foure miles of the enemy: where he incamped well to his owne good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driven to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generalls each of them with a troupe of Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well searched for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves with each of them one Interpreter, encountered each other in the mid-way between their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutual admiration. Then beganne the *Carthaginian*, saluting the *Roman*, to deliver his minde to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of *Africk* and of *Italy*, for that the Countries of *Sicily* and of *Spain*, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and of so much blood as had been shedde, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, unto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had been exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisdom hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition, Hee affirmed that his owne yeares, and long tryall of Fortune, both good and evil, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fixe his minde upon uncertain hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affaires are subject. Tet (said he) mine owne example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same *Hannibal*, who after my victorie at *Cannae*, won the greatest part of *Italy*: and devised with my selfe, what I should doe with your City of *Rome*, which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine armie to your walls, as thou hast since brought thine to ours of *Carthage*; but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant us peace. This may serve as aduocement of Fortunes instability. I have fought with thy father *Scipio*: He was the first of the *Roman* Generalls that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I should have such businessse, as now at the present, with his son. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, wherof she hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy selfe, who knows how soone. Thinke upon *M. Atilius*: If he would have hearkened unto such persuasions, as I now use to thee, he might have returned home to *Rome* an happy man, and so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou bee contented, that all *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and whatsoever Ilands else are situate between *Italy* and *Africk* be abandoned by the *Carthaginians* for ever, and left unto the *Romans*, to bear dominion therein? Thou shalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the *Romans* may well be glad of such a bargain. As for us, our owne quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazard thou must undergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maist have without contention. It is now in thine owne power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee: stay but untill to morrow night, and thou maist take such fortune as it please the gods. The issue of battaile is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and Steele we shall each of us bring into the field; but of the victory neither of us hath assurance. Let us therefore without more ado make peace. And doe not tell mee that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like treaty: It is I *Hannibal* that now desire peace with thee, which I would never doe, if I thought it not expedient for my country. And thinking it expedient, I will alwaies maintaine it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the gods did not envie me the war by me begun.

Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in *Sicily* and in *Spain* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the final issue of the Warres had approved, and would approve to bee most just. As for the mutability of Fortune,

he said, that hee was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence or over-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. For was it not plain that all these Countries with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already won from the Romans? If, said he, these conditions had bin proponed whilst as yet we detained some part of Italy, they might peradventure not have bin rejected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of these my former demands, to which the Carthaginians have yielded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how much of their burden they are by thy means eased. Onely thou must thinke that in like sort it concerns me in honour not to let them be gainers or savers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore unto us ransom-free, all prisoners that they have of ours, so pay us five thousand talents, to deliver up their galleys, and to deliver hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this by their breach of truce, their spoiling of our fleet, and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly done, then will I take advice with my counsell what answer to give you; otherwise you may even prepare for warre, and blame your own selves for that I have denied you peace.

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battell, wherein should be decided the quarrell betwene Rome and Carthage. The next morning at break of day they issued into the field: a notable march, and such as hath very seldom been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battell at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, divided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance between them: Not farre behind these followed the *Principes*, likewise divided; and so after them the *Triarii*. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinary custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite unto the voyd spaces between the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was usuall, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, wherof Hannibal had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse whilst there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces betwene the first Battalions, they should not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velites*, or those of the light armature that were to begin the fight, he gave direction, that when they found themselves to be over-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should run back through those lanes that were betwene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, untill they were got behind all their owne Army; thereby leaving room enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battels, without cloying up the way betwene the Maniples, which he desired to keep open. His Italian horse he placed in the left wing, under C. *Lelius*. In the right wing was *Masanissa* with his *Numidians*. He himselfe riding up and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; using words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had achieved, since their coming into *Africk*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the Warre was at an end: and that their victory in this War, should make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were farre from home, yea, and far from their owne standing Campe: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them shelter: if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unless they would live like wretched slaves under most mercilesse enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have never been knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in Front

Front of his Battell. Next behind these, he made his Vanguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares*, and *Moors*. Then followed his Battell; which was of Carthaginians & Africans, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries; though not so good fouldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand *Macedonians*, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behind these came his Rereward, consisting of those brave Souldiers which had served him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lelius*, in his owne right wing he bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing against *Masanissa*. He was indeed farre too weake for the Enemy in horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tychæus* and *Mezerullus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the foure thousand of *Masanissa*. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than such as could be levied in the hastes of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that had of late been often vanquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serve on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Verrina* the son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixtene thousand and upwards, the most of them Horse, the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay, Hannibal must be faine to comfort himselfe with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their severall conditions: promising unto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards; threatening the Carthaginians with inevitable servitude if they lost that day: but especially animating his old fellow-fouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke upon the Enemies, and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Army which they had slaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one P. Scipio, even the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions, which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers; even such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry battels, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countrey. As for the rest, they were young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, upon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strive to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of men invincible.

Such exhortations used the two Generals before the fight. When they drew neere together, the *Numidian* horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battell: and Hannibal commanded his Elephants to breake upon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were always an uncertaine kind of help) those that stood neere unto the point of the left wing, turned back for feare: and ran upon their own *Numidian* Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masanissa* espying this, gave charge upon the same *Numidians*; and not suffering them to rally themselves, drave them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the Roman *Velites*, whom they followed into the spaces betwene the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themselves; which gave them open way, accordingly as Scipio had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed; but ran backe upon the right point of their owne battell, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gave to *Lelius* the same advantage that *Masanissa* had against the *Numidians*; which he used in like sort. In the meane while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew neere together with a slow and wately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gave a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quicknesse, to have the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harme; than they took. But the Roman discipline after a while prevailed against the boisterous violence of these untrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell

of the *Principes*, following somewhat neere after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellowes; and shewed themselves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new-leiued *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they saw their hired souldiers give back, did also themselves retire. This caused the *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and the rest, to thinke themselves betrayed; whereupon they inclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battell was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to give way unto the Mercenaries for their safe retreat; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chafed by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The *Roman Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of worke, that the *Principes* were faine to come up unto them, and helpe to over-bear this great medley of enemies, that were together by the cares among themselves. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which, hindring one another, could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foot, to helpe or save these Run-aways. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would have rushed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battell, and save themselves in the open field. The ground, over which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons; and so slipperie with blood, that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which hee saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might bee well assured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the maine battell of the *Hannibalsians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Corners. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had beene received in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, seemed to have been a matter of pastime, in regard of the sharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were also farre the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; (and perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave backe one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground whereon he stood. So that, after a long time, it was uncertaine which part had the worke: unless it may seeme, that the *Romans* were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of *Masaniass* and *Laelius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horfe, is said to have beene most happy and in a sudden time. These upon a sudden charged the *Hannibalsians* in Rere; and over-bearing them by meeere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battell there died of the *Romans* fiftene hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* side, above twenty thousand; besides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livie* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horfe: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take battell with such disadvantage, he could worke no marvels. He saved himselfe with a few Horfe; and stayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he sent for to *Carthage*; from which he had beene absent sixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate, He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadours againe, and trie the favour of *Scipio*, whose Armes they could not now resist.

Scipio having spoyle the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With

this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it best to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto *Cn. Obolus*, whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Laelius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victory, set saile from *Utica* towards *Carthage*. He was encountered on the way by ten Embassadours from the Citie: who bearing up with the Admirall Gallie, began to use the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer, than that they should meet him at *Tunes*, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the Citie, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned backe to *Utica*, and called backe *Obolus* thither, with whom in person He set forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journey thither, they heard the newes, that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*, was coming with an Army of more Horfe than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seemed to have bin both carelesse of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horfe, was sent against him: which did not onely bear him, but so compass him in, that he hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leaving fiftene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had bin with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* lost by default of Horfe. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great access unto the former; yet served well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*, there met him thirty Embassadours from *Carthage*: whose behaviour, though it was more pittifull than it had bin before, yet procured it lesse commiseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had inlike sort humbled themselves. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to besiege the mightie Citie of *Carthage*. And particularly, *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Servilius Capius*, that Consul who had charge of the war against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of *Italy* was bold to passe over into the Ile of *Sicily* (as it were in chafe of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into *Africk*, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restrain the ambition of this Consul *Servilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suite for the same Province of *Africk*: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that he being Consul might joyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authority. But ere he could have his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the journey, where in no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was onely tost at Sea with so foule weather; first upon the Coast of *Hetruria*, and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to *Rome*, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate in desiring *Africk* for his Province, that he said he would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, untill he had first his will. Much adoce there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* should have command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to give the more favourable answer unto the *Carthaginian* Embassadours. He willed them to consider what they had deserved: and in regard thereof, to thinke themselves well dealt withall; in that he was contented to leave unto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in *Africk*, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, That, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld, then required He, That immediately they should deliver up to the *Romans* all prisoners, fugitives, and renegadoes, that they had of theirs; likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten; and all their Elephants. That they should make

no warre at all thence forth out of Africke, neither yet within Africke, without licence of the Romans: That the Countreies, Townes, goods whatsoever, belonging any wise unto Mafaniſſa, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their poſſeſſion, ſhould be all by them reſtored unto him: That they ſhould finde corne for the Roman Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded: That they ſhould pay tenne thouſand Talents of Silver, in the ſpace of ſixtie yeeres, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for obſervance of Conditions, they ſhould give an hundred hostages: ſuch as Scipio would chooſe, being none of them under foureteene yeeres of age, nor above thirtie.

With theſe conditions the Embaſſadours returned home, and reported them unto the Citie. They were very unpleaſing; and therefore one Geſcio ſtood up to ſpeake againſt them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they ſhould not condeſcend unto ſuch intolerable demands. But Hannibal perceiving this, and noting withall what favourable audience was given to this vaine Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwilke Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his ſtanding, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Captain. Which Hannibal perceiving, roſe up and ſpoke unto them, ſaying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had bene thence abſent than the cuſtomes of the Citie would allow; forasmuch as he had bene thence abſent ever ſince he was a Boy of nine yeeres old, untill he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excuſed himſelfe of the diſorder, he diſcourſed unto them concerning the Peace: and perſwaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themſelves, had the Demands of the Enemie bene yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice, they reſolved to yeeld unto the Conditions propounded by Scipio: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thouſand pounds weight in ſilver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embaſſadours. Scipio granted them Truce for three months, in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gave injunction, that they ſhould neither in the meane while ſend Embaſſadours any whither elſe, nor yet diſmiſſe any Embaſſadours to them ſent, without firſt making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time Hanno, and they of his Faction, were become wiſe and honourable men, by the miſeries wherinto Carthage was fallen through their malicious counſels. Afdrubal, ſurnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and a great friend of Hanno, was chiefe of the Embaſſages which they ſent to Rome for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of Scipio his Embaſſadours, who related unto the Senate and People theſe joyfull newes. About the ſame time arrived at Rome Embaſſadours from Philip King of Macedon: who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to waite a while for audience, till the election of new Conſuls then in hand was finiſhed; and order taken, for the provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the Macedonian Embaſſadours called into the Senate: who firſt answering unto ſome points, wherein the Romans had lately ſignified unto their King, that they found themſelves grieved; returned the blame upon thoſe Greeks themſelves, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accuſed they Marcus Aurelius: who being one of the three Embaſſadours, that had lately been ſent from Rome unto King Philip, tarried in Greece behind his fellowes, and there levying men, made warre upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betwixt him and the Romans. Further they deſired of the Senate, That one Sopater, a Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their Countrey-men, that had lately ſerved Hannibal for Pay; and being taken priſoners in Africke, were kept in bonds by Scipio might be releaſed and delivered unto them. Unto all this M. Furio, whom Aurelius had ſent to Rome for that purpoſe, made a ſharp anſwer. He ſaid, that the Greeks which were confederate with Rome, endured ſo many injuries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aurelius was faine to ſtay behinde, to help them as he might; which elſe were like to be brought under the Kings ſubjection. As for Sopater, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counſell, and very inward with him: one that ſerved not for money, but carried money with him, and ſaue thouſand men, ſent from the King to the aid of Hannibal. About theſe points, when the Macedonian Embaſſadours could make unto the Senate no good anſwer, they were willed to returne, and tell their Maſter; That warre he fought, and

and war he ſhould find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two maine points He had broken the League, that was between him and the Romans: firſt, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and ſecondly, in that he had ayded their Enemies againſt them with men and money.

Theſe quarrels with Philip, that promiſed to open a way into Greece and the Eaſterne Countreies, helped well the Carthaginian Embaſſadours in their ſolicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entered into the Senate: and Afdrubal above the reſt was much reſpected; as one, whoſe good offices had kept the Romans from neceſſity of ſending Embaſſadours to Carthage, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the juſtice of the quarrell had bene wholly on the Romans ſide; ſaying, that it was the fault of ſome violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuſe the Citie that had bene too vehement in the proſecution of bad counſell. But if Hanno and himſelfe might have had their wils, the Carthaginians, even at the beſt of their Fortune, ſhould have granted the peace which they now deſired. Herewithall he commended the moderation of the Romans, as no ſmall argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had bene victorious. To the ſame effect ſpoke the reſt of the Embaſſadours: all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified; though ſome with more lamentable words than others, according to the diverſity of their ſtile. They had patience enough to endure ſuch reproofe of Perjury, as they themſelves might have laid upon the Romans; if their diligence and fortune had been ſuch as the Romans was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would ſweare to keepe the peace hereafter: Afdrubal made anſwer; Even by the ſame gods, that are ſo ſevere unto thoſe that violate their Leagues.

Lentulus the Conſul, interpoſing the authoritie of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto concluſion of peace; for that hereby he was like to loſe the honour, which he purpoſed to get by making warre in Africke. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom reſted the Sovereign Command of Rome; and by them referred wholly unto the pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That Scipio, with tenne Delegates, ſent unto him from Rome of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the Carthaginians, upon ſuch Conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had already propounded. For this favour the Carthaginian Embaſſadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might viſite their Countrey-men, which were priſoners in Rome: afterwards, that they might ranſome and carry home with them ſome that were their eſpecial friends; of whom they gave in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadours would chooſe, ſhould be ſent over into Africke, and be freely reſtored to liberty by Scipio, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyne with Scipio in commiſſion.

At their coming into Africke, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any controverſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to Scipio: likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. Scipio took more vengeance upon the Renegado's, than upon the Fugitives; and upon thoſe of the Romans, than upon the Latines or other Italians. The Latines he beheaded: the Romans he crucified. About the firſt payment of their money, the Carthaginians were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treafurie could have ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent; yet ſince the penſion was annuall, and to continue ſixtie yeeres; it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the ſumme there was piteous lamentation, as if now the Roman yoke had begun to pinch them; ſo as many, even of the Senators, could not forbear weeping. Contrariwiſe, Hannibal could not refrain from laughter. For which when he was checked by Afdrubal Hadum, and told, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince he had bin the cauſe why all others did weep; He answered, That laughter did not alwaies proceed from joy; but ſometimes from extremity of indignation: Yet, ſaid He, My laughter is more reaſonable, and leſſe abuſed, than your teares. For ye ſhould have wept when ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the uſe of armes, without the good leave of the Romans firſt obtained. This miſerable condition keeps us under, and holds us in aſſured ſervitude. But of theſe matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purſes,

purſes, ye have thereof ſome ſenſe. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye ſhall acknowledge, that it was the very leaſt part of your miſery for which ye have ſhed theſe teares. Thus diſcourſed Hannibal unto thoſe, who, taſting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counſell, repented when it was too late; and in ſtead of curſing their own diſorders, which had bred this grievous diſeaſe, accuſed the Phyſician, whole noble endeavours had bin employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being to take leave of Africk, produced Maſaniſſa, and magnified him in preſence of the Armie, with high commendations not undeſervedly. To him alſo he conſigned over thoſe towns of King Syphax, which the Romans at that preſent held: where- in, to ſay truth, he gave him but his due; and that which otherwiſe he knew not well how to beſtow. But the love of the Romans, & friendſhip of Scipio, was fully answerable, now to hereafter, to all the deſervings of this Numidian King. About Carthage there reſted no more to be done. Wherefore the Romans embarked themſelves for Sicil: where when they arrived at Lilybæum, Scipio with ſome part of his Army took his way home to Rome by land; and ſent the reſt before him thither by Sea. His journey through Italy was no leſſe glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to doe him honour as he paſſed along. He entered the Citie in Triumph: nei- ther was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with ſo great joy of the people, as was this of Scipio; though, in bravery of the pompe, there were others in time ſhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether Syphax were carried through the Citie in this Triumph, and died ſooner after in priſon; or whether he were dead a while be- fore, it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, That it was a barbarous cu- ſtome of the Romans, to inſult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea, though they were ſuch, as had alwayes made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we ſhall have better exanple ere the ſame age paſſe. It was neither the perſon of Syphax, nor any other glory of the ſpectacle, that ſo much beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the contemplation of that grievous warre paſt, whereof the Romans had bin in a manner without hope that ever they ſhould ſee Italy free. This made them looke cheerefully upon the Author of ſo great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to Scipio the Title of the African: ſtiling him by the name of that Province which he had ſubdued. This honourable kinde of ſurname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was ſurſuped by men of leſſe deſert: eſpecially by many of the Ca- ſars, who ſometimes arrogated unto themſelves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if ſuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto Scipio the African.

Excerpt. 2. Pol.
lib. 16.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip the father of Perſeus, King of Macedon: his firſt Acts and War with the Romans, by whom he was ſubdued.

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the Eaſt-Countries, and deſirous of Warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Aetolians over-run Peloponneſus. Philip and his Associates make war againſt the Aetolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Aetolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

Plut. in vit.
Sertii.



F the great ſimilitude found in worldly events, the limitation of matter hath bin aſſigned as a probable cauſe. For ſince Nature is confined unto a ſubject that is not unbounded; the workes of Nature muſt needs be finite, & many of them reſemble one the other. Now in thoſe actions, that ſeem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, wee are leſſe to wonder, if we finde leſſe variety: ſince it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious

obnoxious unto humane power; and ſince they are the ſame affections, by which the wills of ſundry men are over-ruled, in managing the affaires of our daily life. It may be obſerved in the change of Empires, before thoſe times whereof we now write, how the Aſſyrians or Chaldeans invaded the Kingdome of the Medes, with two hundred thouſand Foot, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe: but failing in their intended conqueſt, they became ſubject within a while themſelves unto the Medes and Perſians. In like manner Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell upon the Greeks with ſuch number of men, as might have ſeemed reſiſtleſſe. But after that the Perſians were beaten home againe, their Empire was never ſecure of the Greeks: who at all times of leiſure from intestine Warre, deviſed upon that conqueſt thereof, which finally they made under the great Alexander. If Nabuchodonnoſor with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the Medes; or Cyrus with his well-trayned Armie, had made attempt upon Greece; the iſſue might, in humane reaſon, have beene farre different. Yet would it then have beene expedient for them to employ the travell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatneſſe of their names, againſt thoſe people; that were no leſſe valiant, though leſſe renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words uſed by Cyrus, and ſome ſmall diſpleaſures done to the Greeks (in which kinde it may be, that Nabuchodonnoſor likewiſe offended the Medes and Perſians) were not ſo available to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in ſtrength, ſuffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppreſſion done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kicke by the Aſſe. But Princes are often carried away from reaſon, by miſſe-underſtanding the language of Fame: and deſpiſing the vertue that makes little noiſe, adventure to provoke it againſt themſelves; as if it were not poſſible that their owne glorie ſhould be ſoiled by any of leſſe-noted excellence. Againſt the ſame ſtone, whereat Xerxes, and before him (as I take it) Evilmerodach, had ſtumbled; Pyrrhus the Epirot hath daſt his foot. He was not indeed the King of all Greece; though moſt of make, and a better Souldier than any other Greekiſh King, when he entered into warre againſt the Romans. This warre he undertooke as it were for his minds ſake: having received no injurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greeks that ſerved under him, to prevail ſo eaſily againſt the barbarous Romans, that they ſhould onely ſerve as a ſtep to his further intended conqueſts, of Sicil and Africk. But when the Romans, by their victory againſt Pyrrhus, had found their owne vertue to be of richer metall, than was the more ſhinning valour of the Greeks: then did all the bravery of the Epyrot (his Elephants and whatſoever elſe had ſerved to make him terrible) ſerve onely to make the Romans, in time following, to thinke more highly of themſelves. * For ſince they had overcome the beſt Warriour in Greece, even Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himſelfe Lord of Greece and Macedon: what ſhould hinder them from the conqueſt of all thoſe unwarlike Provinces, which in compaſſe of 12. yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had wonne? Certainly there was hereunto requiſite no more, than to bring to their owne devotion by ſome good meanes, the whole Country of Greece: all the reſt, this done, would follow of it ſelfe. How to deale with the Greeks, Philip and Alexander had ſhewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

When therefore the firſt Punicke warre was ended, which followed ſooner after the wars of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines: then were the Romans at good leiſure to hearken after newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occaſion, that ſhould be on that ſide preſented. They had alſo then a ſtrong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwiſe very ſkilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wiſhed, that the Illyrian Queene Teuta made at the ſame time cruell war upon the Greeks: waſting their Country, and ſacking their Townes, onely becauſe they were unable to reſiſt, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the Romans were deſirous to enter; the Queene was not ſlow to give them cauſe. And their happy accompliſhing of that warre which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to be deſired by the Greeks. But no ſuch thing happened: though they ſent Embaſſadours, as it were to offer themſelves; by ſignifying, that for love of Greece they had undertaken this Illyrian warre. Thus beganne the firſt acquaintance betwixt the Greeks and Romans: which afterwards encreaſed very haſtily, through the indifcretion of King Philip the Macedonian; whoſe buſineſſe with

*The King of Spaine pretended invincible Navie, being beaten out of the Britiſh Seas; invited us to thoſe of Spaine: and having broken the great Fleet that ever the Spaniards gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

Lib. 5. cap. 2. §. 7.

with them, being now the subject of our storie, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions. It was like to prove a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. yeeres, new Kings began to reign in the most of all Countries knowne; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest Kingdomes. This happed from the third yeere of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Asia* and *Syria*, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called the Great. *Ptolomy Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdome of *Egypt* unto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. yeeres old, received the Kingdome of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Acheans* & most of the *Greekes*; by the decease of his Uncle *Antigonos Dofon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedamonia*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himselfe King over the *Lacedamonians*, whose Commonwealth, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achaus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebell unto him, occupied the Regions neere unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeeres of the 100. and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* & *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invasion upon *Italy*. Those troubles of the Western world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: so *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, & the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponnesus*; greatly desired of the *Acheans*, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonos* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto *Cleomenes*: was now become no lesse obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it should have beene to the *Spartan*; & therewithall it lay open unto the violence of the *Aetolians*, who despised even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Aetolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Messenians* that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their consanguinity) the onely good friends which they had at the present in *Peloponnesus*. Their invasion was no lesse unexpected, than it was unjust: whereby with greater ease they made spoile of the Country, & finding none prepared to make resistance. The *Acheans*, were called by the *Messenians* to help: which they did the more willingly; because the *Aetolians* passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide these *Aetolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembering the injuries; wherewith most ingratfully they had required no small benefits done to them by the *Acheans*. He was therefore so hastie to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to stay few daies untill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the *Acheans* for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath beene already noted of him) for any other service, than leading of an Army. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a part of the Country, wherein he might very easily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neere, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Acheans*, they got hereby onely the friendship of the *Messenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Aetolians* invaded *Peloponnesus* againe; having no more to doe, than to passe over the narrow Streights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Country of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their second invasion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition imposed upon them by the *Romans*, of setting out no ships of war unto the coast of *Greece*: made bold to seek adventures againe, & did great mischief. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of these *Illyrians*: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell upon the Islands of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean* sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdileus*, having gotten

gotten what they could else-where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Aetolians* into *Peloponnesus*: who made greater havocke in the Country now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment layd upon the *Lacedamonians*; who were thought under-hand to have favoured the *Aetolians*, in mere despite of the *Acheans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themselves had lately beene subdued. It is true, that the *Lacedamonians* had been so affected: & (which was worse) at the arrivall of *Philip*, they flew such friends of his, as having checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Army: since their Towne was largely much disquieted with civill discord, which they hoped soone to appease, and meant always to remaine at his devotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did mis-understand the *Lacedamonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in presence of the King, the Embassadors of the *Acheans*, *Bæotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acaranians*: all complaining upon the *Aetolians*: and desiring to have war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters unto the *Aetolians*, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at *Rhium* for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have beene there at the day. But when the *Aetolians* understood this for certain, they adjourned the Councell unto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, save in the great Parliament of all *Aetolia*. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how wel they had deserved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on *Peloponnesus*, and the onely man, in a sort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared busily for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promises; whom he easily won from the *Aetolian* side, forasmuch as the *Aetolians* had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the *Acheans*, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Country, sent unto the *Acaranians*, *Epirots*, *Messenians*, and *Lacedamonians*: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the *Aetolians*; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The *Acaranians*, a free-hearted and valiant though a small Nation, and bordering upon the *Aetolians*, of whom they stood in continual danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by general assent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were nevertheless more cunning and reserved: so that they stood upon a needlesse point, and desired to be held excused, untill *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaim the war. The *Messenians*, for whose cause the warre was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne which the *Aetolians* held upon their borders, and said, that they durst not be over-bold, untill that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedamonians*, the chiefs of them studied onely, how to manage the treason, for which their City had beene so largely pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadors of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three yeeres together continued subject against their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should returne out of *Egypt* to reigne over them againe, and maintaine, as hee was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publike safety to consist, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preserved them. And hereto they referred all their counsailes: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound

unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part, were still devising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his return; & fought to joyne with the *Ætolians*, which were the most likely to give him strong assistance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which these intended: fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatness and lustre; to which once hee had in a manner performed: But since hee was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deserving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helps, they must continue little better than subjects unto the *Macedonian*, and farre lesse by him respected, than were the *Acheans*. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to send an Embassie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himselfe the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, betwene those of the *Macedonian* partie, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; untill by massacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the *Ætolians*, the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betwene the *Lacedemonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Acheans*, who had spared the Citie, when they might have destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may justly wonder, how they grew so carelesse in making choyce of the other. In the one of their Royall Families they found *Agisipolis*, the sonne of *Agisipolis*, the son of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne over them, as heire apparent to his grandfather. This *Agisipolis* was a yong Boy, standing in neede of a Guardian: & had an Uncle, his Fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how yong soever, should have his fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedemonians*, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in observation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime, but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdome, bestowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himselfe be saluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partisans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Countrey of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoile, and won divers Townes; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedemon*. After such open hostility, the *Lacedemonians* declared themselves on the *Ætolian* side; and proclaimed warre against the *Acheans*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the *Acheans* and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertaine answer: the *Messenians* would not stirre: all the burden must lie upon themselves and the poore *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, passing over the Bay of *Corinth*, surpris'd the Towne of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the *Acheans*: for that it stood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sicyon*, two of their principall Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as *Ægira* was taken by surpris: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile; whilst they that should have made it their first care, to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransacke private houses, and thereby gave

the Citizens leave to make head, by whom they were driven with great slaughter backe unto their Fleet. About the same time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Western Coast of *Achaia*; waiting all the Territory of the *Dymeans* and other people, that were first beginners of the *Achaean* Confederacie. The *Dymeans* and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe unto their Prator, and to all the Townes of their Society in vaine. For the *Acheans* having lately beene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his warre, they had covetously withheld part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the *Acheans*, and insufficiency of their Prator, the *Dymeans*, with others, were driven to withhold their contribution heretofore made for the publike service, & to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his *Lacedemonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*, that were confederate with *Philip* & the *Acheans*.

Philip came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilst their Army was thus employed a farre off in *Peloponnesus*. The *Epirots* joynd all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of *Ambracia*. There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the busines; which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his first coming in; it was thought that he might have had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon small Towns or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunity of Associates, to have their own desires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their maine designs. Thus was our King *Henric* the eight led aside, & quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperor to the siege of *Townray*: at such time as the French King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of *Terwin* was lost, and that his Cavallerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of *Essex* with seven hundred *English*; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into *Brittaine*, in case that *Henric* would have come to *Paris*.

The stay that *Philip* made at *Ambracia*, did wondrously embolden the *Ætolians*: in such sort, as their Prator *Scopas* adventured to leade all their forces out of the Countrey; and therewith not onely to over-runne *Thessalie*, but to make impression into *Macedon*. He ranne as farre as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, he tooke, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statua that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrey-men at his returne; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before) unto *Peloponnesus*, but even to *Macedon* it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having dispatched his worke at *Ambracia*, made a strong invasion upon *Ætolia*. He tooke *Phœtia*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Peanium*, *Eleus*, and divers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the *Ætolians* in sundry skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrey over, without receiving any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Straights into *Peloponnesus*, and to doe the like spoile in the Countrey of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the *Achaean* Embassadors; newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardaniens* were ready with a great Armie to fall upon the Countrey. These *Dardaniens* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*, & were accustomed to seeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponnesus*; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey; as had beene their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismisse the *Achaean* Embassadors, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them have patience untill another yeere. So he tooke his way homewards: and as hee was passing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirum*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than

one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This Demetrius had lately shewed himselfe a friend to Antigonus Doson in the warres of Cleomenes: and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was ready, at their first request, to take part with Philips Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the Macedonian King: whose Counsellor he was ever after. The Dardaniens hearing of the Kings returne, brake up their Army; and gave over for the present their invasion of Macedon, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at Larissa in Thessalie, whilst his people gathered in their Harvest. But the *Epirots* rested not. They avenged themselves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harmes by them and Philip done in *Etolia*, they required with all extremities of warre; among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, & all thought of war, untill another year, was laid aside: Philip stole a journey into *Peloponnesus*, with five thousand Foot, & about foure hundred Horse. As soon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the gates to be shut, that no word should be carried forth of his arrivall. He sent privily for old *Arctus* to come thither unto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achaean* Souldiers ready to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrey, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot & an hundred horse; little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeed they had little cause to feare: since the *Achaean* themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; untill they heard, that these two thousand *Eleans*, *Etolians*, and their fellows, were by him surpris'd, and all made prisoners; or slaine. By this exploit which he did at his first coming, Philip got very much reputation, and likewise he purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Pisphie*, an exceeding strong Towne, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Etolians* then held. He won it by assault at his first coming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemy, not believing that he would undertake such a peece of worke at such an unreasonable time of the year, was carelesse of providing even such store of weapons, as might have served to defend it. The Towne was preferr'd by the King from sacke; and given to the *Achaean*, of his own meeke motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to *Lasion*, which yielded for very feare, hearing how easily he had taken *Pisphie*. This Towne also he gave to the *Achaean*. The like liberality he used towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Countrey of *Elis*, where was much wealth to be gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and lived abroad in Villages; even such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where having done sacrifice to *Jupiter*, sealed his Captaines, and refreshed his Army three dayes; He proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the *Etolians*, in the spoiles of their otherwise-deserving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattell he tooke, with great numbers of slaves, and much wealth of all sorts, such as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes, whereinto a great multitude of the Countrey-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yielded for feare. Some prevented the labour of his journey; by sending Embassadors to yeeld before he came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wills, tooke courage to set themselves at liberty, by seeing the King so neere: to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the *Etolian* Captains; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Countrey, than the sharpnesse of winter would suffer him to stay three dayes. Faine he would have fought with the *Etolians*: but they made such haste from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themselves within the Towne of *Samicum*; where they thought to have beene safe. But Philip assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licencie to depart, with their lives and armes. Having performed so much in this expedition, the King reposed himselfe awhile in *Megalopolis*; and then removed to *Argos*, where he spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrivall in *Peloponnesus*, the *Macedonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in *Arcadia*; & threaten'd to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home.

This

This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdome of *Spuria*, than that which he could buy with money: so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which Usurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that thinking himselfe to have best right unto the Kingdome, purposed to make way therunto by massacre of his opposites; & afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding unto the multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equal distribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Commonwealth. He won to his partie some two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his house: who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto predisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whilst he was using his best persuasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him: *Chilon* perceived whereabouts they went, and shifted presently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achaean* a banished man, & hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: & suspecting thenceforth all those of *Heracles* his race, found means to drive out his fellow-King young *Agepolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such sort, as once he should have beene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have beene defended; yet rather than to adventure himselfe into judgement, hee chose to flee for a time, and sojourn among his friends the *Etolians*. His well-knownne vehemencie in opposition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they began to consider the weakenesse of their owne firmnes against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, He took better heede unto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chased *Agepolis* out of the City; I do not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he was toward some private Citizens: in the warre against *Philip*, He behaved himselfe as a provident man, and careful of his Countreys good.

§. II.

How Philip was misadvised by ill Counsaillers: who afterwards wrought treason against him; and were justly punished. He invadeth the *Etolians* a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.

Whilst the King lay at *Argos* devising upon his businesse for the year following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatnesse, as they were like to have spoiled all that he took in hand. Antigonus Doson had left unto Philip such Counsaillers, as to him did seeme the fittest men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Apelles*, that had the charge of his person, & also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that he should doe a notable peece of service to his Prince, if hee could reduce the *Achaean* unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to passe; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the *Macedonians* to thrust the *Achaean* out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, hee was bold to chastise some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refrain) to help their fellowes; then he laid by the heeles, and punished as Murders. Hereby he thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that they should be qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these *Achaean* were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have beene contented to suffer any little

little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselves unto old *Araus*; and besought him to thinke upon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Araus* forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had bene wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begonne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed; though he dissembled his choler for a time. He thought so well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps unable to doe the King any valuable service, in businesse of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the *Achaens* there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Araus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promising to become their especial friend, and command them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Araus*, he must be faine to deale precisely with the *Achaens*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased to give countenance unto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the *Achaens*, and all other *Peloponnesians*, be quickly brought to conforme themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By such persuasions, he drew the King to be present at *Agium*, where the *Achaens* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have bin needfull in a businesse of more importance, the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new favourites, was chosen Prætor, in stead of one more worthy, for whom *Araus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by *Paras* and *Dyma*, to a very strong Castle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garrison yielded it up for feare, at his first coming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it upon the *Dymaens*, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the *Eleans*, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertooke to make them forsake their alliance with the *Etolians*, and joyne with him upon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them understand, That he would render unto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forreine invasion; & that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of *Tichos*, and made a new invasion upon their Countrey: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-hastie to beleieve such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitor, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Etolians*. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him prisoner into *Etolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himselfe; in better for *Araus*. For the King (as was said) marveling what should be the cause, that hee heard no newes from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which hee had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsaillor thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Araus*. He said that old *Araus*, and his sonne together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he said it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Araus*, (the father and the son) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudiciall to all *Peloponnesus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very careful in doing this message, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lye, devised by *Apelles* himselfe, upon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two *Araus*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it over againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance, taking

talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had said all the rest, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such ungratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achaens*; & therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your selves. Old *Araus* gravely admonished the King; That whensoever he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne, or a man of worth, He should beare a while to give credit, untill hee had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the King should make himselfe the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans yea, and anothers no. Hereof the King liked well; and said that he would make sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilst *Apelles* delayed to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befallen him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Araus*: which when he found no better than a meere device against his honourable friends; He entertained them in loving manner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by means of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The unresist temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe; beganne (as commonly Ambition useth) to swell and grow venomous for want of his free motion. He betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Araus*: so fayling of them; he thinks it wisdome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Aire by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtilt workmanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lievtenant in *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leoniun* Captaine of the *Targentiers*, and *Megalæus* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their rooms. Against *Alexander* he went to worke the ordinary way, by calumnniation and privie detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he used more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such Art he thought to have removed him, as we say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sunne*. In the meane season *Araus* retired himselfe; and sought to avoide the dangerous friendship of the King by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch; and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne; wherewith he should have bene furnished by the *Achaens*. This made the King understand his owne error; which he wisely sought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the *Achaens* to rejourne their Parliament from *Agium*, to *Sycion*, the Towne of *Araus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the travell of these worthy men, He easily obtained what he would of the *Achaens*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great store of Corne: & further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the wars in *Peloponnesus*, he should receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might invade the *Etolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleasure; and binder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things go forward so well without his helpe; even by the ministry of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into a conspiracie with *Leoniun* and *Megalæus*: binding himselfe and them by Oath, to crosse and bring

bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of ability to doe any thing without them; should make him speake them faire, and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child; and therefore these wise men perswaded themselves, that, by looking bigge upon him, and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own misgovernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a child still. *Apelles* would needs goe to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon*: The other two staid behinde with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His Fleet and Army being in a readinesse: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces against the *Eleans*; to whose aid therefore the *Aeolians* sent men, little fearing that the mischiefe would have fallen, as soone after it did, upon themselves. But against the *Eleans* and those that came to helpe them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achaens*, with some part of his & their Mercenaries. He himselfe with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of *Cephalenia*: whence the *Aeolians*, dwelling over against it, used to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he besieged the Towne of *Palaea*, that had bene very serviceable to the Enemye against him and his Confederates; and might bee very usefull to him, if hee could get it. Whilst he lay before this Towne, there came unto him fiftene shippes of warre from *Sceridilaides*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Messenians*. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts save one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the *Targentiers*, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembering his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbear to doe his best; and caused others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many slaine, not of the worst Souldiers; but such as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought upon breaking up the siege. For it was easier unto the Townes-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst he stood thus perplexed and uncertaine what course to take: the *Messenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The *Messenians* alleged, that *Lycargus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Eeolian* windes which then blew, serving fity for his Navigation. Hereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detain him there perforce (blowing all the Dogge-dayes) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gave better counsaile, and prevailed. He shewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Aeolians* over-runne all *Thessalie* againe, and some part of *Macedon*, whilst the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small adventures. Rather, he said that the time now served well to carry the warre into *Aetolia*; since the Prætor was gone thence abroad roving, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lycargus*, he was not strong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponnesus*: and it might suffice, if the *Achaens* were appointed to make head against him. According to this advice, the King sets sayle for *Aetolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Aeolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to see him on their borders; and joynd with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the in-land Countrey: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retreat; he passed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptracle of the *Aeolians*, and sinit place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great Fastnesse, environed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, steepe, and difficult ascent. There did the *Aeolians* use to hold all their cheefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them careless in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoile: whereof

whereof he found such plenty, that he thought the paines of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie: and consuming all that could not be carryed away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the cheife of all belonging unto the *Aeolians*; in remembrance of their like courtesie, shewed upon the Temples of *Drum* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour have bene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Monsieur du Goungues* the French Captaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermum*, the *Aeolians* laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleaved before; and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his *Ilyrians*; who staying behind the rest, did set upon the backs of the *Aeolians*, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had taken before, as also wasting the Countrey round about him. He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Aeolians* made countenance of fight, issuing out of *Siratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious Expedition being every way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast unto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were invited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleus*. They came, because they could not choose: but their heave looks argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexteritie. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King tending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleus*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to give him froward answers: insomuch, as they said at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischiefe as he deserved. Herupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his *Targentiers* at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleus*, yea and to cast him into prison? Why, said the King, it was even I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angrie; seeing himselfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleus* was called forth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hindrance of the Kings victory at *Palaea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no lesse touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleus* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weak; that he, and *Crimon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crimon* being remanded back to prison; and *Leontius* becoming Baile for *Megaleus*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinib*.

Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as hee was at *Corinib*, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the *Lacedamonians*. These and the *Eleans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*, whilst the King was absent. The *Achaens* had opposed them as well as they could; with ill successe, yet so, as they hindred them from doing such harme as else they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Countrey about *Lacedamon*: & was in a manner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleieve that he was returned out of *Aetolia*. He tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and having beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to *Corinib* a rich booty of cattell, slaves, and other Countrey-spoile. At *Corinib* he found attending him, Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*, that requested him to set *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Aetolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale first with the *Aetolians*, who if they would make the same request, should not finde him unreasonable. The

Aetolians

Ætoliens had sped ill that yeer: neither saw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane season they had beene grievously afflicted, as before was shewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their owne Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in armes against them, and their weakie Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their *Peloponnesian* friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keepe the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætoliens* readily entertained this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to intreat his presence at a Diet of their nation, that should be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

Whilest these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megalæas* thought to have terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this device forted to no good effect. The souldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends, who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent it selfe in a noise, and breaking open of doores, without further harme done. This was enough to informe the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea the Souldiers themselves, repenting of their insolence, desired to have the Authors of the tumult fought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megalæas* were afraid, lest the matter would soone come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treason; requesting him speedily to repaire unto *Corinth*, where hee might stand betweene them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while beene wanting to the businesse, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. Hee had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was hee growne in to such credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Thessalie* addressed themselves unto him, and received from him their dispatch in every businesse. Likewise the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making slight mention (onely for fashions sake) of the King: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogance of this great man, in setting himselfe out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affaires, hee made it his speciall care, that money, and all things needfull for the publike service, should bee wanting. Yea hee enforced the King, for very neede, to sell his owne Plate and household vessels: thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties, by onely saying, *Sir, he ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish.* Hereto if the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Isle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth* where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royalty, by a great number of the Captaines and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megalæas* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entring the city with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falsehood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodgings, he had none to follow him save; his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacie, he used him not at all. This taught *Megalæas* to looke to himselfe, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent forth *Taurion* his Lievtenant of *Peloponnesus*, with all the *Targetiers*, as it were to do some piece of service, but indeed of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his *Targetiers*, to signifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith sent unto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called

called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megalæas*, if that were all the matter, they said they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiers made *Philip* more hattie than else he would have beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megalæas* were intercepted, which hee wrote unto the *Ætoliens*; villifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to sinke under the burden of his owne poverty. By this the King understood more perfectly the falsehood, not only of *Megalæas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him so poore. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megalæas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. *Megalæas* also, neither daring to stand to tryall, nor knowing whither to fly, was weary of his own life; and slew himselfe about the same time.

The *Ætoliens*, as they had begun this warre upon hope of accomplishing what they lifted in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this young Prince, tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Nevertheless being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megalæas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceived by some of the Kings *Targetiers*, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing sorry. For being in good hope thoroughly to tame this unquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War should rest upon themselves. Wherefore he willed his Confederates to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the yeare following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrey. In his returne homeward, he called into judgement one *Protonie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and suffered death. These were the fame *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won some bordering Townes; from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætoliens*, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his Kingdome: when he had thus provided for safety of his owne; the *Ætoliens* might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embassadors from the *Rhodiens* and *Chians*, with others from *Protonie* King of *Egypt*, and from the Citie of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former solicitation about the Peace. This fashion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to set the whole Countrey at liberty: No sooner was any Province or Citie in danger to bee oppressed and subdued by force of warre, but presently there were found intercessors, who pitying the effusion of *Greekish* blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad fought to binde unto them those people, that were howsoever weakie in numbers, yet very good souldiers. But hereby it came to passe, that the more forward fort, especially the *Ætoliens*, whose whole Nation was addicted to falsehood and robbery; durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their Neighbours: being well assured that if they had the worst, *The love of Greece* would be sufficient for to reedee me their quiet. They had, since the late Treaty of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponnesus*: but being beaten by the *Acheans*, and standing in feare to be more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the Warre as soone as they might. *Philip* made such answer unto the Embassadors, as he had done the former yeare; That he gave no occasion to the beginning of this Warre, nor was at the present affraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætoliens*, if they had a desire to live in rest, must first be dealt withall, to signifie plainly their determination, whereto himselfe would returne such answer as he should think fit.

LIII

Philip

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middest of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained against the *Romans* in the battell at *Thrafymene*. These letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the *Italian War*. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing War betweene themselves, without being molested by the *Barbarians*.¹⁰ For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had subdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seek by all means to set footing in *Greece*. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrey should bear peace within it selfe: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of War, should lay hold on the opportunity, now fidly serving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they stood in feare of danger threatening them at hand: but being soone after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselves by pillage, they were so farre from observing and following their owngood counsell, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themselves and the whole Countrey (but themselves before any other part of the Countrey) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages paid.

§. III.

Philip at the perswasion of *Demetrius Pharius*, enters into League with *Hannibal*, against the *Romans*. The Tenour of the League between *Hannibal* and *Philip*.

THIS being agreed upon: the *Greekes* betooke themselves to quiet courses of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the businesse of *Italy*, about which he consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battell of *Canna*: after which he joynd in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his owne lost kingdom, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsell, to make part with their enemies. It had otherwise been farre more expedient for *Philip*, to have supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peace upon some equal termes; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, a farre weaker Prince,⁴⁰ have both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The issue of the counsell which he followed, will appeare soone after in this. His first quarrell with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon such Conditions that might easily be broken: have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punic War. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenour of the League between *Him* and *Carthage*: which may seeme not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the forme it selfe then used; though it had been over-long to have been inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

The Oath and Covenants betweene *Hannibal* General of the *Carthaginians*, and *Xenophanes*, Embassador of *Philip* King of *Macedon*.

THIS is the League ratified by oath, which *Hannibal* the General, and with him *Mago*, *Myrcal*, and *Barnocai*, as also the Senators of *Carthage* that are present, and all the *Carthaginians* that are in his Army, have made with *Xenophanes* the son of *Cleomachus* *Athenian*, whom King *Philip* the son of *Demetrius* hath sent unto us for himselfe and the *Macedonians*, and his Associates: Before *Jupiter*, and *Juno*, and *Apollo*: before * The God of the *Carthaginians*, *Hercules* and *Tolaus*: before *Mars*,^{*} *Triton*, *Neptune*: before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Earth; before Rivers and Meddowes, and Waters; before all the Gods that have power over *Carthage*; before all the Gods that rule over *Macedon*, and the rest of *Greece*; before all the Gods that are Presidents of Warre, and present at the making of this League. *Hannibal* the General hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* in his Army: Be it agreed betweene You and Us; that this Oath stand for friendship and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, Upon Covenant, that the safety of the Lords the *Carthaginians*, and of *Hannibal* the General, and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the *Carthaginians*, using the same Lawes, and of the *Iticians*, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the *Carthaginians*, and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which we hold friendship in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, and with whom we shall hold friendship or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and such of the *Greekes* as are their Associates. In like manner shall King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, and other the *Greekes* his Associates, be saved and preserved by the *Carthaginian* Armies, and by the *Iticians*, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the *Carthaginians*, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter joyne with Us in *Italy*. Wee shall not take Counsell one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtilty, We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the *Carthaginians*, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Havens, with which Wee have already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King *Philip*, excepting those Kings, Cities, or Nations, with which we have already league and friendship.⁵⁰ The War that We have with the *Romans*, have Ye also with them, untill the Gods shall give us a new and happy end. Ye shall aid Us with those things whereof we have need, and shall do according to the Covenants betweene Us. But if the Gods shall not give unto You and Us their helpe in this War against the *Romans* and their Associates; then if the *Romans* offer friendship, We shall make friendship in such wise that Ye shall be partakers of the same friendship, With Condition, That they shall not have power to make War upon you: Neither shall the *Romans* be Lords over the *Corcyrians*, nor over those of *Apollonia*, nor *Dyrachium*, nor over *Pharus*, nor *Dimalte*, nor the *Parthini*, nor *Atintania*. They shall also render unto *Demetrius Pharius* all those that belong unto him, as many as are within the *Romans* Dominions. But if the *Romans* (after such peace made) shall make War upon You or Us; We will succour one another in that War, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in War made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendship. To this league if We or Ye shall think fit to add or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.

§. IIII.

How Philip yielded to his naturall wices, being therein soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles into which hee thereby fell, whilest he bore a part in the second Punick War. He poysoneth Aratus: and grows hateful to the Achæans.

Hitherto Philip had carried himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisdom, hee might have offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royall greatness of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrey. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath been said) by Demetrius Pharius: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly governed him as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listeing to doe what he ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turne in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himselfe in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates, under a more absolute forme of subjection. Hereunto Apelles had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was a boytious Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deeply wronged if hee might not wholly have his owne way, but were driven to await the Kings humours: at other times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to observe the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted Aratus: which the violence of Apelles could never doe.

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the Messenians, betweene the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreigne War) unto domestick objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In proceffe of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that Philip was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his coming thither, he found Aratus busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this renowned old man: but talked in private with such of the Messenians as repaired unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the insolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, ere that hee were gone that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they said, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people tooke Armes: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemed, that it would be easie to worry the Sheepe, when the Dogs their guardians were slaine. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear to tell him of it in publike, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should need the help and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. Hee ledde old Aratus aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of Ithome, that was over Messene. There he pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place

to his owne use; for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadell of Corinth, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Countrey. Whilest he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entralls of the beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly goe out of it, or rather keep it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have soothed him a little; were it only for desire to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as Aratus stood doubtfull what to answer, Demetrius Pharius gave this verdict: *If thou be a soothsayer, thou must goe thy waies, and let slip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns.* Thus he spake; resembling Ithome and Acrocorinth unto the two horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would Philip needs heare the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the Messenians: But if, by seizing upon Ithome, He must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by Antigonus, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his fouldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wils, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice Philip yielded at the present: but not without some dislike thenceforth growing betwene him and the Arats; whom he thought more froward than befemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly discovered his tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house, He had been dishonest with his sons wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despite of Cleomenes, his owne Countrey-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponnesus into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to beare him company. In this journey he found by experience what Aratus had lately told him, That unhoneest counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his Will, He seized upon their Towne of *Oricum*, and laid siege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of these doings: but thinking himself strong enough to doe what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of settling the Countrey, as his intended Voyage into Italy required: He kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, until it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilest he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in Italy: *M. Valerius* the Roman came into those parts; who not only maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the *Aetolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that Warre; the occurrences whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In manning whereof, though Philip did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leisure served, He made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the liberty of the Messenians; but made another journey into their Countrey, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, He went to worke by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open Warre. But in that Warre he could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprize. In this attempt upon Messene, he lost Demetrius Pharius; that was his Counsellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appears by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he waxed against those that seemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the ministry of *Taurion*, his Lievtenant, he poysoned old Aratus; and shortly after that he poysoned also the younger Aratus: hoping that these things would never have been knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto

Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Proceffions, to be celebrated every yeare twice, with a Priest ordained unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, since the helpe of the Devill is never failing to the increase of Idolatry.

The loving memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achaens* a marvellous dislike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or believed: neither were they in case to subsidit, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a most outrageous people, great darters, and shamelesse robbers. With these the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were soon divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the *Ætolians* should have the Country and Townes; but the *Romans* the spoyle, and carry away the people to sell for slaves. The *Achaens*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make streight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivill disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for such did the *Greekes* account all other Nations except their owne) to make havock of the Country. The same consideration moved also the *Lacedæmonians* to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the *Ætolians*; whose friendship they had embraced in the late War. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the *Achaens* his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially, at such time, as their owne necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himselfe the *Dymeans*, by an inestimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had bin taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people wheresoever they might be found, that had been carried away Captive, and sold abroad for slaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences past; if the malignity of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to understand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not ashamed; He took *Polyxena* the wife of the younger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might serve to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the second time: for, of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

Of *Philopœmen* Generall of the *Achaens*: and *Machanidas*, Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. *Abatell* between them, wherein *Machanidas* is slain.

It happens often, that the decess of one eminent man discovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there stood up *Philopœmen*: whose notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achaens* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a young man, and having no command; did especiall service to *Antigonus* at the battell of Sellasia against *Cleomenes*. Thence forward untill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of *Crus*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at peace betweene themselves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of Warre. At his returne home, He had charge of the Horle: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacie to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that he made the *Achaens* very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no lesse care to reforme their military discipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the *Achaens* to cut off their vaine expence

expence of bravery, in apparell, household-stuffe, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and furable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off; that were usefull in skirmishing at some distance, or for surprisles, or sudden and hasty Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had bin most accustomed. But when they came to handie-strokes, they were good for nothing, so long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: causing them to arme themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files so deep as had bin accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might tuse the service of many hands.

Eight moneths were spent of that year, in which he first was Prætor of the *Achaens*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* caused him to make trial, how his souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the succesor unto *Lycorgus*, a man more violent than his foregoer. He kept in pay a strong Army of mercenaries: and he kept them not only to fight for *Spacia*, but to hold the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behaved him not to take part with the *Achaens*, that were favorers of liberty; but to strengthen himselfe by friendship of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achaens*, and *Macedonians*; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwisely. For in seeking to take revenge upon those, that had lately hindred them from getting the Lordship of *Peloponnesus*; they hindred themselves thereby from recovering the Maftry of their own Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him faile of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the *Achaens*, and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whilst *Philip* therefore was busied else-where, he entred the Country of the *Manineans*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the * Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, as having stronger friends and weaker opposition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Maninææ*; where was fought between them a great battell. The Tyrant had brought into the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in disorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* sent forth his light armature a good way before him; so as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To second these, from the one and the other side came in continual supply still at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achaens* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being so farre advanced, each before their owne Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made unserviceable, by the interposition of his own men; in such manner as the Cannon is hindred from doing execution, in most of the battels fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not only by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well observeth) by surmounting those that were opposed in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to assure their owne servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their own; whereas they that serve under a free State, have no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the victory, many companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast, and

* *Excerpt. 2 Pol.*
litt.
Plut. in vita Philopœmen.

Polyb. lib.

and therefore such good fellows, will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers; because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the *Acheans*, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they betooke themselves to fight; and could not be staid by any persuasions of *Philopemen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battell of the *Acheans*. This disaster had bene sufficient to take from *Philopemen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely observed the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that error which might restore the victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chase unto those that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battell his *Lacedemonians*; whom he thought sufficient to deal with the *Acheans*, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of fight, *Philopemen* advanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay beforepemen advanced towards the *Lacedemonians* that stood before him. There lay betweene them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The *Lacedemonians* adventured over it, as thinking themselves better souldiers than the *Acheans*; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own Battell; and had no sooner the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the *Acheans*, who drave them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink: so as *Philopemen* getting over the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopemen* knew better how to use his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He suffered not all his Army to disband and follow the chase, but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant must come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lustie troupe of Horse about him he made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Acheans* in disorder; and to set upon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Companie saw *Philopemen* readie to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to looke, which way hee might shift for himselfe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side; and searched for an easie passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple Cassock, and the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopemen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch it selfe, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battell on the *Lacedemonian* side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken prisoners. Of the *Achean* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

§. VI.

Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victory the *Acheans* learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeede after a while (such was their discipline and continuall exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inferior to any, that should have brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or verily nearly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the *Acheans* would have done him service, they must, by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joynd with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a King, was scarce yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in *Phileteus* his Uncle: who being goulded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a childe, grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed as great men in those times repofed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Anigonus* the first; and after the death of *Anigonus*, he accompanied his Maister, that brooke himselfe to *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lysimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in feare of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; he fled into *Asia*, where he seized upon the Towne of *Pergamus*, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The Towne and money, together with his owne service, he offered unto *Seleucus* the first, that then was ready to give *Lysimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleucus*, having slaine *Lysimachus*, dyed shortly after himselfe, before he made use of *Phileteus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He had two brethren of which the elder is said to have bin a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before such time they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Phileteus* left his Kindome to the elder of these, or to the son of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdome; making his advantage of the dissention between *Seleucus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sons of the second *Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax*, neere unto *Sardes*, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the *Gauls* that served under his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word "Victory" upon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off: and when the hot liver of the beast that was sacrificed, had clearly taken the print of the letters, He published this unto his Army as a Miracle; plainly foreshewing that the gods would be assitant in that Battell.

After this Victory, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleucus*: who never durst attempt to recover from him, by Warre, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty yeeres, he died by a surfeit of over-much drinke, and left his kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom we now untreat, that was son unto *Attalus* the youngest brother of *Phileteus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces he restored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by *Achaus*: who setting up himselfe as king against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. He was besieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the helpe of the *Telissages*, a Nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, He recovered all that he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once gotten footing in *Asia*, they never wanted employment but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves, without invitation; and found themselves worke in quarters of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* to cease from his war against *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condescended; they nevertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victory; and used it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing, they occupied the Region about *Hellepont*: where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheless, presuming afterwards upon their strength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Province, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill up the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the shortlived reigns of the *Persians*; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that king, whom

Perdiccas

more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they tooke no pleasure to heare, that *Atalus* and the *Rhodians* had sent Embassadours to sollicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Asia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the Townes upon the Continent, but all the Ilands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant shortly to hold warre with the *Romans* upon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be resisted by *Atalus* and the *Rhodians*; especially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men unto the warre, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affaires of those that were more mighty than himselfe. He was too unskillfull, or otherwise too unapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he deserved to have them: for he offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harme. It behoved him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the utmost in making warre upon them; or in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs so past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But he, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the most naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unlesse they thinke themselves justly provoked; was afterwards too fondly persuaded, that he might well be secure of the *Romans*, because of the written Covenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby such Articles of peace can be held inviolable, save onely * by the water of *Syx*, that is, by *Necessitie*: which whilest it binds one partie, or both unto performance, making it apparent, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) be presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*, then was the river of *Syx* dried up: and then could they swear as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Africa*, and the present war against *Atalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the *Athenians* helped to furnish them with more.

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, tooke state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarmania* entering into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were delivered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to be available unto felicity after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to have therein done amiss; yet, as it had beene for some haynous crime, they were put to death. All their Country-men at home took this in ill part; and sought to revenge it as a publike injurie, by warre upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* some *Macedonians* to help them, they entered into *Attica*: who waited it with fire and sword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignitie stirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them thinke upon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadours to King *Atalus*; gratulating his happy successe against *Philip*, and intreating him to visit their Citie. *Atalus* was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the *Roman* Embassadours, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoicing that he continued enemy to *Philip*, and he being no lesse glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pompe as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the

the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Atalus* himselfe they omitted no point of obsevrance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first comming into the City they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe, saying, That with an evill grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writing, what he would have to be propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the *Macedonian*, whilest he with the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, he protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to crave his helpe. There needed little intreatie: for they were as willing to proclaim the warre, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noise of warre, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Atalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time, in seeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their partie: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wonne the Townes of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other strong places about the *Hellepont*. Likewise passing over the *Hellepont*, he laid siege unto *Abydus*; and wonne it, though he was faine to stay there long. The towne held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Atalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it selfe against so mighty an enemy. But the *Rhodians* sent thither only one *Quadrivernus* Gallie: and *Atalus* no more than three hundred men, farre too weake an aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embassadours wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These Embassadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmilius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent unto *Ptolomy* Epiphane King of *Egypt*, to acquaint him with their victory against *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that war; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopater* had done before him) he begane a very young boy. The courtisie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, that out of *Egypt* they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of Extreme Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but bee welcome to the *Egyptian*: since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Councell for him, should offer to supply the *Romans* with Corne: since this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadours both leisure and direction from the Senate, to looke unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmilius* the youngest of them should steppe aside, and visit *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the siege of *Abydus*; which else he was like to carry. *Æmilius*, comming to *Philip*, tels him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Atalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made warre, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the towne of *Abydus*, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependance upon *Atalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Atalus* and the *Rhodians* had made warre upon him: and that he did onely requite them with the like. Doe you also (said *Æmilius*) require these poor *Abydens* with such terrible warre, for any like Invasion by them first made upon you? The King was angry to heare himselfe thus taken shore: and therefore he roundly made answer to *Æmilius*; It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and above all, your being a *Roman*, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish you to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keepe it: If ye doe otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the Kingdome, and Name of *Macedon*

* *Sic Francis Bacon de sap. veterum.*

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

Macedon is in matter of warre, no lesse noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Towne immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Towne on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which whilst they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the yonger sort; that, by exhortation of the Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three daies leisure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the towne; or hazzard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

§. IX.

The Romans decree warre against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerely resembled; though *Rome* was not alike interested in the quarrell. But to helpe themselves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the Citie of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that hee should presently imbarke himselfe for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in five moneths, but in the short space of five dayes sayling. Thus *P. Sulpicius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre upon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrius* was by him alledged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdome, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africa*; to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to beleve, that this war with the *Macedonian* was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same Consull halted away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given to the *Athenian* Embassadors, of their constancie (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of *Rome* had no cause to thinke it a benefit unto themselves; that any *Greece* Towne, refusing to sue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne parts, had reason to give thanks unto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, That *Philip* was making readie for *Italy*: and since neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodian*, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the *Romans* to give them protection: these busie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acar-nanians*, and consequently with *Philip*; a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans* as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpicius* the Consul were such, as might have argued *Athens* to be the least part of his care. He failed not about *Peloponnesus*, but tooke the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of *Aspus*, betwene *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the Waite. Soone upon his coming, the *Athenian* Embassadors were with him, and craved his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilst he was far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliver them.

them. For which cause he sent unto them *C. Claudius* with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater designe. The *Athenians* were not indeed besieged: onely some *Rovers* from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Eubæa*, and some bands of adventurers out of *Corinth*, against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two townes. The robberies done by these *Pyrats* & Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like *Athenians*, in this declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrivall of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, easly preserved them. As for the *Athenians* themselves, they that had beene wont, in ancient times, to undertake the conquests of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make warre upon the great *Persian* King, and to hold so much of *Greece* in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest; had now no more than three ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had beene still their owne.

§. X.

The Town of Chalcis in Eubæa taken and sacked by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprize: wasteth the Country about, and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife. Philip offers to make warre against Nabis for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth againe: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyne with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the warre.

Philip returning home from *Abydus*, heard newes of the *Roman* Consul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Invaders with all his forces: he received advertisement from *Chalcis* of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no such worke at *Athens* as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the warre; and make his owne employment better. He grew soone weary of sitting as a Scare-crow, to save the *Athenians* grounds from spoile; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The towne of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Townes-men, who reposed themselves upon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudius* having advertisement, failed thither by night, for feare of being descried: and arriving there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it, (unlesse he should have left the heartlesse *Athenians* to their owne defence) He set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for Warre, which were plentifully filled. Neither were He & his Associates contented with the great abundance of spoile which they carried aboard their ships, and with enlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned: but, to shew their despight and hatred unto the King, they overthrow and brake in pieces the Statuæ to him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about some twenty miles thence; whither when these tidings or part of them, were brought him, though hee saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet he made all haste to take reveng. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their trusty friends, busie at work in ransacking the town, & loading themselves with spoile: but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* onely a few to bury the dead, He marched from thence away speedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not impossible to take his enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not descried him a farr off, and swiftly carried word

of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Post came thither : who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadell to found the Alarme, and with all speede made ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there : who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation usuall in such a case, understood that they had newes of his comming ; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compassse about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the town some mercenarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of citizens ; they adventured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make titude of citizens ; they adventured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this ; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example ; & presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular prooffe of his valour ; and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, drave them with great slaughter backe into the City. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harme taking ; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without much endangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments besides, neere adjoining unto *Athens* : of which he spared none ; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day he came the *Romans*, and some Companies of *Antalus* his men from *Aegina* ; too late in regard of what was already past ; but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinib*, and hearing that the *Acheans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thither to them unexpected.

The *Acheans* were devising upon war : which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* : who being started up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater mischiefes than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries ; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor ; a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him ; and one that in his naturall condition finelt rankon upon those that lived under him ; and one that in his naturall condition finelt rankon ly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him ; since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives ; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their jewels and apparell. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made, lively representing her ; & apparelled it with such costly garments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an Engine, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous ; he would bring him into the roome where this Counterfeit *Apega* stood, and there use all his art of perswasion, to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses ; then tooke he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who sat by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So he ledde him to the Image, that rose up and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yronnayles, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes : and herewith the griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Government. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Aetolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans* ; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former warre. Of *Philopæmens* vertue he stood in feare ; and therefore durst not provoke the *Acheans*, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a farre worse Captaine, was their Prætor, and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged ; *Philopæmen* being also gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of Warre : then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory ; and waisting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safety in the Townes.

Against

Against this Tyrant the *Acheans* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them ; and had set downe what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse ; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden upon himselfe. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whilst he made warre upon *Lacedæmon*, He ought not to leave his owne Townes unguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to *Corinib*, & some Companies into the Ile of *Eubœa* ; that so he might securely pursue the warre against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his device ; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against *Nabis*, hee brake up the Assembly, with every mans good liking ; whereas in former times, he had beene thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpose with the *Acheans*. Nevertheless he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries, & so returned by *Corinib* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philotes* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had beene doing what harme he might unto the Countrey. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Cattle of *Eleusine*, the Haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places ; that he could no more than wreake his anger upon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time singularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble ; which they had in plenty, of their owne ; or, having long agoe benee masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choyce was found. Neither did he only pull all downe : but caused his men to breake the very stones, that they might be unserviceable to their reparation. His losse at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, He went home into *Macedon* : and there made provision, both against the *Roman* Consul that lay about *Apollonia* ; and against the *Dardaniens*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infect him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Aetolians* : to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at *Nampaſus*, he sent an Embassage, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the *Roman* Consul encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he sent forth *Apustius* his Lievtenant, with part of the Army, to waste the borders of *Macedon*. *Apustius* tooke sundry Castles and Townes ; using such extremity of sword and fire at *Amispatia*, the first good Towne which he wonne by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoile, he was charged in Rere, upon the passage of a brooke, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain : but the *Romans* had the better, & killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their camp. The successe of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet served to draw into the *Roman* friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. These were *Pleuratus*, the son of *Serdilaidas* the *Illyrian* ; *Aminander* King of the *Albanians*, and *Bato* the sonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardaniens*. They offered their assistance unto the Consul, who thanked them : and said, That he would shortly make use of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entered into *Macedon* : but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Countrey lay betwene the *Aetolians* and the *Jessaly*, might be perhaps available with the *Aetolians*, to stirre them up against *Philip*. So the present care was wholly set upon the *Aetolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, & *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* spake first, and said : That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betwene his master and the *Aetolians* : so was it to be hoped, that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause, to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Aetolians*, and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the *Aetolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their

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their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the generall hatred, which these *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the same sort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuse*, when it was oppressed by *Carthaginian* tyrants, but now both *Syracuse* and *Messana*, were subject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the same effect he alleged many examples, adding, That in like sort it would happen to the *Ætoli*ans: who if they drew such masters into *Greece*, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to consult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would ease them of this care, and send them such a Moderator, as went every yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuse*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeeres agoe made the peace which still continued; although that the very same *Romans* were then against it, who sought to breake it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good answer to these objections. For the *Macedonian* had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were set on by them to speake next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embassadour, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few daies past, made Warre upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a pittifull rehearfall of their owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the rest of *Greece*, should feele the same that *Attica* had felt; yea that *Athens* it selfe, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the walls and the *Roman* armes had not defended them.

Then spake the *Romans*: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point, in hand. They said, that they had of late made Warre in the *Ætoli*ans behalfe, and that the *Ætoli*ans had without their consent made peace: whereof since the *Ætoli*ans must excuse themselves, by alleging that the *Romans*, being busied with *Carthage*, wanted leisure to give them aide convenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætoli*ans to take part with them in their war and victory, unless they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offering their help ere it was desired, were themselves carried into the warre by more earnest motives, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor shifted them off a while with a dilatory answer: though he told his country-men, That by reserving themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That over-much haste was an enemy to good counsaile: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But coming neerer to the matter in hand, He passed a Decree, That the Prætor might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude upon such business; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding: whereas otherwise it was unlawfull to treat of such affaires, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætoli

Philip was glad to heare, that the *Romans* had sped no better in their solicitation of the *Ætoli*ans. Hee thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappooint them of another. His sonne *Perseus*, a very boy, was sent to keep the Streights of *Pelagonia* against the *Dardani*ans;

*Dardani*ans; having with him some of the Kings Councill, to governe both him & his Army. It was judged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings son, how yong soever, would both encourage his followers, and terrefie the enemies, by making them at least beleve, that hee was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would serve to keepe *Attalus* with the *Rhodian* and *Roman*, from doing harme by Sea, when the Kings backe was turned: who tooke his journey Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Deffaretii*, a people in the utmost borders of *Macedon* towards *Ilyria*, about the mountaines of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North untill they joyne in the South with *Pindus*, inclose the Westerne parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued forth of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which hee had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the *Romans*, and driven backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the King was unwilling to hazzard all at first upon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no lesse unwilling to lose too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein hee bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The *Romans* had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had been well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him so hotly, that they drove him to an halty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not staying to let them runne into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kinde of help which the *Romans* had never used before, but had taken these of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce above fourescore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never seene any of those beasts before. But now the same *Romans* (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than *He. Sulpicius* was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his men to fetch in come out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground; and so the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to over-runne the Country. The King was nothing sorry of this; but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleasure: even till their presumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them carelesse. When this was come to passe, he tooke all his horse, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, betwene the Forragers and their Campe. There he stayed in Covert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Country, to fall upon the stragglers: willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them upon the King and his companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went;

went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellows where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse divided themselves, accordingly as they met with advertisements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moit of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troupes, that were canvassing the field, tooke their taske where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell upon the King himselfe. They had the disadvantage; as coming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellows also might have beene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poore gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in fight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own safetie. They ran which way they could: & (as menthalie lie in waite for others, are seldome heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine under him: and there had he beene cast away, if a loving subject of his had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horse, and delivered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident rashnes; and the Consul, with as much dulnesse, for his dayes service. A little longer stay would have delivered the King from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired backe to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had set upon his Campe, at such time as he fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken, they might have won it. But that Noble Historian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his maner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Army lay safe in his Campe; and could not be so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe, he was advertised, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardaniens*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do somwhat betimes, that he might set the *Romans* going the sooner, & afterwards looke unto his troublefome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleare himselfe of the *Romans*, as soone as hee might. And to that purpose hee sent unto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But instead of so doing, hee marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little use; being a square battell of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more servicable in that case. But they were few; and their arrows were of small force against the *Roman* shields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) layd open unto the Consul some poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yeelded for feare. But the spoile of these, and of the fields adjoining, was not sufficient to maintaine his Army; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardaniens*, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Country. The King sent *Athenagoras* to waite upon them home; whilest he himselfe went against the *Aeolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prator of the *Aeolians*, who had reserved himselfe and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once & again: as also that *Pleuratus* & the *Dardaniens* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had beene wise. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaime warre, joyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made invasion upon *Thessaly*. They tooke and cruelly

cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay disperfed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Aeolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time the *Roman* Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken some small Islands in the *Aegean* Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of *Oreum* in the Isle of *Euboea*; and some other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the *Aeolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*; and the people, for slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindred either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

§. XII.

Villius the *Roman* Consul wastes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the *Gauls* in *Italy*. An Embassy of the *Romans* to *Carthage*, *Masaniissa*, and *Vermina*. The *Macedonian* prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and *T. Quintius* *Flaminius* is sent against him.

Thus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Consul, tooke charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in *Sicily* & *Africke*, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had served at *Cannae*: as may seeme by their complaint, of having beene long absent from *Italy*; whither faine they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertaine. For the History of his yeare is lost: whereof the misse is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antius*, as we finde in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Livie* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Author; we may reasonably beleeve, that *Villius* his yeare was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have beene expected with the *Gauls*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had beene able to force; was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort *Cremona* was attempted; but saved her selfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that stayed behinde *Asdrubal* or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the *Gauls*, in these their enterprises. This when the *Romans* heard, they sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to understand, That if they were not wearie of the peace, it behooved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps left the message might seeme otherwise to have favoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitive slaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were some reported to walke up and downe in *Carthage*: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masaniissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Unto *Masaniissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure he might doe them, by lending them some of his *Numidian* Horse, to serve in their Warre against the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe unto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That having beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they used not to conferre upon any, save onely upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him, was wholly committed unto these Embassadors, upon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitives: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite,

requisite, give satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Masaniſſa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thousand of his *Numidian* horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadors, to give them entertainment, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any disputation, agreed with them upon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* busied in taking order for their *Macedonian* Warre; that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*; they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gauls*; they laide siege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a battaile with them; and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile: and the fruit of the victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwards should have the managing of warre among those *Gauls*. So was there good leisure to thinke upon the businesse of *Macedon*: where *Philipp* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counsaillour whom they hated; as also to assure unto himselfe the *Acheans*, by rendering unto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *Salpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came advertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Confull, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whose coming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

6. XIII.

The Romans begin to make war by negotiation. T. Quintius winnes a passage against Philip. Thessaly wasted by Philip, the Romans, and Aetolians. The Acheans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vaine. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

THE *Romans* had not bene wont in former times, to make Warre after such a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battaile to the Enemy, as soone as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his owne weaknesse. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they began to learne of the subtle *Greekes*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poore, & stood indebted,* many years after this, unto private men, for part of those monies that had bene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonalty averse from the *Macedonian* warre; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the lesse need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the *Latiners*) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Confull, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other meanes could well have served, for the setting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from home) have bred some jealousie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies, more than of their owne Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe unto them, by his Embassadors; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable. They said, That it was not their manner to use the aide of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie; and could also bee well contented to afford it; That

That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were; against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deal with *Antiochus* by Embassadors, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an atonement betweene them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*, who reciprocally at their inreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these termes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soone appeare.

T. Quintius hasting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the supply decreed unto him; which consisted, for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had served in *Spain* and *Africa*. He found *Villius* the old Conful, (whom at his comming he presently discharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Apfus* or *Aous*. It was manifest, that either the *Romans* must fetch a compasse about, and seek their way into *Macedon*, through the poore Countrey of the *Dassarettians*; or else winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way; they had already two yeeres together mis-spent their time, and bene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victuals; whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Thessaly*, then should they enter into a plentifull Countrey; and which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a maner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheless, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of *Apfus*, running along through that valley which alone was open betweene the Mountains, made it all a deep, *Maris* and unpassable Bogge; a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assailed to climbe in the Mountains: but finding himselfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; he was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of forty dayes.

This long time of rest gave hope unto *Philip*, that the war might bee ended by composition, upon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the *Epiriots*, (among whom he had many friends) that hee and the Confull had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Confull would have him to set all Townes of *Greece* at liberty; and to make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late: but unto such, as had bene long subject unto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claime and dominion over them. He also said, That as farre forth as it should appeare that he had done wrong unto any Towne or people whatsoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme convenient in the judgement of some free State, that had not bene interested in those quarrells. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had alwayes bene the Invader; and had not made warre, as one provoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Conful was required to name those Towns, that hee would have to be set at liberty; the first that hee named were the *Thessalians*: These had bene subjects (though conditionall) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever since the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soone as *Flaminius* had named the *Thessalians*; the King in a rage demanded what sharper condition hee would have laid upon him, had he bene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly hee flang away; refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Confull strove in vaine two or three dayes together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himselfe, and could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heards-man sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epiriots* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beasts in those Mountaines, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertooke to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound:

bound: and being promised a great reward, in case he made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiscovered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their successe unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on they journey, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*; thereby to avert the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent, he pressed as neere as he could unto the Enemies to the place whither they were sent, he prevailed as little as in former times, Campe, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, untill the shoutings of those that ran downe the hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished so the *Macedonians*, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himselfe. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the *Romans* from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troops, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* began to stand in feare, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equal ground. Neither was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the *Thessalians*, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countre, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himselfe rooke it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Countrey, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hinderance did serve, to make him breake off his purpose, and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdom of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readinesse to invade *Thessaly*; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their severall Countreies. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they followed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Army. Thus were the poore *Thessalians*, of whose liberty the *Romans* a few dayes since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to avoide. *T. Quintius* wonne *Phaleria* by assault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yielded unto him. *Rhage* defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, having somewhat recolected his spirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, having well-neere spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevaile at *Rhage*; brake up his siege, and departed out of *Thessaly*. He had appointed his ships of burden to meete him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Towne of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Countrey being friend to the *Macedonian*, he presently invaded; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated betwene *Thessaly* and other regions, where in he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many Townes in *Phocis* he wonne by assault: many were yielded up unto him for feare; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this warre, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They wonne two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid siege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arceall of the *Corinthians* on their Easterne Sea. This enterprize did somewhat helpe forward the *Acheans*, in their desire to leave the part of *Philip*: since it might come to passe, that *Corinth* it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining

to *Corinth*, how very shortly should be rendred unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Acheans* to preferre the friendship of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accustomed. For this King had so many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilst being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsell as they should hold the fittest. His tyrannous practises to make himselfe their absolute Lord: his poisoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: His false dealing with the *Messenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as an necessary evil, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopamen*, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength, so as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well subsist, as having him to friend: then did they onely think how evil he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceive how they stood affected: and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of * *Philopamen*. But failing in this enterprize; and being detected, he did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was thoroughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopamen* wrought so with the *Acheans*, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the *Macedonian*. *Cyrtidas*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Arifennus* chosen Prætor, who laboured to joyn them in society with the *Romans*.

These newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadors were sent from the *Romans*, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Acheans*, making promise, that they should have *Corinth* restored unto them; if they would forsake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Acheans* was held at *Sicyon*, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents desired the *Acheans* to joyn with them in making Warre upon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this business, admonishing the *Acheans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassadors did no way advance their Masters cause. Rather it gave the *Acheans* to understand, That he, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe unable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell, who remembering the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; prevailed against the memory of those old good turnes, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold unto them, and partly had used as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the *Romans* were strong, and likely to prevaile in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, they forthwith entered into society: with the *Romans* (because no League would be of force, untill the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any society at the present, untill the returne of those Embassadors from *Rome*, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The *Megalopolisians*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their best for the *Macedonian*, as by many respects they were bound; rose up out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree; which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto give assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the *Argives* had so little thanke; that all the rest of the *Acheans* may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, upon a solemn day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens discovered it selfe so plainly, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Cite into his hands, if they might have any small assistance. *Philotes* a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended against the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to

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Argos; whither coming on a sudden, and finding the multitude ready to joine with him, He easily compelled the *Achaean* Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtaine some good end by Treaty, whilst as yet with his honour he might seeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen; who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect unto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to pre-dispose things unto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the *Malian* or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is supposed) the *Gulf of Ziton*, in the *Aegean Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Aminander* the *Atbamani*an Ambassador of *Attalus*; the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and some Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achaens*. *Philip* had with him some few of his owne Captaines, and *Cycladas*, lately banished for his sake out of *Achaia*. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal Gods: yet misdoubting some treacherie in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the *Romans*, were, That he should set all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in *Ilyria*; and whatsover about *Greece* or *Asia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Townes, and Temples by him taken and spoyled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have againe the Country of *Peraea*, lying over against their Iland; as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of divers Townes about the Hellespont, and other Havens of their friends. The *Achaens* desired restitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjustly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angrily, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Country, leaving it free; and withall to deliver up unto them, whatsoever he held that had at any time beene theirs. Neither were they herewithall content: but insolently declaymed against him, for that which he had lately done in *Thessaly*; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when hee was vanquished, those Townes, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapart *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to be rowed nearer the shore. But they began to plie him afresh: telling him that he must obey his betters, unless he were able to defend himselfe by force of Armes. He answered them (as he was much givento gybing) with sundry scoffes; and especially with one, which made the *Roman* Consul understand, what manner of companions these *Ætolians* were. For he said, That he had often deale with them; as likewise the best of the *Greeks*; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take spoyle from spoyle: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take *Ætolia* out of *Ætolia*. *Titus* wondered what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as Warre happened betwene their friends, to hold up the quarrell by sending Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, Hee said it was strange that the *Ætolians* should bee so carefull thereof, since divers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeed no *Grecians*: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make slaves of those *Ætolians*, which were no *Greekes*. *Titus* hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the *Ætolians* well rated up; touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that generall demand of setting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well become the greatnesse of the *Romans*; though he would also consider, what might become his owne dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might hee should bee thereunto compelled: it was, hee said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The *Achaens* hee charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheless he said, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himselfe.

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Thus he addressed himselfe wholly to the *Roman* Generall; unto whom if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late War (he said) was onely defensive; they having beene the offerers: or if he gave them any occasion, it was onely in helping *Prusias*, his sonne-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, that, spoyling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut downe the Grove, and pleasant walkes thereabouts: what could he doe more, than send Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus he jested the matter out: but offered nevertheless, in honour of the *Romans*, to give backe the Region of *Peraea* to the *Rhodians*; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof hee had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leisure to thinke upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counsell, wherewith to advise about them. For your being so ill provided of Counsell (said *Titus*) you may even thanke your selfe; as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to advise you faithfully. The next day *Philip* came not, untill it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the weightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was beleevd, that he thereby sought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in private with the *Roman* Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achaens* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as also that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant some part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatsover they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaymed against it, saying, That if the King were suffered to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendred up. The noyse that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, he would suffer himselfe to be perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it; if they could like well of those Conditions which he had already tendred; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadors to *Rome*, where he would referre himselfe to the courtesie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintus* would have it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the Warre. So he easily prevailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for service in the War; and since, without authority of the Senate, he should be unable to proceed resolutely either in Warre or Peace. Further he willed them to send their severall Embassadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he perswaded King *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome* in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadors, would serve to make his owne actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own Command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reasons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embassadors of the *Greekes*, when they had audience at *Rome*, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victory, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the *Romans*, in undertaking to set *Greece* at liberty. But this (they said) could never be effected; unless especiall care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in fervility; that the Senate agreed to have it even so as they desired. When therefore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the midst of their Preface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would yield up *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the

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King had given them no direction or commission what to say or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadors have truly said, That neither the *Etians*, *Acheans*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claime to either of these Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Acheans* had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, having stolne it from One *Macedonian* king in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain unto an Other) *Philip* had already confederated to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alledged, even against the *Greeks*, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might have had the honor to conclude the war, if a successor had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadors into *Greece*, cared to give care unto any talke of peace.

Philip, seeing that his *Acheans* had forsaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe unto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeares past, since the *Lacedaemonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had been almost strong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Acheans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the *Acheans*: and therefore seemed to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should bee assigned over into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the *Macedonian*. *Philoctes* the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a freight alliance with the *Lacedaemonian*, by giving some daughters of his owne in marriage unto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*, unless by decree of the Citizens themselves hee might be called into it. Hereabout *Philoctes* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fliee them. So he willed *Philoctes*, without more ado, to make over the Town which he was ready to receive. *Philoctes* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forsaken the *Acheans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, understanding how things went, fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that stayed behinde, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado; but if any stood long upon the matter: or played the thieves in purloining their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath been an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As soon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He sent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to joine with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he tooke the pains to crosse over the Streights into *Peloponnesus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soon agreed (though King *Aistalos*, who was present with the Consul, made some cavill touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, sixe hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as also he agreed with the *Acheans*, upon a Truce for foure moneths, reserving the final conclusion of peace between them untill the War of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIII.

§. XIII.

The battell at *Cynoscephale*, wherein *Philip* was vanquished by *T. Quintius*.

Titus Quintius, as soone as he understood that he was appointed to have Command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War; meant afterwards wholly to relie upon himselfe.

Titus had in his Army about fixe and twenty thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Thessaly*, and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to have met unawares, neare unto the City of *Phera*: where the vancurers on both sides discovered each other; and sent word thereof unto their severall Captains. But neither of them were over hasty to commit all to hazzard upon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discovery. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally into their severall Camps, with little advantage unto either side. The Country about *Phera* was thick set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it improper for service of the *Macedonian Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remove back into *Scotusa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully served with all necessaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it onely to waste the Country. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took. Nevertheless they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging where hee found it by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the *Macedonians* had the worke. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the *Etians* had not been desperate, the *Romans* their fellows had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all resistance notwithstanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a litle discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in fight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose to put the fortune of a battell in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thick and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his owne, if hee could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often finde. This caused him to alter his purpose: inso much as he embattelled his men; and climbed up those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynoscephale*. As soone as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were busie in fight, almost at the very Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. Hee had also liberty to choose his ground, as might serve best his advantage: forasmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use: the roughness of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, serving nothing apply for his *Phalanx*. Nevertheless hee found convenient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captaines, to follow with the rest; embattelling them as they might. Whilest hee was doing this: He perceived that his Horsemen and light armature began to shrink; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He sent forward to helpe them: and they no lesse hastily draw unto him for succour; having the *Romans* not far behinde them.

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece

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of

of worke. For this *Phalanx* being a great square battell of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner used, as are ours; was not to be refitted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together undissolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the *Romans*; as also the pikes of the first ranke had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvell if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a dozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to re-medie it; was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while he observed, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevennesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was worse) upon desire either of beholding the paltme, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellows, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder Hee made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his Battell to march up the Hill against these ill-ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way to increase the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to dispart what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to doe; as having no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons unusefull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* having fixe and twenty thousand in his Armie (as he is said to have been equall to the Enemy in number) had foure thousand fourteene thousand Pikes; whereof he himselfe had embattelled the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having usually fixteene in file, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have neare foure hundred and forty in ranke: but foure hundred would serve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or seven or thirty files might be cut off, and as reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Quintius* doth, to every man of them three foote of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred foote, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very neare a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity dis-joyne this close battell of the *Phalanx*; was not every where to be found. Here at *Cynosephale* *Philip* had so much room, as would onely suffice for the one halfe of his men; the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the *Dogges heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up into them; nor found any difficulty in mastering those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give back; and the coming on of the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonel, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainly helpfull to making of the victory compleate. Hee considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on so farre: as that himselfe, with his fellows, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand, and making downe the hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindermost rankes of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeede save the first five, were accustomed, when the battels came to joyning, to carry their pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at this present. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it served neither for offence nor defence, except onely in front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when hee was to fight with *Darius* in *Mesopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the foure sides of it were as so many fronts looking sundry ways,

ways, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet it is to be understood, that herein he altered the usuall forme; as also at the same time he embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keep their owne ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unless their hindmost rankes could have marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being other wise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons & fled. The king himselfe had thought untill now, that the fortune of the battell was every where alike, and the day his own. But hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of horse, to see how all went; when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he presently betook himselfe to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about *Tempe*, there to collect such as were dispersed in this overthrow) untill he was gotten into his own kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Armie in this battell, about seven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thousand were slaine; and five thousand taken prisoners.

§. XV.

T. Quintius falleth out with the *Ætolians*, and grants truce unto *Philip*, with conditions upon which the peace is raised. Liberty proclaimed unto the *Greekes*. The *Romans* quarrell with *Antiochus*.

The *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themselves; and desired to have it noyed through all *Greece*, that the victory at *Cynosephale* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie by sacking the *Macedonian* Camp, whilst the *Romans* were busied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, & at their ravenous condition, purposed to reach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, That by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in *Greece*; who detested the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battell *Titus* made haste unto *Larissa*, a Citie in *Thessalie*, which he presently tooke. Before his coming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many he forgot not to provide for the safetie of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Larissa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already lost. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their Neighbors, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the same time, the town of *Leucas*, bordering upon *Acarnania*, was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very soone after, all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred to the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*, gave up themselves unto the *Romans*, hearing of the victory at *Cynosephale*. The *Rhodians* also were then in hand with the conquest of *Pæreea*, a Region of the Continent over against the Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greekes*: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leasure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own, and some helpe which they borrowed of the *Acheans* and other their friends, gave battell to *Democrates* the kings Lievtenant, wherein they had the victory, and consequently recovered the whole Province. It angered *Philip* worse than all this, that the *Dardaniens* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his kingdome; wasting and spoyling, as if all had bin abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all haste of six thousand foot and five hundred horse: wherewith coming upon them, he drave them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the kingdome. Which done he returned to *Thessalonica*.

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yeeld unto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Limnem* and *Demofthenes* with

with *Cycliadas* the banished *Achean*, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadors unto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and some of the *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seemed that they had Commission, to referre all unto *Titus* his owne discretion; as *Philip* himselfe in few dayes after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteen dayes: in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the *Roman* Generall. In the mean season many suspicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had bene corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of these bruits the *Aiolians* were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honestie, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters unto his Associates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty should be held. There when they were all assembled, they entered into consultation before the Kings arrivall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every estate in particular. The poor king *Aminander* besought them all, & especially the *Romans*, that they would thinke upon him; and, considering his weakenesse which he confessed, make such provision, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger upon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander*, one of the *Aiolians*: who commending *Titus* so far as he had thus assembled the Confederates to advise upon their own good, and had willing them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither assure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe unto the *Greeks*, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this *Aiolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable customes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to seeke the utter destruction of any King, or 30 Nation, at such time as they first made warre with them; untill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof the alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was only an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publike benefit of *Greece*, it was (he said) expedient, that the kingdome of *Macedon* should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be utterly destroyed: forasmuch as it served as a barre to the *Thracians*, *Gauls*, and a multitude of other salvage Nations, which would soone overflow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld unto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reason to deny him peace. As for 40 the *Aiolians*: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsell apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Aiolians*, to say, that all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greeks*, no lesse than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leave his babbling, saying, That himselfe would take such order, as that *Philip*, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the *Greekes*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* used friendly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded unto all that had bene required at his hands; offering yet further to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Aiolian*, insulting over him, said it was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Aiolians* a many of Townes, (which he there named) bidding him speake whether he would or no. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should be otherwise. These were *Thessalian* Townes, and should be all free: one of them only excepted, which not long agoe had refused to commit it self to the faith of the *Romans*; and therefore should now be given to the *Aiolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the

Townes

Townes that had sometime belonged unto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the townes taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing save the pillage & captives. It is true, that there had bin such a condition in the former war: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soon as the *Aiolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to understand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the townes in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the *Aiolians*. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted with these angry passages between the *Roman* and the *Aiolians*: neither had they great reason to feare any hard measure; since *Titus* was so earnest in behalfe of those *Thessalian*, to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they offered not themselves; but gave their consent willingly unto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moved *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the *Macedonian*, besides that laudable custome by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his coming with an army from *Syria*; and drawing neere toward *Europe*. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motive; even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the *Macedonian*, and sundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Consuls were chosen: who (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their owne suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassadors of *Philip*, offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded; and the letters of *Titus*, pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side; and the importunitie of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as soone as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assembly of the People; by whose sovereignty authority it was concluded, that Peace should be granted to the King. So ten Embassadors were sent from *Rome* 30 over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had bin Consuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very faine have retained those three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demeirias*, untill the estate of *Greece* were somewhat better settled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed so, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Acheans*; and all the other *Greek* townes which *Philip* held, as well in *Asia* as in *Greece*, restored unto liberty.

The Conditions of the Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Isthmian Games*, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the *Greek* * *Exempti Eo.* townes which he held, and conigne them over to the *Romans*: That he should deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his 40 ships of warre, referring to himselfe onely five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatnesse, wherein sixteen men laboured at every oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following; by even portions. Hereto * *Livie* adds, That he was forbidden to make warre out of *Macedon*, * *Liv. lib. 33.* without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he observed this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger son *Demeirius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to *Rome*: when it was promised, that the money, and his sonne, should be restored backe unto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as young *Demeirius*, who, together with those foure hundred talents, was given for hostage, remained still in custody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargain which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* unto *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to understand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Cians*, most miserably spoyled and oppressed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their nation did. What effect

effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly material; since the *Romans* were shortly busied with *Aniobus*, in such wife, that they had not leasure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All Greece rejoiced at the good bargain which *Timus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themselves agreed that they were utterly neglected: which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonians*; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well affected to the *Romans*: who, seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint unto *Timus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne unto him; unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor, which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Timus* refused to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confelld by those which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the *Romans*; in such wise, that howsoever they durst not take Armes against them, yet such of them as they found straggling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrey. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Timus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred soldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred Talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadours to the *Acheans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had hapned: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithall he falls to waiving their country; and beseegeth two such towns of theirs, as did seeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the *Acheans* and *Athenians* (especially of the *Acheans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war; yet besought him rather to grant peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed so far with him, that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the punishment of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of *Greece* distracted: some a-38
mong them rejoicing that they were free from the *Macedonians*; others greatly doubting
that the *Romans* would prove a worse neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have bin glad of
any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of
the *Romans*, to keepe in their own hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his
Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the *Greekes*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* war
served as an introduction to the War to be made in *Asia* against King *Antiochus*; where
grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay
the progreffe of bad rumors, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace
were never without great solemnity and concourse; *Titus* in that great assembly of all
Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Se- 40
nate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, having vanquished
King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free
from Garrisons, and living at their own Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*,
Achaëans of *Phthiotis*, *Magnesiens*, *Thessalians*, and *Perrebeians*. The suddennesse
of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout,
yet presently they cried out to heare it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears.
The *Greekes* were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving thanks, which they rendred now
to *T. Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-neere smothered him, by
thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more available unto the *Romans* y^e in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could have beene the possession of a few Townes yea or of all those Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gave audience to *Hagesanax* and *Lysias*, king *Antiochus* his Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie unto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstain from the free cities in *Asia*, and not vex them with warres also to refore what-soever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe over his Army into *Europe*; adding

adding, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the *Greeks*; so the rest they gave what they had promised. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Aeolians*; whom they thought it no wisdom to offend overmuch, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Acheans* of *Phibiotie* they annexed unto the *Thessalians*; all save the town of *Thebes* in *Phibiotie*, the same which had bin abandoned by *T. Quimius* to the *Aeolians* in the last Treaty with *Philp*. The *Aeolians* contended very earnestly about *Pharsalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the Senate; for howsoever somewhat the Council might favor them, yet was it not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despite of *Tim*. So the *Acheans* were restored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, & *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achean* common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner as they could desire. To *Pleurtus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philp*; and upon *Amanander* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philp* during this war; to reign in them & the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Abamantians*. The *Rhodians* had bin their owne Carvers. *Anialus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Tim* in Council, would have given the towns of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the Ile of *Eubaea*, to his son and successor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the *Eubaeans*, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. *Orestis*, a little Province of the kingdom of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yielded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at liberty, and made a free estate by it self.

These businesſes being diſpatcht, it remained, that all care ſhould be uſed, not how to avoid the war with King *Antiochus*, but how to accompliſh it with moſt ſafe and proſperity. Wherefore Embaſſadors were ſent, both to *Antiochus* himſelfe, to pick matter of quarrell; and about unto others, to pre-diſpoſe them unto the aſſiſting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre againſt this King the *Romans* now had, or ſhortly after found: aſſo how their Embaſſadors and Agents dealt and ſped abroad; I referre unto another place.

CHAP. V

*The Warres of the Romans with Antiochus the Great,
and his Adherents.*

§. I.

What Kings of the races of Selencus and Ptolomie reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.



S Eleucus Nicæor, the first of his race, King of Asia and Syria, dyed in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth Olympiad. He was treacherously slaine by Ptolomie Ceraunus, at an Altar called Argos; having (as is said) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of Argos, as the fallall place of his death. But I never have read that any mans life hath bene preserved, or any mischance avoided by the predictions of such Divellish Oracles. Rather I beleeve, that many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, have bene ante-dated by their Priests; or by others which deviled them after the event.

Amiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearely beloved of his Father: who surrendred unto him his owne wife *Sratonica*, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had great cause to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevengeed by this his Successor.

But

But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words, containing himselfe within *Asia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in *Europe* with the blood of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonice* in his Fathers life, yet out of modesty he forbore to embrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that revenge; whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. *Alto Lumarus* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captaines of the *Gauls*, were set upon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these he fought a great battell: wherein, though otherwise the enemies had all advantage against him, yet by the terror of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the Victory. He tooke in hand an enterprize against *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the *Chaldean* dedicated his History of *Assyria*; the same which hath since bin excellently falsified by the Frier *Annianus*. He left behind him one sonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie & ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or the god, had this vaine and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Milesians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, *S. Hierome* and other Interpreters have understood that Prophecie of *Daniel*: *The Kings daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Ptolomie Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne sister *Aspinie*) a very excellent Prince: howsoever, the worst of all that race. It was He, that built, and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in *Alexandria*: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He sent unto *Eleazar*, then high Priest of the *Jewes*, for the Bookes of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefites of this King unto the *Jewes* had formerly bene very great: for he had set at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in slavery throughout all *Egypt*; and he had sent unto the * Temple of God in *Jerusalem* very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yielding to the Kings desire, presented him with an *Hebrew* coppie: which *Ptolomie* caused to be translated into *Greek*, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventie*, *Jesus* the sonne of *Syrach*, is thought by *Gombard* to have bene one: who that he lived in this Age, it seemes to me very sufficient-ly proved by *Janfenius*, in his Preface unto *Ecclesiasticum*. The whole passage of this businessse between *Philadelphus* and the High Priest, was written (as *Josephus* affirms) by *Aristeus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeeres *Ptolomie Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people, and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had bene in his former yeeres: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had bin referred into his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne error. He was the first of the Kings, derived from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as also his Off-spring was the last among those Royall Families, which by them was rooted up.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomie*. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard, than if shee had bene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to seeke revenge; untill her owne sonne *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be king. This was two or three yeeres after the death of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: at what time she poisoned her husband *Theos*; and, by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murdered *Berenice*.

Berenice, together with a sonne that she had borne to *Antiochus*, *Justine* reports, that *Berenice* saved her selfe, together with the yong Prince her child, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only some Cities of *Asia* prepared to succour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Evergetes*, King of *Egypt*, came to rescue her with an Army; though too late, for she was slaine before.

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, succeeding unto his Father, that had fifteene yeeres bene King, began his reigne. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would have bene much endangered, if *Ptolomy Evergetes*, who came against him, had not bene drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against *Ptolomie*, in defence of their owne King: but rather they sided with the *Egyptian*, who tooke *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestick troubles which recalled *Evergetes* home into *Egypt*; went about a dangerous piece of worke, even to make Warre upon his owne subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bin much better, by well deserving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himselfe any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarked himselfe; and putting to Sea, did meet with such a tempest, as devoured all save himselfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned neverthelesse to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their service with great alacritie. This revived him, and filled him with such spirit; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deal with the *Egyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had bene at Sea. Hee was vanquished by *Ptolomy* in a great battell: whence he escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late shipwracke. Having therefore backe to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would soone be at his heeles; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Asia*, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Asia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeeres old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great. Hee levied a mighty Army of the *Gauls*; wherewith he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Hereof *Ptolomie* being advertised: and having no desire to put himselfe in danger more than he needed; tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeeres. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* was vanquished againe; and saved himselfe with so few about him, that hee was verily supposed to have perished in the battell. Thus did Gods Justice take revenge of those murders by which the Crowne was purchased; and settled (as might have bene thought) on the head of this bloody King, *Antiochus* was very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the *Gauls*, his Mercenaries, were gladder than hee. For when he led them against *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these perfidious Barbarians tooke counsell against him, and devised how to stripe him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to doe what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower *Asia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransom himselfe with money, as if he had bene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvel, since he had great reason to stand in no lesse feare of the *Gauls*, his own souldiers,

Genboard l. 2.
J. 8. Mart. in
Taren.

Dan. 11. 6.

* Aug. ad Civ. Dei
1. 18. c. 41.
h. J. 8. Mart. 12.
c. 2.
Concerning
that Booke
which now
goes under the
name of *Ariste-
us*; many lear-
ned men, and a-
mong the rest
Lodovicus Totus,
hold suspicion
that it is coun-
terfeit, and the
invention of
some late Au-
thor. Surely it
were to be sus-
pected in the
time of *Totus*,
may be now
much more
justly suspected:
since a new E-
dition of it is
come forth, pur-
ged from faults,
(as the Papists
term those
books, wherein
they have chan-
ged what they
please) and set
forth by *Mid-
dleton* at
Coln, An. Dom.
1578.

than of the enemy with whom he had to deale. After this, *Eumenes* won much in *Asia*; whilst *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battell, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or the *Hawke*, (which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) soared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne *Gaules*. Having fercht a great compasse through *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*. He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to be- tray him. This he soone perceived: and therefore beooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himselfe upon *Ptolomy*; his owne conscience telling him, what evill he had meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolomy* well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison: whence though by meanes of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of theeves, by whom he was murdered. Neere about the same time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against *Arfaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdome: where in his evill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Arfaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reigne of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captains: which was father unto that *Acheus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he stiled himselfe) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the World in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sons; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Cerannus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Cerannus reigned only three years; in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the first, that was king of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through sickness, and in want of money, He could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was slain by treafon of *Nicanor* and *Apaturnus* a *Gaul*. His death was revenged by *Acheus*, who slew the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Army: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus* being then a Child.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great *Antiochus* his reigne. Of *Ptolomy* *Euergetes*, and *Philopater*, Kings of *Egypt*. War between *Antiochus* and *Philopater*. The rebellion of *Molo*: an expedition of *Antiochus* against him. The recontinuance of *Antiochus* his *Egyptian* war: with the passages between the two Kings: the victory of *Ptolomy*, and peace concluded. Of *Acheus*, and his rebellion; his greatness, and his fall. *Antiochus* his expedition against the *Parthians*, *Bactrians*, and *Indians*. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in *India*, after the death of the Great *Alexander*.

Antiochus was scarcely fiftene years old, when he began his reigne, which lasted fixe and thirty years. In his Minority, He was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithfull servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himselfe; the successe of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolomy* *Euergetes* King of *Egypt* died; and left his heire *Ptolomy* *Philopater*, a yong Boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who releevd *Aratus* & the *Acheans*: who afterwards took part with *Chloemene*; and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of *Greece* by *Antigonus* *Gonatas*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magus*. He was the third of the *Ptolomies*; and the last good king of that race. The name of *Euergetes*, or the doer of good, was given to him by the *Egyptians*; not so much for the great spoyle which he brought home, after his vi-

etories

etories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Persia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jewes*, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meer covetousnesse of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wisdom of *Josaphus* a Jew, to whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes that belonged unto him in those parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Calefryria*, with *Palestina*, and all those parts of the Country that lay nearest unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptians*; either as having fallen to the share of *Ptolomy* the first: at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battell at *Issus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and unhappy reigne of *Seleucus* *Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucids*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolomy* *Euergetes* reigned fix and twenty years, and dyed towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seeme by that which we finde in the Prologue unto *Jesus* the son of *Syrach* his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For *Syrachides* there saith that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth year, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty years were the years of *Jesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jewes* did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War against the *Egyptian*; for the recovery of *Calefryria* and the Countries adjoyning. This counsell was very unseasonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Media*, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheless *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffely, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captaine, other Captaines that were faithfull; whilst He in person made Warre upon one, that was like himselfe, a King. No man durst gaine: say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenatas* an *Achean*, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilst in the meane season an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Calefryria*. The King having marched from *Apamia* to *Laodicea*, and to over the Defarts into the Vally of *Masfius*, between the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an *Etolian*, that served under *Ptolomy*. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenatas*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* hereby become Lord of all the Country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

Xenatas, whilst he was yet on his journey, and drew neare to the River of *Tygris*; received many advilements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commanders to beare arms against their King. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. *Xenatas* therefore making thew, as if he had prepared to passe the River by Boats in face of his Enemy; left in the night time such as he thought meet to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Army went over *Tygris*, in a placetenne miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenatas* could not so bee stopped, Hee himselfe dislodged, and tooke his journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne souldiers: or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy; the great folly of *Xenatas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenatas*, having borne himselfe proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now presume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken Campe: or rather he commanded them so to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other side of *Tygris*. But *Molo* went

no further that day, than he could easily returne the same night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept : he made such haste backe unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning ; whilst they were yet heaue with the Wine and other good cheare that they had spent at supper. So *Xenias* and a very few with him, resisted fighting in defence of the Campe : the rest were slaughtered without making resistance, and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Camp on the other side of Tygris, was easily taken by *Molo* the Captains flying thence, to save their own lives. In the heat of this victory, the Rebell marched unto *Selencia*, which he presently took : and, mastering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Country downe to the red-Sea, or Bay of *Persia*. He halted unto *Susa* ; where at his first coming, he won the Citie : but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned backe to *Selencia*, there to give order concerning this businesse.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of *Marfius* ; filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsell what to doe in this needfull case ; and was well advised by *Epigenes*, the best man of Warre he had about him, to let alone this enterprize of *Calosyria* ; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsell was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of *Hermias* ; who could not endure to heare good counsell given, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the journey against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more available, than any oddes which he had of the Rebell in strength. *Molo* distrusted his owne followers : and thought, that neither his late good successesse, nor any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience ; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assault the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe : which by some error, tooke alarme at his returne ; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giving battell to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Ensignes : but all the left wing of the enemy, which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had myght of the Kings person ; and were ready to doe him service against *Molo*. This was enough to have won the victory : but *Molo* shortned the work, by killing himselfe ; as did also divers of his friends, who for feare of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their owne swords.

After this Victory came joyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull unto the King : and therefore he purposed to make what use hee could of her friendly disposition whilst it lasted. Being now in the Easterne parts of his Kingdome, He judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only to terrifie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor *Hermias* gave assent : not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualty : then made he no doubt of becoming Protector to the yong Prince and thereby of lengthening his owne Government. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabaxanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians* ; having the greatest part of his kingdome situate betwene the *Caspian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearefull ; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him ; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*, informing him truly how odious he was to the people ; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleeveth this, as having long suspected the same *Hermias* ; but not daring for feare of him to utter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden : which was done, he being trained forth by a sleight, a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoever he seemed gracious whilst he was alive : yet they that for feare had bene most obsequious to him

him, whilst he was in case to doe them hurt, vvvas as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him : Yea, his wife and children, lying then at *Apamea*, were stoned to death by the vvives and children of the Citizens ; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had bene concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which hee tooke in hand ; was bold to let a Diademe upon his owne head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded *Syria* : but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quite the enterprize ; and studie to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus* ; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traiterous purposes : but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traytor : who being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recover *Calosyria*, or what else hee could, of the Dominions of *Ptolomie Philopater* in those parts. He began with *Selencia*, a very strong Citie neare to the mouth of the River *Orantes* ; which ere long he wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that *Selencia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonæ* : but *Selencus* getting it shortly after, called it *Selencia* ; and *Ptolomy Evergetes* having lately wonne it, might if it had pleased him, have changed the name unto *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endlessse memoriall unto their names, by vvorkes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue ; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodorus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended *Calosyria* in the behalfe of *Ptolomy* ; was now grown forry, that he had used so much faith & diligence in service of an unthankfull and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his owne profit : which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe unto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthy of these two Kings ; He offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whilst he was devising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to king *Antiochus* ; his practice was detected, and he besieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But *Antiochus* hastning to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way : and afterwards got possession, not onely of *Tyrrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in those Havens : but of so many other Townes in that Countrey, as emboldned him to thinke upon making a journey into *Egypt* it selfe. *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* bore all the sway in *Egypt* at that time : *Ptolomie* himselfe being loth to have his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the Warre : and nevertheless, at the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse, Embassadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewise from the *Ætolians* ; according to the usuall courtesie of the *Greeks*, desiring to take up the quarrell.

These were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Sosibius* : who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the Warre : wherein these two Counsellors perswaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own ; if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how desirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet : whereunto he gave the readier beliefe, not onely for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolomie*, but because the *Rhodians*, and other Embassadors, coming from *Memphis*, discoursed unto him all after one maner ; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his fellow : *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win : and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Army in *Selencia*, during the winter which then came on ; granted to the *Egyptian* a Truce for foure

moneths, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would faine have seemed, but onely to lull his enemies asleepe, whilst he took time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open himselfe; and violent. The same negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have used, He used himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld unto him, since *Ptolome* provided not for their defence. Nevertheless, he gave audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of *Egypt*: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the justice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolome* the sonne of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could winne it from *Antigonus*, should be given in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargain was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battell at *Ipsus*. But *Ptolome*'s men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said that *Ptolome* the sonne of *Lagi*, had wonne *Calisyria*, and the Provinces adjoining, for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their dispute, as farre from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolome* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolome* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seek to joyn him in Confederacy with his owne Sovereigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolome*, with a very puissant Army, was coming up against him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountered on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolome*, that had resisted him the yeare before. They held against him the passages of *Libanus*, whence nevertheless he drave them: and proceeding onward in his journey, wonne so many places, that he greatly increased his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of *Ptolome* forsook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battell was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or *Asiatics* were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gauls*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolome*, with *Artinoe* his Sister and Wife, rode up and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of his Ancestors; as not having of their owne, whereby to value themselves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants, as also his, being of *Asia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of *Africke*. Wherefore by the advantage of those beasts, He drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the battell wherein he fought himselfe. But *Ptolome* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Groffe of his Enemies battell, and won the victory; whilst *Antiochus* was heedlesly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and fixe thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolome* and *Achæus*, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the *Egyptian*, to treat of peace; which was readily granted: it being much against the nature of *Ptolome* to vex himselfe thus, with the tedious businesse of Warre. So *Ptolome* having staid three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

Achæus was not comprised in the league betweene these two Kings: or if hee had been

been included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the paines, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: for besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, he had also good successe against *Antalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwife, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Cousin-german to the King, as hath beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the Queene, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added majestie unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolome* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battell at *Raphia*; and had thereby lost all his gettings in *Syria*. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrell betweene sonnes-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not onely slothfull, but hindred by a rebellion of his owne subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolome*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferior to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: since they less esteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenary *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in freight subjection. Thus brake out a warre betweene the King and his subjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolome* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have beene spent, as he thought, much better in revelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no sooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Antalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within while he had pent up *Achæus* into the Citie of *Sardis*; where he held him about two yeeres besieged. The Citie was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found means how to enter the Towne. The Caffe it selfe was upon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable; as also the Towne-wall adjoining to the Caffe, in that part which was called the *Save*, was in like manner situate upon steepe Rockes, and almost inaccessible; that hung over a deepe bottom, whereinto the dead carcases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there never wanting, used to flie up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the king: who approved his judgment, and gave unto him the leading of such men, as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The successe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilest a generall assault was made) entred the towne in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the *Persians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardis*; when *Crasus* thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning by the example of a losse many ages past: and therefore out of memorie. *Achæus* held still the Caffe: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries, and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrained to waste much time about it: having no other hope to prevaille, than by furnishing the inclosed. Besides the usuall tediousnesse of expectation, his businesse called him thence away into the higher *Asia*, where the Ba-

Arrians, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, upon which they still inroached. But he thought it not safe, to let *Achæus* breake loose againe. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolomie* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole studie, how to deliver this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appeare in the Countreys under *Taurum*, he would soone have an Armieat command, and be strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the ways in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle of *Sardes* stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of *Ptolomie*, as well as of *Achæus*; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He undertook the businessse, and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a trustie messenger, whom *Bolis* found meanes to convey into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Achæus* held most assured. They also wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none save he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trustie fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected unto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had wonne unto the businessse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of those *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of *Sardes*. Nevertheless other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himselfe should come speak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countreimen,* some few excepted, have bene, and still are) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* observes it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the safety of him whose deliverance they undertooke, nor touching the discharge of their own faith; but only how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share betweene them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a service, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* heeding this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Castle, and convey *Achæus* thence: He first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull unto *Ptolomie*, whom he had long served, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Castle. At his coming thither, hee was lovingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the businessse in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or judgement. Hee was an old Souldier, had long bene a Captaine under *Ptolomie*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businessse; but was invited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countreiman of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wisely, and sayd, That he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: that hee meant to fend away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprize, then would he issue forth himselfe. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknowne. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that

* Among these few I doe not except one, calling himself *Eudæmon*. John Andrew a *Cretan*, who in one of his late pamphlets, the *Libels*, wherein he traduced our King, Religion, and Countrey, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, haubly insinuating, my name twice, belied me; in calling me a *Parian*, and one that have been dangerous to my Sovereign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons, and Architect of Lies in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of *Cretical* cunning no lesse voluminous, than he in multiplicity of names, beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were always Lyars, evil beasts, and so called bellies. a *2* *Pol. lib. 1. 8.*

he playd the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to say, That he had to doe with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambylus* had layd their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it off; and *Bolis* following behind, should have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe; to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way served, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hopes well as he could, appointed foure of his special friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongues; speaking and answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had bene *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily devising upon his businessse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) Though he were of *Crete*, and prone to surmise anything to the mischief of another, yet could he not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himselfe were there. The way was very unesie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in divers places, and helpe one another up or downe. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gave *Bolis* to understand, that he was the man: and so by their unseasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whitede, and presently clasped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who sat up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The sight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did so astonish the king, that he was unable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruel death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Proverb, *A un traydor dos alcajofes*. The death of *Achæus* brought such astonishment upon those which held the castle, that after a while they gave up the place & themselves unto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser *Asia*.

Some yeeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition against the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in *Media*. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Government over them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whose posterity they continued until the Reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the *Gauls*; did stirre up *Artabanes*, a Noble man of the Countrey, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebell. So he lue the Kings Lieutenant; made himselfe King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battell, whom hee royally entertained and dismissed. Hereby hee wonne reputation as a lawfull King: and by good government of his Countrey, procured unto himselfe such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his successors; like as that of the *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the same time the *Babrians* rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucide* beyond *Euphrates*, increased the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army,

that they durst not meet him in plaine field; but kept themselves in woods, or places of strength, and defended the Streights and passages of mountains. The resistances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well formed, as he needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights between their mountains; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compass about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often employ against them his light armature: wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. *Antiochus*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his owne subjects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes and De-farts would have caused *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: Hee caused the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemy must passe, to bee dammed up and spoyled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevale, He withdrew himselfe out of the way; suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey: wherein without some victory obtained, hee could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arfaces* was nothing strongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania* where he wanne *Tambrace*, the chiefe City of that Province. This indignity, and many other losses, caused *Arfaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battell. The issue thereof was such as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arfaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but having gotten the Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it himselfe. With *Euthydemus* hee fought a battell by the River *Arus*, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour, as was the testimony which he gave of his owne private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageously, than did any one man in all his Army. His horse was slaine under him; and he himselfe received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himselfe back unto the furthestmost parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protrasted the War, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betweene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjustly usurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That he had won it from the children of the Usurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a King of their owne; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they should joyne, it would bee greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behinde them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the son of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly gentleman, and employed by his father, as Ambassador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unto a good conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retain the Kingdome, causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his Elephants; as also to bind himselfe by oath, to such Covenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over *Caucasus*, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagases*, King of the *Indians*, the society that had been between their Ancestors. The *Indians* had remained subject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his Warre against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Westward, and was over-buried in a great civil Warre: then did one *Sandroctatus*, an *Indian*, stirre up his Countrey-men to rebellion; making himselfe their Captaine, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Of-

fice and Title he soone changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majestie of a King. Finally he got unto himselfe (having an Army of fixe hundred thousand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had bin *Alexanders*. In this estate he had well confirmed himselfe; *Selencus Nicator* could find leisure to call him to account: Neither did he faint, or humble himself at the coming of *Selencus*: but met him in the field, as ready to defend his owne; so strongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdomes, was continued by some Offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the *Indian* king, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generatiōs, any business worthy of remembrance with the western Countries. The posteritie of *Sandroctatus* is thought to have retained that kingdome unto the dayes of *Augustus Cesar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, sent Embassadors with presents, and an Epistle written in *Greek*, wherein, among other things, He said, That he had command over fixe hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophagases* carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiving Presents; and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with such reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Asia*, but on the hither side of *Taurus*, humbled themselves unto him, & called him *The Great*: saw an end of his own greatness within few yeeres ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the *Romans*; whose Greatnesse was the same indeed, that his was only in seeming.

§. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolomie Philopater in Egypt: with the tragick end of his favorites, when he was dead. *Antiochus* prepares to war on the young child Ptolomie Epiphanes, the son of Philopater. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.

His expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himselfe a while; and studie which way to convert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolomie Philopater* died: leaving his son *Ptolomie Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome; unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomie* turned *Philopater*, that is to say, a lover of his Father, is thought to have had that surname given him in meere derision; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young yeeres being newly past, his childhood when he began to reigne, may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beastliness of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any mischief, whereof hee could be accused. Having won the battell at *Raphiah*, He gave himselfe over to sensuality; and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. Acher infatigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had adventured her selfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenants of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenaphe* a filthy Bawd that was mother unto them both. So these three governed the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till *Philopater* died: who having reigned seventeen yeeres, left none other sonner than *Ptolomie Epiphanes* a child of five yeeres old, begotten on *Arfinoe* that was his sister and wife. After the Kings death, *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governor of the Land. He assembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in *Macedonia*, but the race of those that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolomie* the first, and

fadours; partly unto their whole city, by Embassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them; and willed them not to be afraid, lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainment and answer by them newly given to his Embassadors.

The *Rhodiens* appeared to have been a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had passed between his Embassadors and the Senate, moved them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the *Macedonian* warre was ended at the battaile of *Cynoscephala*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still, unless the Townes on the South Coast of *Asia*, belonging to *Ptolomy* their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gave what aide they could unto all the subjects of the *Egyptian* in those parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*, the sonne of *Attalus*, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, betweene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to bestow one of his daughters upon him in marriage: He excused himself, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Phileteerum*, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would surely make war upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he said, That by abstaining from this affinitie, it should be in his power to joyne with the *Romans*, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himselfe wintered about *Ephesus*: where he took such order as he thought convenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampascus* to obedience; that had usurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintaine it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he sailed unto the *Hellepont*: where having won some Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he passed over into *Europe* side; and in short space mastered the *Chersonesus*. Thence went he to *Lysimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten & destroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his garrison thence, to employ it in the *Roman* war. The *Ælians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*, in the conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppressed *Lysimachia*, by thrusting thereinto a garrison. Hereupon *Philip* made answer, that his garrison did not oppress the town, but save it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and sackt it, as soone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this answer was good & substantiall, though it were not acceptable as such; might appeare by the miserable case, in which *Antiochus* found *Lysimachia* at his coming thither. For the town was utterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people carried away into slavery. Wherefore the King tooke order to have it re-edified: as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were dispersed in the Country thereabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promises, new inhabitants, and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequentie. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*: he tooke a journey in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Army; leaving the other halfe to repair the City. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the convenient situation, & former glory of *Lysimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his owne honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lysimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay: and as after that victory against *Lysimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* ensue very speedily, after the reconquest of the same Countrey, which was the last of *Seleucus* his purchases.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The *Romans* hold friendly correspondence with *Antiochus*, during their warre with *Philip*: after which they quarrell with him. The doings of *Hannibal* at *Carthage*: whence he is chased by his enemies, and by the *Romans*: His flight unto the King *Antiochus*. The *Ælians* murmur against the *Romans* in *Greece*. The warre of the *Romans* and *Acheans*, with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. The departure of the *Romans* out of *Greece*. *T. Quintius* his Triumph. Peace denied to *Antiochus* by the *Romans*.

10 **F**OR the *Romans*, though they were unable to smother their desire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the tumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprize of the Kings about *Lysimachia*. It was not long, since King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their warre with *Philip*, could obtaine of them none other helpe against *Antiochus*, than Embassadors to speake for him; because the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than very friendly *Antiochus* at the request of their Embassadors, withdrew his Invasion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie between them. This was whilest as yet they were busied with *Philip*, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correspondence changed into termes of worse, but more plaine meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counsaillors sent from *Rome*, required (as hath bin shewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long-proffered amitie, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsaillors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before; since, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progresse through divers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King *Antiochus*; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindefull of the businesse: wherein lest *T. Quintius*, with his ten Assaillants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Corneli* was sent from *Rome*, of purpose to deale with the King about those controversies, that were betweene him and *Ptolomy*. What other private instructions *Cornelius* had; we may conjecture by the manning of this his Embassage. For coming to *Selymbria*: and there understanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Torentius*, having bin sent by *Titus*, were at *Lysimachia*, He hastened thither; whither also came *P. Lemulus* (another of the ten Counsaillors) from *Bargilla*, to be present at the Conference. *Hegesimachus* and *Lysias* were also there; the same, who had lately brought from *Titus* those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadors present shall expound unto their Master. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainment betweene him and these *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Corneli*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reason to deliver backe unto *Ptolomy* those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto hee added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the Townes of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly enjoyed. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured so much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make warre upon the *Romans*? To this the King made answer, That hee wondered why the *Romans* should so trouble themselves, with thinking upon

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upon

upon the matters of *Asia*: wherewith hee prayed them to let him alone; even as hee, without such curiosity, suffered them to doe in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his coming over into *Europe*: they saw well enough what business had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lysimachia*, and the recovery of Townes to him belonging in *Thrace*, & *Chersonesus*. Now concerning his title unto that countrey, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversie betwene him and the other Kings, had beene still of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had beene seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countreys, were hindred by multiplicitie of business, from looking unto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from *Lysimachia*; since it was his purpose to bestow this citie upon one of his sons, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Asia*; either against the free cities, or against the King of *Egypt*; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himselfe, and to joyne ere long with *Ptolomy*, not onely in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinity. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it; would needs heare further, what the Embassadors of *Smyrna* and of *Lampsacus*, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Embassadors of *Lampsacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as hee had not chosen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators betwene him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few daies, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the warre by them intended: nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied; & thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtfull how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous *Gallo-Greeks*, pretend onely the goodness of their swords; nor yet over-moderately, to retaine among the *Greeks* an opinion of their justice, forbore the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other side was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certaine author, that *Ptolomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdom, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and set the Countrey in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from *Rome* Embassadour, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomy*: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leave to depart all together: and the King forthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the first. To his sonne *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to oversee the building of *Lysimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he tooke along with him, and sailed unto *Ephesus*. Thence he sent Embassadors to *T. Quinctius*; whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomy* was alive. This made him beare another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintred: secure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* warre.

But the *Romans* had not so done with him. During the Treaty at *Lysimachia*, (at least: wife not long before or after it) one of their Embassadors that had beene sent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to have awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the *Greeks* were solicited; and particularly the *Aeolians*, That

That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of *Rome*. It was needlesse to say plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answer made by the *Aeolians*, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had beene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cried out, that they had beene wronged, and defrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not onely for their victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to set foot in *Greece*, which else they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The same hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thank of the *Roman* Senate, and to chase out of their citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Civill administration; and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the sway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having subject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation; but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should have them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Praetor. By vertue of which Office, though he was superiour unto them during that yeere: yet had it not bene their manner to beare much regard unto such an annuall Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must be accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Quaestors, or Officers of the Treasure, to come and speake with him: the proud Quaestor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the adverse Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatnesse. But hee had not to doe with such a tame Praetor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Purfivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique assembly of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the undutifull stubbornnesse of this Quaestor had bene; but how unsufferable the insolencie of all the Judges at the present was: whose unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; Hee forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Judges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had bene passed, before hee passed over *Iberus*: it would not perhaps have bene in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were faine to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonaltie, as wanting money in their publique Treasure, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publique Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasure, by wayes and meanes whatsoever; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So hee found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasure: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne use, were thereby faine to load the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof he made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knavery: and so the *Carthaginians* were freed from the necessity of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their owne Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, since the making of the peace untill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished *Carthage*. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends

at Rome: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the City by injustice, and robbing the Treasurie, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with Rome: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well crye out, That having done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But having none other matter to alledge, than their owne inventions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wilde beast, which would never be tamed: That secret messages past betwene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complaine of idlenessse, as if it were harmefull to *Carthage*; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authoritie of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onely *P. Scipio* is said to have admonished the Fathers, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppresse, by suborning or countenancing false witness against him; the man, against whom in warre they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their Victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such advantage against *Hannibal*, and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadors they sent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius*. These *Marcellus*: whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming; and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Masaniissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall upon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There had he a Ship furnished with all things needfull; as having long expected the necessitie of some such journey. So hee bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Passing over to the Ile of *Cercina*; hee found there in the Haven some Merchants shippes of *Carthage*. They saluted him respectively: and the chiefe among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. Hee said, Hee went Embassador to *Tyre*: and that he intended there in the Iland to make a sacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needes hold his Feast upon the shore; where, because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their failles and yards to be used in stead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleepe: and putting to Sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embassador: neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the misse of so great a person was diversely confuted. Some ghesseid aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where he had beene seene: and then the Roman Embassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him (with an evill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that hee fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reason of affinity betwene their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, visited his son in *Daphne*: who friendly welcomed

med him, and sent him unto his Father at *Ephesus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his coming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discoverie of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not prove alike easie unto this great Commander, to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiaticques*; as it had bin by his training and discipline; to make very servicable and skillfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, and other Nations; that were hardie, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the basenesse of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a desolate and banished man, than had bin the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely help to ennoble the Roman Victory: or if it further served to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse carefull to avoid the war; then should it further serve, to justifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, having newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Armes; unlesse by mere violence he were thereto enforced. Onely the *Etolians* were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with his Great King; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appease them; they had of late beene answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsaillours, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their Embassadors came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at Rome was of war with *Antiochus*; but in Greece, when the Romans would leave the Countrie. For the *Etolians* were wont to upbraid therof the Greeks with the vain libertie which the Romans had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter & fairer, than those of the Macedonian: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him: all the Townes of Greece were at liberty, and the whole Countrie at peace, both with the Romans, and within it selfe. As for *Antiochus*; He made it his daily suit, That the Peace between him and Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Nevertheless, *T. Quintius* would needes feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize upon Greece, as soone as he and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained still in his owne hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus*: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Invasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Sureable unto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embassadors, that had beene sent over to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionlesse fall upon Greece: wherein he should finde not only the *Etolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedaemon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilst *Antiochus* was farre away in Syria, and not intente to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the City, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the African, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his *Hannibal*.

Hannibal. For the present, the business with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*; to deale with him as he thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarrance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also he knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be sorry; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is already shewed, whilest he had warre with *Philip*: and had further bene contented for the *Romans* sake to be at peace with the *Achaens*; neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himselfe this Warre. He was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achaens*; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he caused to meet for that purpose at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the war with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other interest, than only the making perfect of their honour, in setting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilest the noble City of *Argos* was left in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greekes*, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether to otherwile to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themselves. The *Athenian* Embassadour made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was past; extolled their virtues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein unrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue & high deserts ill spoken of by some: which took upon them, out of their owne imagination, to foretell what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankfulness rather would have required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the *Etolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Etolian* rose up, and told the *Athenians* their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glory, in those times when their City had bene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the liberty generall: from which honour they were now so farre fallen; that they became Parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would leade all the rest into servitude. Then spake hee against the *Achaens*, Clients that had bene a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, untill they ranne away from his adversity. These, he said, had gotten *Corinth*, and must now have warre be made for their sakes, to the end that they might all bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Etolians*, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes bene friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himselfe, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrison in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Atroposinib*; having bene always wont to professe, That *Greece* could never be at liberty, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than business wherewith to finde themselves occupied; that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Countrey: But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*, the *Etolians* themselves did promise, & would undertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all *Greece*; that was now at unity. These words had bene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these *Etolians*; as did their owne ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worke would use it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*; which *Philip* had

had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had bene covenanted, That the *Romans* should enjoy the spoile of all, but leave the Townes and Lands in possession of the *Etolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the *Achaens*, crye out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take such order before they went, that not only *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Etolian* theeves be enforced to keepe home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*, who saw, that by discountenancing the *Etolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. He cast them off with a sleight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsaillours which had bene sent unto him from *Rome*, to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedaemonian* warre; it was very soone ended. For *Titus* used the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he should have had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navie, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the service: as also *Philip* of *Macedon* sent aid by Land; doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking revenge upon *Nabis*, that had done him injurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the *Achaens*, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the *Etolians*: rather to hold good fashion, and found their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the *Achaens* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Etolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same *Lacedaemonians*, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wife, began a conspiracie against the *Lacedaemonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Romans*. But ere *Titus* drew neere, they were all detected and flaine: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no fir within the Walls: the execution done upon the first movers, having terrefied all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assaile *Nabis* in the head of his strength at *Lacedaemon*, than to consume time about other places; especially at *Argos*: for the freedom whereof since the Warre was made, pittie it were, that the calamities of the warre should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readinesse an Army of fiftene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrey; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumifed slaves, malefactors and base peasants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an assembly: and compassing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before-hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preserve not only the City and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cytes and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom he leades away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad: what could it else doe than terrefie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selfe unto some

some poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and flaine. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He welcommed them with a sallee: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. *Tinus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ran the Countrey, hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleet at the same time, with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid siege unto *Gysieum*, the onely or principall Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Governours within the Towne equall in authority: whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, slue the Traitor; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quinius* with part of his Armie came thither to *Gysieum*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon Condition, to depart in safety to *Sparta* with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Governement, with a thousand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thousand *Argives*: it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieve *Gysieum*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when he heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke upon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassadour to *Tinus*: requesting onely that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parle the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe: proving, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the summe was, That whatsoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cause by them alledged, they ought to make warre upon him; since *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that League with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quinius* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with Tyranny; & gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points so far as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Invasion should be alledged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Messene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to joyne with *Philip*; when he was their enemy; not onely in League, but also in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Pyracie, since in the Articles by *Tinus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may seeme to have bene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for *Messene*, and the bargain of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to have bene mentioned. All this it seems that *Aristanus*, the Prator of the *Achaens*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne justice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong; framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate; & to settle his fortunes, whilest he might do it without hazard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbouring cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happinesse, as private men. Thus they discoursed untill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish *Argos*; and requested them, to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in League all

that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the City of *Sparta*: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon such Conditions as *Tinus* should thinke meet. Besides the restitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Tinus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the *Lacedemonian* to have ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor warre, either in that Iland or else-where; nor to build any Towne or Castle upon his owne Lands; nor to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in silver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight yeeres next ensuing. For observance of these Covenants he demanded five hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had bene the meaning of *Tinus*, to withdraw the warre from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded upon justice: then had it bene enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have bin prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themselves by the spoile of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the *Achaens*, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Tinus*: so did it minister unto the *Etolians*, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subject of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly *Romans*, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that *Lacedemon*, once the most famous Citie among all the *Greeks*, was by the same *Romans* left in possession of a Tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday: and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe unmercifully dealt withall, by the selfe-same *Romans*, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful warre, before the love and affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But fallily had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and fallily was he dealt with by those, to whom he did beake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him; save onely that for the banished *Lacedemonians*, (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe; having among them *Agessipolis* the naturall King of *Sparta*, that being a young child was driven out by *Lycurgus* the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored unto their Citie and Estates; but onely leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands: and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soone bee wearie. But his fearefull nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yeelding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* farre more wicked than himselfe; and was ready upon the first advantage, to doe them all the mischief that he could.

The *Argives* had heard newes that *Lacedemon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to thinke upon their owne good. So they adventured to set upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed imo to their liberty no more, than that all of them joyntly should set their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quinius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcomed: He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had layed hold without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himselfe thereto, he caused the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemean* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councill of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achaens* were not more strengthened, than the *Argives* themselves were secured from danger of relapse, into

into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little business or none wherewith to set on worke his Army in Greece. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to *Rome*, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, *Scipio* the African, that was chosen Consul at *Rome*, could not have his desire, of being sent Commander into Greece. The un-sincere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the *Aetolians*, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the *Aetolians*, & of thoroughly perswading all the *Greekes* (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of Greece) that the good of the Countrey was their sole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over againe. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere distance appearing; he called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsell, touching the moderate use of their liberty, & the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Lastly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Acheans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soone he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrius*; that so it might be knowne, what lyers the *Aetolians* were, who had accused the *Romans*, of a purpose to retaine those places. With joyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransom and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrey before his departure was urged, left therein behinde him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealousy and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that *Rome* had untill that day beheld. Three dayes together the shew of his pomp continued: as being set out with the spoiles of a Countrey, more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemy, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Silver: some in the rude Masse unwrought, some in divers sorts of Coin; and some in Vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entered the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteen Crownes of Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the son of *Nabû*, were principall. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the shew) the *Roman* Captives; by his procurement redeemed from slavery in Greece.

Not long after this Triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of Greece and Asia. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had bin his Counsaillors; because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereto the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said unto *Titus* and his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either between the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that having warred together, were upon equal termes of advantage; or between those that had lived alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Unto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield; and patiently endure the imposition of some Covenants, that else might seeme unreasonable. Where Warre had bene made, and no advantage gotten: there was it usuall to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could

could agree. But betweene those which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neither carry it selfe as superiour to the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendship that had bene so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being so: they held it strange, that the *Romans* should thus insit on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of Asia he should set at liberty; from what Cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to worke, He would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept: Either that it should be lawfull for the *Romans* to take part in Asia with any that would seek their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in Asia, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in Europe: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, or any other *Asiatiques*, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make Warre with a King that fought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unto them the Citie of *Lyfimachia*, whereon of late he had bene at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundation, and repeopleing it with Inhabitants, that had all bene dispersed, or captiveto the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alleged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the *Romans*; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke upon them as if their cause were far the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty those Towns, which the King would oppress and hold in subjection: especially since those Townes were of *Greekish* bloud and language; and fell, in that regard, under the patronage which *Rome* had afforded unto all Greece besides. By this colour they might soon have left *Antiochus* King of not many subjects on the higher side of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forebear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied upon them in Asia, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be understood) with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged his Embassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadors could not hereto make; little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselves to be entreated, & were contented once againe to send over *P. Villius*, & others that had bin already with the king at *Lyfimachia*; by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Wars which the *Romans* had with the *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, and *Spaniards*. Of *M. Porcius Cato*. Injuries done by *Masinissa* to the *Carthaginians*, that were to the *Romans* for justice in vaine.

THE *Insubrians*, *Bojians*, and other of the *Cisalpine Gauls*, together with the *Ligurians*, made often and (in a manner) continuall Warre upon the *Romans* in Italy, even from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, untill such time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almost at the very height of their Empire. These Nations, having served under *Mago* for vvages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar a Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath bene already shewed; by this their fellowship in

Armes, grew to be such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldom afterwards either the *Gauls* or *Ligurians* did stir alone; but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the *Romans* first prevailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*; it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punic Wars*. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Country, by means of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the first purchase: if besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this War, had not been distracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The *Ligurians* were a stout Nation, light and swift of body; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Country was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither be taken nor besieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoyle their Land. In these respects, they served excellently well to traine up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardnesse and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of Warre) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrell to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gauls*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto *Rome*. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, seemes to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betwene them and any of their neighbours, doe use commonly this answer, *It hath still bene the custome for us and them, to fight one against the other*.

Divvers overthrowes, though none that were great, these *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*; but many more, and greater, they received. Often they sought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their Country was a good place of exercise unto the *Romans*, so out of their own Country they did little harme: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make Warre, save on their owne ground.

The Countrey of *Spain*, as it was the first part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became subject unto the *Romans*: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an Ox-hide; and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Ox-hide, which *Calanus* the *Indian* shewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading upon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with *Spain*. Seldome did it happen that those parts from which the *Roman* Armies lay furthest, were not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* were a very hardy Nation, and easily stirred up to armes; but had not much knowledge in the art of War, nor any good Captaines. They vntied also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in generall for the common good of their Country; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to look unto their owne Territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the *Romans*. And these were the causes of their often overthrowes: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The *Carthaginians* had bene accustomed, to make evacuation of this Cholericke *Spanish* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their Warres abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and used them in another: finding means to pay them all, out of the profits

which

which they raised upon the whole Countrey; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kinde. But contrariwise, the *Romans*, using the service of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the *Latines*, had little businesse for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were faine to have much businesse with them. *Spain* was too far distant, and withall too great for them to send over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwayes maintain such Armies in the Countrey, as might serve to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captains, as might be still ready to oppose the *Barbarians* in their first Commotion. This they did; and thereby held the Countrey; though seldom in peace.

Very soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised Warre in *Spain* against the *Romans*, even upon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spanish* Warres following. It was thought unreasonable, that the *Spaniards*, should one while helpe the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which lasted five yeares. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the Warre; which after five yeares brake out againe. The *Spaniards* fought a battell with the *Roman* Proconsull, whom they slew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy successe of their Warres in *Greece*, made the *Romans* thinke it enough to send thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consull the year following, and sent into that Province; found at his comming little lesse to doe, than the reconquering of all *Spain*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one minde: some were faithfull to *Rome*; and some were idle beholders of the paines that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great Victory upon the chiefe of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him unto much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were even ready to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very griefe. Hearing of this, and well understanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called unto him the principall among them: and commending unto them peace and quietnesse, which they never had disturbed but unto their owne great losse, He prayed them to devise what course might be taken, for holding them assured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counsell in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kinde of Subject; He gave expresse charge, That upon a day appointed they should throw downe the walls of all their Townes. Afterwards hee carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an army of the *Celtiberians*, against other of their Countreymen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest. That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the Warre to go good end, that in long time after, though *Spain* were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publike Revenues in that Province, by causing some Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before laine unregarded.

Hein he did benefit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but so well furnished with all other usefull qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilfull in the *Roman* Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in many businesse either private or publike. Many books he wrote: whereof the principall were, of the *Roman* antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter

of husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his Houfe. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the *Romans*, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fawning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited singular commendations, if the vehemence of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio the African*, and some other worthy men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise, He was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved businesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselfe or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore and six yeares, he pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeares after, he accused *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato the Utican*: one that being of like vertue and fervencie, had all his good purposes dashed, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobility and Greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The *Spanish* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrey, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrey seldom free from insurrection; in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every yeare were sent over Commanders into *Spain* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely faile of such worke, as might afford the honour of Triumph. One flew thirteen thousand *Spaniards* in a battell: another tooke fifty Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, That the businesse in *Spain* required not the employment of a *Roman* Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, untill the *Numantian* Warre broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countreies to the West of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but so had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* Houfe promised all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themselves and their obedient City: *Masaniissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitful Region about the lesser *Syrtyis*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Countrey the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime unto the whole. Hee had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre, without leave obtained from their Masters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redresse, than by sending to *Rome* 40 their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to allege, if the Judges had bene impartiall. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrey: *Masaniissa* himselfe, now very lately pursuing a Rebelle that fled out of his Kingdome, desired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masaniissa* had wherewith to justify his proceedings, especially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to understand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately bene sent unto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perfwade them to take part with *Antiochus*. 50 This man they had examined upon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Countrey of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, he said, bene theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime unto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were knowne, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than that

that whereon their City stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground, as they could encompass with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *Masaniissa* requested of the Senate, That they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Countrey sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The *Romans* having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly; they sent over three Embassadors, of whom *P. Scipio the African* 10 was one and the chiefe, to decide the controversie: yet secretly giving them instructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Masaniissa* with a strong Army should quickly prevaike against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from furring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little unto their snall destruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leisure to expresse the utmost of their hatred.

§. VI.

The *Ætoli*ans labour to provoke *Antiochus*, Philip, and Nabis to War upon the *Romans*, by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth *Gyrtbeum*, and mastereth some part of *Achaia*. The exact skill of *Philopœmen* in advantage of ground: whereby hee utterly vanquisheth Nabis. *Antiochus* being denied peace by the *Romans*, joyne with the *Ætoli*ans. The *Ætoli*ans surprize *Demetrias*; and by killing Nabis, their Confederates, seize upon *Sparta*. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at *Philopœmen* his persuasions annex themselves to the *Achaïans*.

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætoli*ans to thinke, that they who had promised unto themselves the whole spoile of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the *Greeks*; were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unfufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what means they best might right themselves; and give the *Romans* a forrowfull knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perfwade *Antiochus* to make War upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refused Peace; but that they would deale with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmonia*, to joyne all together in a new Confederacy: whose joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the *Romans*, *Achaïans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the *Ætoli*ans took in hand; and well 50 befitting them, for they were great darters. They sent Embassadors to all these Kings, with perfwasions, as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try first all other courses. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any War; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege unto *Gyrtbeum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achaïans*, to whose care chiefly *Timæ* at his departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponnesus*, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have staid long from repressing his violence by open War: had not some of them thought

it wisdome to aske Counsell of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilst thus they spent the time in sending Embassadors, and were advised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the *Roman* forces, that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to give them iust cause of complaint, by waisting their owne Territory.

Philopamen was then Pretor of the *Achaens*, who had long bin absent in *Crete*; making War there for his minds sake and recreation. Unto him the *Achaens* referred themselves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleasure; either staying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwise, as he should thinke best. He made all haste to relieve *Gysieum* by Sea; fearing lest the Towne, and the *Achaen* Garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But *Philopamen* was so bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrirème* Gally his Admirall, that had fourescore yeares agoe bene counted a gallant Vessell, in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedamonian*. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigantine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talons. For his Admirall Gally was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and tooke in water so fast, that she was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet saw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But *Philopamen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-service, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the siege of *Gysieum*, to stop the *Achaens* if they should invade his Countrey. But upon these which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopamen* came unexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, save a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched hee with all his Army towards *Lacedamon*: within ten miles whereof he was when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gysieum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have bene ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from *Gysieum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some five miles; having their Horle, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custome of *Philopamen*, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to marke the situation of the Countrey about him; and to discourse what might befall an Army marching the same way. He would suppose, That having with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and fortified in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were upon that ground encountered by a greater Army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the question, Whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand: what piece of ground it were meet for him to seize upon; and in what manner he might best do it: in what sort he should order his men: whether bestow his carriages, and under what Guard: in what sort encamp himselfe: and which way march the day following? By such continuall meditation, Hee was growne so perfect, that he did never meet with any difficultie, whence he could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and having drawne up his Rere, Hee encamped neere unto the place where he was within halfe a mile of the Enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to vvaite at one Brook; whereto the *Achaens* lay the neerer. This vvaiteing there was like to minifter the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopamen* understood this; and laid an ambush in place convenient; wherein after the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achaens* had a purpose to get between him and *Lacedamon*; whereby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recovery of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would have bene forced. Some

Some companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves upon the Rampart, thereby to concale his departure. But *Philopamen* was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the Campe, and gave chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about & make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopamen* conceived a right, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and save themselves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the Evening, when he had gathered together all those of his light-armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day, he led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto *Lacedamon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiving in *Philopamen* Campe great store of lights; thought that all had bin at rest: and therefore adventured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty dayes together after this, did *Philopamen* waite the Countrey round about, whilst *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embassadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be solicited by the *Epiians*. Very faire countenance they also made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoever he thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore unto him his sonne: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receive other favours at their hands; and regaine possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for warre against *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whilst their Embassadors that were with him in *Asia*; denied, or otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yeeld unto one of the Conditions; by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene *Ptolomie* and his daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings sonne, which happened during the Treatie; and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King from giving audience in person to the Embassadors; caused them to returne home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have bene, and partly was, beneficiall unto them, they brought to passe during their abode at *Ephesus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livie* rather thinks) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there; they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus*, upon a causelesse suspicion wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had lived, *Hannibal* judged the most worthy? So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the first place: to *Pyrrius* the second: and the third he challenged unto himselfe. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldst thou have said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the first place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*, who therefore did forbear a while to use his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; he easily recovered his former grace and credit. For hee told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he never should be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine surmises: but to know thus much, That so long as he thought upon warre with *Rome*, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good service: whereas contrariwise, if he intended to make peace, then should it behoove him to use the counsell of some other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their friends, were no lesse busie all this while, in making their partie strong against the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in mustering up their friends in *Greece*. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the *Roman* Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like sort with the *Macedonian*.

But

But in vaine. He understood the *Romans*, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their owne forces to the uttermost: as knowing, that all the burden must lie upon *Antiochus* and themselves, without helpe from any; save onely from some few that were discontented in *Greece*. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated them to resolution, the *Athenian* Embassadors, whom *Timm* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the *Romans*, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto; they were contented to approve the motion. *Timm* hearing this, thought the businesse worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe against the *Romans*; it would be no small piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panecolium*, for great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serve to appeale them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprize which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champagne-field, on which, to the mine of the Country, the *Romans* and the *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Making the *Antiochus*, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becoming the *Sicklers*. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses; he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe, to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should either plead their right in the Senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they desired: than thus to set the world in an uproare, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the King, whose helpe they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the *Romans*. Neither was it newes unto them, to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their right, or else by way of favour. For with such termes had they bin eased once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Timm*: who, having it in his owne power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were only losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more ado they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus* the Great should be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to set the Country at liberty, as also to decide the controversies depending between the *Romans* and *Ætoliens*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings minde before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassadors, and against the *Romans*. *Timm* desired of their Prator, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prator answered; That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the river of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætoliens* are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to work. The care of the warre they referred unto the more private Councell of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a general assembly. The *Apoclei* (so were the Privie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hody to worke as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. *Demetrias* they took upon the sudden; entering some of them as friends, to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was, by intercession of those that loved him, againe recalled. His *Ætolian* companions, that were not many, seized upon a Gate; whereas they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them: and so fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more insolently domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetoricke they prevailed no more, than they could doe by plain force.

* Liv. l. 3. admi.
str. Ætolia, forte,
Lanijia.

force. For the Townes-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injurie. So this businesse was dashed. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Town; styling himselfe King: but more truly by all men called Tyrant. He had well-nere lost all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopamen* had lately given him; since he durst not stirre abroad; and daily expected the mischief, that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after another, to the *Ætoliens*; requesting them, That as he had not beene slow to stirre in their behalf, but adventured himselfe upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath beene often said, That the ravenous *Ætoliens* were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenary forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure *Lacedæmon* unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamennus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by *Demetrius* the Prator brought into the Councell of the *Apoclei*; where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make warre with the *Acheans*, or to doe ought else, save onely what *Alexamennus* should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So *Alexamennus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great King, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætoliens*, he said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could, before the great King; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had bin long pent up in the Citie; and traîne them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding up and downe with this *Alexamennus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamennus* made it his fashion, to step aside alone to his *Ætoliens*, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went aside to his thirtie horsemen, and bade them remember the taske enjoyned them at their setting forth; telling them, that they were all in case of banished men, unless they would anon come up to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamennus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and strucke him downe. The thirtie *Ætoliens* never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where, in stead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamennus* with his *Ætoliens* hastied into the Citie, and seized upon the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the town was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Capitaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had beene brought up with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted upon a good Horse, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell upon the *Ætoliens* that were idly straggling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamennus* with

with not many of his Company, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopæmen* came thither: who saving out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words unto them, as *Alexandrus* should have done after he had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the *Achaens*. Thus by the enterprife, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*; and the small, but effectuall, travell of *Philopæmen*, the *Achaens* made a notable purchase: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto bin governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, whereof the name had scarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

§. VII.

Antiochus, perswaded by *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, comes over into *Greece* ill attended. Sundry passages between him the *Ætolians*, *Chalcidians*, and others. He wins *Chalcis*, and thereby the whole Ile of *Eubœa*. The vanity of the Kings Embassadors and the *Ætolians*, with the cruell answer of *Titus* to their discourse, before the *Achaens*. That is concerned the *Greekes* to have desired peace between the *Romans* and *Antiochus*, as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King, Of *Aminander*, and an idle vanity, by which King *Philip* was lost. *Hannibal* gives good counsell in vaine. Some Towns won in *Thessalie*. The King retires to *Chalcis*, where he marries a young wife, and revels away the rest of winter. Upon the coming of the Roman Consul all forsake *Antiochus*. He with two thousand *Ætolians* keeps the Streights of *Thermopylae*. He is beaten, and flies into *Asia*: leaving all in *Greece* unto the Victors.

A *Niuchus* was troubled much in *Asia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous, with all speed convenient, to shew himselfe in *Greece*; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more, than to breake loose; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to conferre upon him the greatest, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilest therefore the king was thinking to send *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to molest the *Romans*, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bad him lay all other care aside; for that his Country-men had already taken *Demetrius*, a Town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue & fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tel the king, first, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprife there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the kings service, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he said, That the king should as greatly feeble the losse of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner qualitie: whereas neverthelesse if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone should have all the honor, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes nere unto the Kings person, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the soveraigne Command; even of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Majestie of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently

Presently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pompe of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-side to *Iulium*: there to doe sacrifice to *Minnerva* of *Troy*. Thence passing over the *Aegean* Sea, He came to *Demetrius*, *Eurylochus* the *Magnesian*, the same whom the *Ætolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrius*; was now the chiefe man, and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreimen, in great frequentie, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a signe of good lucke, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the *Magnesian* found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army some what like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which, no more than fortie were serviceable for the Warres, with an Armie of tenthousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and fixe Elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their country. He knew before that they would so doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his coming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyfull entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their Councell, he made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he said, in true estimation, a signe of his good will: in that he itaid not to make all things ready, but hastened unto their aide, even whilest the season was unfit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, travell, or danger, to follow the businesse which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their authority out of *Greece*; leaving the Country freeindeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be any way burdensome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aide, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would help him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vaine motion was made by some, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) That they would yeeld unto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a businesse of dangerous importance, upon the promised assurance of a State that is merely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell: the *Ætolians*, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea, for hope of such gaine that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their friend, unto the discretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there been, if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirty Commiffioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should begin the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meekest place to be first undertaken: whether if they came suddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behind him at *Demetrius*. With these he hastened away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had only in words and false semblance, set *Greece* at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and usefull, they said, would never be obtained; untill by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, every severall Estate had where to finde redresse of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well

well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheless desired them enely, so to joyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or he should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to seek redresse at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations; they had made not long before: That their freedom was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they wereto thanke the *Romans*; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the *Greeks*; forasmuch as none of them paid any Tribute, was kept under by any Garrison, or lived otherwise than by their owne *Laws*, and without being tied unto conditions, which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered, why the King should thus trouble himselfe, to deliver Cities that were already free. But since he, and the *Ætolians*, requested their friendship; they besought both him and the *Ætolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrified them, and made them yield: before all the succours could arrive, which *Titus* had sent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the rest of the Iland shortly yielded to *Antiochus*. Foure or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over-late to have defended *Chalcis*, reposed themselves at *Delium*, a little town of *Bœotia*, lying over against the Iland; where was a Temple and Grove, consecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the privilege of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were buffed as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Memppus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himselfe in many vain Treaties of peace, took advantage of their carelesnesse, and used them with all extremity of war. Very few of them escaped: fiftie were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat *Quintus* was grieved yet so, as it pleased him well to consider, that his *Romans* had now more just cause than before, to make war upon the King.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of *Greece*; 30 in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiler for returned such answer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reserved themselves untill he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stirre; or, if he came, the *Romans* must pardon their just feare, in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joynd with him in true meaning, save the *Eleans*, that alwayes favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Acheans*. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the *Acheans* to his partie. Nevertheless he assayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envie which *Titus* was said to beare unto *Philopœmens* verue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* sent Embassadors to the Councell at *Ægium*; 40 that spured not brave words, if the *Acheans* would have beene so taken. The Kings Embassadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming; reckoning up the *Dabants*, *Medians*, *Elimeans*, and *Caducians*; names that were not every day heard of, & therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydoniens*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he said, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Asia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who considering the late warre made against *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmost parts of the East; requested no more 50 of the *Acheans*, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilst he took order with the *Romans*. To the same effect spake the *Ætolian* Embassadour, and further added, that in the battell at *Cynosephala*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a General, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both he and his Army had bin there destroyed, had they not bene protected by verue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day: *Titus* was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have beene desired. He told the *Acheans*, That neither the Kings Embassadour, nor the *Ætolian*, did so greatly labour to perswade those unto whom they addressed

addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern, what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Ætolians* together. For even such bragges as here they made before the *Acheans*, who knew them to be liars, had the *Ætolians* also made unto King *Antiochus*; proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be merely their Act: and the whole Countrey of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feasted by the King, with such tales as his Embassadour told even now; of *Dabants*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimeans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, such as were wont to be sold about for bond-slaves, and good for little else. These divers 10 names of rascall people were, he said, like to the diversity of Venison, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no such vaunter as were these Embassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, wherewith he wondered, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame swine, drest after severall fashions, with variety of sauces. Setting therefore aside this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make judgement of the great King, by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyse, no more than tenne thousand men about him: for which little Army hee was 20 faime in a manner to begge victuals of the *Ætolians*; and take up money at usurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne up and downe the Countrey; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there shut out, to *Demetrias* againe. These were the fruits of lyes: wherewith, since both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much persuasion is need- 30 less. The *Acheans* did not love so well the *Ætolians*, as to desire that they should become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest objects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he sped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed Warre against him, and against the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred betweene these two Nations grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in the story foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; 30 the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the *Ætolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Countrey at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have beene desired, than that they might never finde occasion to returne with an Army thither againe. And in this respect ought the *Greekes* to have sought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampfacus* might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, untill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept asunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Isthmus*, or neck of land, might be kept from overflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base *Asiaticques*, who originally were 40 *Greeks*; than the generall applause, wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lysimachia*, and the Townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cause of feare, that should move them to take armes even in their owne defence. But if all *Greece* would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promising joyndly to assist the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, vvhenever King *Antiochus* should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Countrey, had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Acheans* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and 50 generously declared themselves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtfull answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the *Thesalians*, were firm against *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The *Bœotians* vvolingly received him, as soone as he entered upon their borders, not so much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by vvhom they had bin somewhat hardly used. *Aminander* the *Albanian*, besides his old friendship with the *Ætolians*, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or *Antiochus* cast out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an

idle-headed man, and vaunted himselfe to be defended from Alexander the Great: naming his two sons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poore Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him beleeve, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of *Macedon* to his behoofe: since no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behooved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzies in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that should be his subjects: or whether from some vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) wrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto *Cynosephala*, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended merely unto his desight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to understand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them whereinsoever they should be pleased to use him.

The *Ætolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubeans*, *Boeotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyne with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsell of them about the prosecution of the Warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade *Thessalie*, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone until the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another; confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside, as a vessel of no use; but was now required to deliver his opinion. Hee freely told the King, That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his counsell at any time before been asked since their coming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Boeotians*, and other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poore Estates, that wanting force of their owne, did adjoyne themselves for feare unto him, that was strongest for the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same feare for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behoovefull to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to re coytle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had means to sustaine the *Roman* Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to joyne with them; the benefit likely to redound unto himselfe, by their society, was a very strong Argument: though indeede what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said Hee, These *Ætolians* here present; and namely, this *Thoas*, being lately Embassadour from them into *Asia*, among other Motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us that *Philip* was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly insulgence of the *Romans*: likening that king to some wilde beast, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would faine break loose. If this be so: let us breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his liberty, and satisfie his angry stomacke, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoove us to looke unto him; that he may not seeke to please his good masters the *Romans*, by offending us. I am sure Seleucus is now at *Lysimachia*, with part of your Army: if *Philip* will not hearken to your Embassage; let Seleucus be in readinesse to fall upon *Macedon*, and finde him work to defend his owne on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning *Philip*; and the present war in *Greece*. But more generally for the manning of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarqued against the *Romans*, I told you my opinion at the beginning: wherein you then gave eare. The *Romans* by this time should have heard of other news, than that *Chalcis* in *Euboea* was become ours. *Italy* & *Gaul* should have bin on fire with war; and,

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little to their comfort, they should have understood, that *Hannibal* was againe come into *Italy*. Neither doe I see what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Army hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, laden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we have here too few bands, and too many mouths.) Wherefore let the one halfe be employed against *Italy*; whilst you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the *Ionian Sea*, may both take order for the affaires of *Greece*, and therewithall make commensace, as if you were even ready to follow us into *Italy*: yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of Warre; yet how to war with the *Romans*, I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsell which I give, I promise you my faithfull and diligent service for the execution: but what counsell soever you please to follow, I wish it may bee prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save only that one was sent into *Asia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Thessaly*; about which they had before disputed. There when they had wonne one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But *Larissæ*, that was chiefe of the Country, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Army. Their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Babius*, a *Roman* Proprietor, did send help thither. Likewise *Philip* of *Macedon* professed himselfe enemy unto *Antiochus*; whereby the fame of the succour comming to *Larissæ*, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountains tops afare off; thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been comming upon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeare; He brake up his siege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Towne; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in yeares and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following as delightfully as hee could, without thinking upon the War in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his Army had passed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this loosenesse of nuptiall Revels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise He was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far lesse credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had bin long since, in time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate for very feare and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Divell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Province; or arrogate more unto himselfe, than his lot should afford him. This unpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make Warre against the *Boians*; wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately sent Embassadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to assist the Consul in this War. *Ptolomee* sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young; and dwelt too farre off. So his money was returned unto him with thanks; and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto *Philips* Embassadors answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that Hee should give to *Acilius* the Consul.

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Consull. *Masaniſſa* likewise, and the *Carthaginians*, did strive, which of them should be most forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promised a great quantity of graine; which they would send partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And here-
in *Masaniſſa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as also in that he offered to lend the Consull five hundred Horſe, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the *Carthaginians* undertook to set out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-mony which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them receive themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne, it was accepted, with condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The haste and ridiculous issue of this War, that began with such noyse and preparation, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* ons, and the *Asiaticke* souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of *Acarnania*, and the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuse, when they should againe forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Nabius* having recovered many places; and the *Roman* Consull being arrived, against whom none made resistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* rooke and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the *Romans*. *Philip* the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Consull, made a mocking-stock, and sent away prisoner to *Rome*. The *Thessalians* used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their cities, one after another, gave up themselves: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne lives, and departing unarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplex *Antiochus*; who having withdrawne himselfe to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, hee found all the promises of the *Aetolians* merely verball: and himselfe reduced into termes of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* 30 as a wise man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foretold all this long before. Nevertheless, he sent word to the *Aetolians*, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their owne need to be no lesse than his. But the *Aetolians* had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*, who having promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of *Asia*, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which hee first brought over. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joined with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thous* and his fellowes had done their best in vaine, to have made all the Nation take Armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came over to him out of *Asia*, nor his friends of 40 *Greece* would appear in this time of danger: hee seized upon the Streights of *Thermopyle*, as meaning to defend them against the *Romans*, untill more helpe should come. Of the Streights of *Thermopyle*, there hath beene spoken enough before, upon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Army of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and so came onwards into *Thessaly*, were unable to passe that Ledge of Mountaines, dividing the one halfe of *Greece*; unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three dayes together, against a World of men comming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to 50 doe great miracles, and effect what he listed himselfe in *Greece*: did commit himselfe unto the safety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Army. There whilst he lay, he sent earnest messengers one after another to the *Aetolians*, entreating them not to forsake him thus; but at least wise now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, lest the *Romans*, finding any by-path, should come downe upon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to inake good the few passages: by which onely and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The *Roman* Consull in like sort, prepared to force the

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the Streights: without staying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by sicknesse from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men; to try whether by any meanes they could get up to the *Aetolians*. He himselfe encouraged his Army: not onely by telling them with what bafe conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battell. All that night *Cato* had a fore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertaine, save onely that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up steepie Rocks and crooked waies: He commanded them to repose themselves; whilst hee, being a very able man of body, rooke in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, he found at length a path: which he rooke to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not named, because in time of peace, there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopyle* been so often the Seat of War, as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best: yet it did lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there 20 untill day-light: by which hee discovered both the Campe of the *Greekes* underneath him; and some of the *Aetolians* very neare unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty Crue of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service; and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and he thereby understood, that these *Aetolians* were no more than sixe hundred; as also that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set upon the *Aetolians*, overthrew them, flew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying to their Campe, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun betweene the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had easily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Campe, found 30 in a manner a desperate piece of worke to assault the Campe it selfe, which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kind of service; but by Archers and Slingers, that were placed over them on the Hill-side, and powdered down a shower of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first that the *Aetolians* had beene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the *Roman* armes and ensignes were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsook the Camp, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badnesse of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making pursuit. Yet this daies losse drove *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the first opportunity, got him back into *Asia*.

All the Cities that had embraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the *Romans*, and intreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselves unto the Consull, in manner of suppliants. Briefely, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Aetolians* onely standing out, because they knew not what else to doe. Neither did the Consull give them any respite. At his returne from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyne with him against *Antiochus*: over whom since the victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good successe; and offered to take part with them in the *Aetolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Consull should besiege *Heraclea*, and *Philip Lamia*, 50 at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially *Philip*, who faine would have taken *Lamia* before the Consull should come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that used to worke by Myne, were overmuch hindered by the stony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Consull, having won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoile of these townes was a reward unto those that had fought at *Thermopyle*. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Antiochus* that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himselfe: untill such time as another Consull was ready to ease him of his charge.

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The losse of *Heracles* did so affright the *Aetolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent unto King *Antiochus* presently after his flight: intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing withheld him from comming in person, at least wise to helpe them with money and other aide. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only concerne him in honour; but appertained unto his owne safety: since it would be much to his hurt, if the *Aetolians* being wholly subdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backs, might set upon him in *Asia*. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might serve to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aide, both by Land and Sea. *Thobas*, another of their Embassadors, Hee retained with him: who willingly stayed, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heracles* was taken from them; then did the *Aetolians* lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suit unto the Consul to obtaine peace, upon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience, but said, He had other businesse in hand; onely he granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himselfe. At their comming to *Hypata*, they began, as men favouring their owne cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainly, That the memory of such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of committing unto the faith, signified, in their use of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as * *yielding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was; and shewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said he, I command you first of all, That none of you presume to goe into *Asia*, upon any businesse private or publicke: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicaearchus* the *Aetolian*, *Menesstratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and such of his Countymen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilest he was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custome of the *Greekes*, who had yielded themselves unto his faith; not unto slavery. What? (said the Consul) Doe ye stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they came as Embassadors; though since, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He, nor yet the *Apoletti* or ordinary Councell of the Nation, were able to fulfill these injunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause hee entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted unto him Truce for so long.

This successe of Warre, during ten, and other ten daies together, began presently after the taking of *Heracles*; when *Philip* had bene commanded away from *Lamia*, that else he might have wonne. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Army, like one that could not be trusted in employment: especially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set upon the *Athamanians*, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the *Aetolians*; taking for his reward, all that he could get. And hee got in that space all *Athamania*, *Perthabia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Aetolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre, yet they could not endure to heare more talke of Peace. And it happened, that

* *Legen excerpt.*
Polyb. 13.

that *Nicander* about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with money & hopefull promises: the *Romans* abiding still about *Heracles* & *Philip* having lately risen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicander* conveyed into *Lamia*, by very unskillfull dexterity. But he himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the *Aetolians*, there to make report of his Embassage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Campes. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as farre as he could from the *Roman* side, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good; but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or used ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemed, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignity, of his being sent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his servants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as he rose up: giving him to understand, That the *Aetolians* did now reape the fruits of their own madnesse; forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into *Greece*. They had pleased themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*; but himselfe being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never made any triall: for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages, whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to signifie unto his Countymen; and privately to hold in minde the courtesie which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giving him a Convey to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the crown of *Macedon*: so as in the war of *Perseus* he made himselfe suspected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Consul understood, that the *Aetolians* refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it: he forthwith meant to prosecute the warre against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at *Naupactus*: whether he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceived it: for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he should have bene a loser, by rising from before it without Victory. So he staid there welneere all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the *Macedonian* King and the *Achaens* made farre better use of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong Citie of *Demetrias*; and with an hasty course of Victory, subdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achaens* called to account the *Eleans* and *Messenians*: which had long bene added to the *Aetolian* side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Eleans* gave good words; whereby they saved themselves from trouble awhile. The *Messenians* being more stout, before they were invaded, had none other helpe when the *Achaen* Prætor wasted their Countrey, than to offer themselves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinib*: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that unto the *Achaens* it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from *Titus* to the *Achaen* Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the peremptorie Command of the same *Titus*, caused the *Messenians* to annex themselves unto the *Achaens*, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Majestie of a *Roman* Embassadour. *Titus* did favour the *Achaens*; yet could not like it wel, that either they or any other should take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great Lords, and able to dispute with the *Romans* upon even terms; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus*; which had once bin *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who sent a Governor thither. But when *Aminander* in this present warre, was driven out of his own Kingdome by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to sell the Land to the *Achaens*; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their owne Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their

their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the *Achaens* referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoise, whereof *Peloponnesus* was the shell; and that, holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in *Peloponnesus*, he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Consul had laine two moneths, that might have bene faire better spent. There, whether out of compassion which he had upon the *Aetolians*, or out of dislike of King *Philip* thriving so fast: he perswaded the Consul to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, so long truce, that they might send Embassadors to Rome; and submitting themselves, crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that *Naupactus* was in great danger: else would not the *Aetolians* have made such earnest suit as they did unto *Tim*, for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had bin sure to carry it in any short space, it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; since the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would have made the promised submission much more humble and sincere. When they came unto Rome, no entreaty could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly submit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand talents, and make neither peace nor war with any, further than as the *Romans* should give approbation. They had not so much money: neither could they well hope to be gently dealt withall, if they should give themselves away unto discretion, which what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they desired to have it set down, in what points, & how far forth they should yeeld unto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whilest the *Aetolians* were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consul had little to do in Greece; and therefore took upon him gravely to set things in order among the tractable *Achaens*. He would have had them to restore the banished *Lacedaemonians* home into their Countie; and to take the *Elleans* into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the *Achaens* liked well enough; but they did not like it, that the *Romans* should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished *Lacedaemonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meere grace. As for the *Elleans*, they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*, and thereby to disparage the *Achaens*: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted, and saw that they should have their desire, without such compulsive mediation.

The Roman Admirall *C. Lelium*, much about the same time, fought a battell at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*, though it was not great: and five and twenty saile of *Rhodiens* came after the battell, when they were following the Chase. The Kings Fleet was the better of saile; but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in a fight, was yet out of danger; as soon as he betook himselfe to a speedy retreat.

And such end had the first yeers war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this, as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Aetolians*, were glad to excuse themselves by feare, thinking themselves happy when by Embassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*, did now send to congratulate this their victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored unto him *Demetrius* his younger son; whom some few yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolomie* of *Egypt*, gratulating the Roman Victory, sent word how greatly all *Asia* and *Syria* were thereby refreshed. In which regard he desired the Senate not to forellow time; but to send an Armie, as soon as might be, into *Asia*: promising that his assistance, whereinsoever it pleased them to use it, should not be wanting. This *Ptolomie* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himselfe a while as safe at *Ephesus*, as if he had bin in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, that it was not so far out of Greece into *Asia*, as out of *Italy* into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* would soon be there, and make him trie the chance of a battell for his kingdome.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him *Publius* the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the *Aetolians*, that so he might at leisure passe into *Asia*. Much troublesome business by Sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon *Eumenes* his Kingdome; with the siege of *Pergamus*, raised by an bandfull of the *Achaens*. *L. Scipio* the Consul comes into *Asia*: where *Antiochus* most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battell of *Magnesia*: wherein *Antiochus* being vanquished, yeeldeth to the *Romans* good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the *Romans* used their victorie. *L. Cornelius Scipio*, after a most sumptuous triumph over *Antiochus*, is surnamed *The Asiaticque*, as his brother was called *The African*.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P. Scipio* the African, was chosen Consul at Rome with *C. Lelium*. *Lelium* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces, without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time bin put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controversie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*: that had bin victorious against that same Great Worthy? But indeed a worse man might have served well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in confusion: where his wisdom was so much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a signe of the freedom that he used in his censures, even whilest he lived in such a Court. *Antiochus* mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish, that he had bin served by such brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of gold, silver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought, and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. Enough (said *Hannibal*) were the *Romans* the most covetous men in all the world: meaning, that all his cost upon the backs of cowardly *Asiaticques*, was no better than a spoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the king, it is easie to ghesse. The little use that he made of this *Carthaginian*, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the use of his service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The *Scipios* made all haste away from Rome as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the war, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had served under *P. Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirty *Quinqueremes* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Emilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same yeere for that voyage. At their coming into Greece, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging *Amphissa* a City of the *Aetolians*. The *Aetolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne, but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlessly, as in a time of confusion, they had left unregarded the last yeere. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to *Amphissa*: which he had almost gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphissa* was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Castle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embassadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalfe of the *Aetolians*:

lians: entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perswade the *Aetolians*, that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Consull made still the same answer, with which they had bin chafed from *Rome*. The Conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from war: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senate; or any helpfull commoditie which time should afford. So they obtained halfe a yeeres truce: after which, the winter was like to afford them another half yeeres leisure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time lost, which with-held the War from passing over into *Asia*.

The businesse of *Aetolia* being thus laide aside, and the old Consull *Glabbrio* sent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio's* marched into *Thessaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Hellepont*. Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyaltie of King *Philip*: who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage: or at the least, would be unfaithfull; though he were not so courageous, yet might he take such order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make somateriall; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post unto him, and observe his doings as he should take him on the sudden. The King was merry at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to passe. With these good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haste unto the *Scipio's*: who entering into *Macedon*, found all things in a readinesse, that might helpe to advance their journey. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Hellepont*: where they stayed a good while, untill their Navie was in readinesse to transport them into *Asia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Aniochus*, was a banished *Rhodian*: true to the King; and desirous of revenge upon his Country-men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to doe somewhat upon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellowes should arrive to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke, and sent word, as in great secrecie, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requitt thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was beleevd: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew so carelesse, expecting still when he should receive a watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that he himselfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Haven. The Kings Fleet setting forth from *Ephesus* by night; and, for feare of being discovered, resting one day in harbour by the way, came the second night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Haven. *Paussistratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Haven; so to guard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed some Companies in another part of the Iland: which falling upon the backe of *Paussistratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies rooke him out of all order, and sunke or boarded all his Navie, five excepted, that by a sudden device made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Crescent upon two poles at the Beake-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemy: who having not bethought himselfe what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto these desperate Gallies: for feare lest they should burne, together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had some losse by tempest: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, hee was driven backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to shew that they

they were not discouraged, set forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* also with King *Eumenes*, repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, presented battell to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Ephesus*. When he durst not accept it: they vvent from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance made against them at Land.

Eumenes vvith his Fleet was compelled to forsake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* wasted all the grounds about *Elaa* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his sonne *Seleucus* to besiege the royall City of *Pergamus*: did vvith the rest of his Army spoyle the vvhole Countrey thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of King *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having vvith him no better men to defend the City, than vvhere they that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in feare; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the *Acheans*: old souldiers all, and trained up under *Philopamen*, vvhole Scholler, in the art of war, *Diophanes* their Commander vvvas. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walls of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy, began to disdain that such men as they should hold them besieged. For *Seleucus* his army which was encamped at the hill-foot, seeing that none durst fall forth upon them, grew so carelesse: as otherwise than by spoyling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an enemies countrey. *Diophanes* therefore spake vvith *Attalus*: and told him that he vvould go forth to visit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achean* vvould needs have his vvill: and issuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers, they vvondered at first what his meaning was; but when they saw that he held himself quiet, they thought it was a jest of his boldnesse; & laughed to see vvith what a handful of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence & disorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as fast as they vvell might: & he himself, vvith the hundred horse, brake out on the sudden upon the station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horses ready saddled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make resistance: so as he drave them all out of their Camp; and chased them as farr as he might safely adventure, vvith great slaughter of them, and no losse of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (vvho had covered the walls of the Towne, men and women, to behold this spectacle) vvvere very joyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these *Acheans*. Yet vvould they not therefore issue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Acheans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than he had done before: and against him vvvent forth *Diophanes* the second time; vvho quietly rested a vvhile in his old Station. When they had stayed many houres, looking vvho should begin: *Seleucus*, in faire order as he came, vvithdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not vvithlett the Enemy was in fight: but as soone as the ground betwene them hindred the prospect, hee followed them in all haste, and soone overtaking them vvith his Horse, charged them in Rere; so as hee brake them, and vvith all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldnesse of the *Acheans*, and the basenesse of his owne men, caused *Seleucus* to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of these *Asiaticques*, *Philopamen* had cause to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their vvictory. For when *Antiochus* lay fasting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his souldiers betook themselves to Riot, as it had bin in a time of great security: a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tripling in their vvictualling houses, vvich *Philopamen* said that he vvould have done, had he bin General of the *Acheans*, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of businesse: and turning his care from one thing to another, vvith a great deale of travell, brought almost nothing to passe. He had beene at *Pergamus*: into vvich *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himselfe vvith a few of his Horse and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his son, as before hath beene shewed, and went to *Elaa*: vvithin he heard that *Emilius* the Roman Admirall was come to bring succor to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of peace: about vvich to consult, *Eumenes* was sent for by *Emilius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made vvithout the Consull: this Treatie brake off. Then followed the

the overthrow newly mentioned; which caused *Selenus* to give over the siege of *Per-gamus*. Afterwards, foure or five Townes of like name were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of seven and thirty Saile, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cause to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Countie of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retreat, that the *Rhodians* durst not farre adventure upon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the warre, the last and greatest was a victory of the *Romans* by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battell was fought by *Myonnesus* a Promontorie in *Asia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him foure-score and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, where-with *Antiochus* vaunted the last yeere, That his *Armada* should cover all the shores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodian* two and twenty: the *Roman* being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light-timbered and thin plancked, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselves by the same device, with which five of their Gallies had lately escaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran upon the enemy: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemped. After no long fight, the Kings Navie hoysed saile: and, having a faire wind, bore away toward *Ephesus* as fast as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunke. The *Romans* and their fellows lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the Sea.

The report of this misadventure, may seeme to have taken from *Antiochus* all use of reason. For as if no hope had bin remaining to defend those places that he held in *Europe*, he presently withdrew his Garrisons from *Lysimachia*: which might easily have been kept, even till the end of Winter following, and have reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) unto termes of great extremity. He also gave over the siege of *Colophon*: and laying aside all thought save onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for help to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarabes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Consul, without impediment, not onely came to the *Hellepont*, but had yeelded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* side. The Fleet was then also in a readinesse to transport him over into *Asia*: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his owne good ease; even as if the Countie had been his already. The first newes that he heard of the Enemy, was by an Embassadour that came to sue for peace. This Embassadour declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Lysimachia*, had beene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lysimachia*, and was further purposed, not to strive with the *Romans* about *Lampsacus* and *Smyrna*: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with warre? If it was their desire, that any other Townes upon the Coast of *Asia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should be also set at libertie, or otherwise delivered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of *Asia*: so as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be uncertaine, and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewise beare halfe the charges, whereat they had been in this Warre. So praying the *Romans* to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers which to the Embassadour seemed so great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his owne fault: and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which he held in *Eolis* and *Ionis*, but quite out of *Asiaticke* lesse, and keep himselfe on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassadour therefore saw, that

that no better bargain could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne; who (it is uncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his sonne, than upon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publique businesse: He onely said thus much, That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your King in my name, that I would advise him to refuse no Condition whereby he may have peace.

The King was not any whit moved with this advice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no lesse, than if he had beene already subdued: little reason there was that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him three-score and tenne thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; besides two and fifty Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hooks or fythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased, to heare that the Consul drew neere him apace, as one halting to fight. But howsoever he was affected; He made so little shew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elaea*, He sent thither unto him his son without ransom: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sicknesse, and without desirous to retaine the young Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus ought his bountie to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein hee dealt craftily. For since he could have none other ransom of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtesie before the battell, as would afterwards have beene little worth; than to stay untill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recoverie of his sonne: so as the joy thereof was thought, to have beene much available unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanity, Hee said onely thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by advising him not to fight untill he shall heare that I am in the Campe*. What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* resolved to follow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magnesia* by *Sipylos*: where encamping, He fortified himselfe as strongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul, and sate downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some losse, driven backe over the River. Two daies were quietly spent, whilst neither the King nor the *Romans* would passe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, untill they came within two miles and a halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foote: whom the ordinary *Corps de garde* repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul tooke advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties: unless they would staine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the warre untill the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was thoroughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the Generall Crie, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemy, resolved to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battels:

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Hee also did the like; and advanced so farre, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The Roman Army consisted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as usually, were in the points; the Romans in the meane battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them follow the *Principes*, at such distance as was usuall; and last of all, the *Tritarii*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Achaans*, and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the River: yet foure Troupes of Horse were placed there, though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him sixteene African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they onely would have served to discourage his men; as being sure to bee beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more courageous beastes: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diversly appointed, and not so all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in fixteene thousand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the middest, and divided into tenne Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Betwene every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beastes, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backs, and besides him that governed the Elephant, four men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fixteene hundred Horse of the *Gallio-Greeks*: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and a Regiment of almost a thousand horse, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrey, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, divided in their severall kinds, doe seeme to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have bin stretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto these, were fixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the *Argyr'spides*, or *Silvershields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had served under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of *Myfia*; with foure thousand Slingers and Archers of the *Ciriens*, and *Elymeans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallio-Greeks*, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called The Kings Troup, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with hooks or rhythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon sat *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cyriens*, *Elymeans*; and many others, having also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himselfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The first on-fict was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both. For with shottings, and noisies, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running backe upon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left wing: whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with

with such varietie of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled; in a manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the King, *Antiochus* himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite unto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But *M. Aemilius*, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellows: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discovered the approach; He not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away upon the spur without further tarrance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to have lost in this battaile fifty thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slaine above three hundred Foot, and foure and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the custody of *Sardes*, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townes-men and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatnesse of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded up themselves by Embassadours: whom they sent to the Romans, whilest they were on the way. Neither were many dayes spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Campe: having none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose upon the King his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should bee gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side *Taurus*. For their charges in that Waire, they required fixteene thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand, in twelve yeeres next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corne, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with some others who had stirred up the King to this warre, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embassadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, *M. Fulvius*, & *Cn. Manlius Volsco*. The *Ætolians* desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make warre upon the *Ætolians*; the other, upon *Antiochus* in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe unto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of Asia was not like to be so thoroughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Romans care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soone after this, came the Embassadours of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and some others: yea, by King *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approved. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his owne deserts; and comparing himselfe with *Masanissa*, hoped that the Romans would be more bountifull to him than they had bene to the *Numidian*, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masanissa* was onely such in title; and since both he and his Father had alwayes bene their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what hee would have: He still referring himselfe to their courtisie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him, as much of the Conque by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they

had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving liberty to many of the *Greece* Towns, that were on *Asia* side. For since the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodiens* did not like of this. They desired the Senate to be truly Patrons of the *Grecian* liberty; and to call to minde, that no small part of *Greece* it selfe had bin subject unto *Philip*, and served him in his War: which was not alledged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* against King *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifullly gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of *Titus Quinius Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld untill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by some, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of the *Asiaticque*: which the fortune of his Victory had no lesse deserved; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. IX.

The Æoliens, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by Sybil. Of Sybils Prophecies; the Bookes of Hermes; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.

M*ARC. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius* had the same charge divided betweene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to *Greece* and to *Asia*. And for this reason was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the *Æoliens*. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughty little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the *Roman Majestie*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly termes than any other of the *Greeks*. The best was, that so great a storme fell not unexpected upon the *Æoliens*. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadours were utterly denied peace at *Rome*: and they had provided the last remedy; which was, to entreate the *Rhodiens* and *Athenians* to become intercessours for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well devise, even upon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poore King *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilst *Philip* of *Macedon* kept for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the *Athamanians* (besides that many of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) having beene long accustomed to serve a Mountaine Lord, that conversed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, used by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, & offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertooke the worke. Yet, assistance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand *Æoliens*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themselves into foure parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Towns in the Countrey, to his use. The fame of this good successe at first; with divers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Licutenantsof *Philip* unable to thinke upon resistance. One of them held the Towne of *Theium* a few dayes; giving thereby some leisure unto his King to pro-

provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home fixe thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all fave two thousand behinde him, and so came to *Atheneum*, a little *Athamanian* Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argibeas*, that was chiefe of the Countrey. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldenes to defend upon *Argibeas* for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the hill sides, ready to come downe upon them, when they should be bufe. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: especially when *Aminander* came in fight with his thousand *Æoliens*. The *Macedonians* were called backe, from wards *Argibeas*, and presently withdrawn by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The *Athamanians* and *Æoliens* way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes, few of those escaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, untill *Philip* his returne.

The *Æoliens* having found the businesse of *Athamanian* so easie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperanians*. These had belonged unto their Nation, & were lately taken by *Philip*, from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Æolian* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had bene ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke Armes at first: but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Æolian* quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the joy was the lesse; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his last overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Consull his halffing with an Armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* sent his excuses to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in deslight, that he had recovered his owne from *Philip* with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemes it that the *Romans* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had bene the chiefe seate of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Æoliens*: yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the *Ambraciens*, it was not in the *Æoliens* power: for they were at the same time, vexed by the *Ilyrians* at sea, and ready to be driven from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the sonne of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the *Romans*, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadours came, who besought the Consull to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made strong resistance, and would not bee terrified, by any violence of the *Assailants*, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consull had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so bee driven to leave unto his successfull the honour of finishing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened unto the *Æoliens*, and bade them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it over-deare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his service as a mediator, to put himselfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his persuasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same Embassadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodiens*, accompanied those of the *Æoliens* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made a very grievous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earnestly sollicite. The *Æoliens* were bound to uphold the Majestie of the people of *Rome*, and to observe divers Articles, which made them the lesse free, and more obnoxious to the *Romans*, than

any people of Greece; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Countrey. The Ile of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achaens*, by stiffly pressing their owne right) that so they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilst they seemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philop.* or others, might lay claime, there was set down an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their controversies, when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affaires of *Macedon* and Greece.

10 *Cn. Manlius*, the other Confull, had at the same time warre in *Asia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Armie was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victorie, his acts were the confirmation. He visited those Countreies on the hither side of *Taurus*, that had scarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these there were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, & some that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration that hapned in *Asia*. From every of these hee got somewhat; and by their quarrells found occasion to visite those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even laden with booty, when, having fetcht a compass about *Asia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. These had long domineered over the Countrey: though of late times, it was rather the fame & terror of their fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately such triall, when they served under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Countrey, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation; that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yield: then was no counsaile thought fo good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should undertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Confull would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled, and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had beene carelesse of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the *Romans*, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily prevail against casters of stones; especially being such as were these *Gallo-Greeks*, who neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defensive Armes, could not hold out against the Arrows and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steepe rockes. Few of the men escaped alive: all their wives, children, and goods became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation overcome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at 50 their backs.

These warres being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconfull, his Province for another yeere. *Fulvius*, in his second yeer, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for feare of the *Roman* Armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto hee swore, and received the Kings

oath

oath by Embassadours, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of *Asia*, he tooke his way toward the *Hellepont*, laden with spoile, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in so many yeers extorted, from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull use, which the *Roman* Souldier had bene wont to take as the onely good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous household-stuffe, and slaves of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and in a word, with the seedes of that luxurie, which finally overgrew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

10 The Countrey of *Thrace* lay between *Hellepont* & the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because *Philop.* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge train of baggage; the *Thracians* could not so wel contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that *Philop.* tooke it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, & well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he understood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to understand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the people of *Rome* had not made warre in *Asia*: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered unto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætoliens*, promising moreover to restore unto him all the *Greek* Cities, that had beene taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not onely the halfe of *Asia*, but *Chersonesus*, & *Lyfimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to goe to *Rome* and begge Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipios*, whom he thought the most honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into neer acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby he made himselfe acquainted with the warres in *Spain* and *Africke*. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a surer way. For the *Scipios* had not the disposing of that which they wonne from *Antiochus*; as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philop.* therefore saw these uppstart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætoliens*, by whom he might have bene freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the *Macedonian* had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleevied, that the *Thracians* were by him set on, to assaile the *Romans* passing through their Countrey. They knew all advantages; & they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farre advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behinde: though both the getting and the saving, did cost many lives, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought untill it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themselves; not without as much of the booty, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the Armie could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into *Epirus*; and so to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of Greece.

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly taxe, as an unworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindred the peace with *Antiochus*; they

Lib. 38.

Tull. de Divin.
lib. 2.Hist. Calaub.
Euseb. l. 1. ad
Anat. Bar. 110.
c. 11.Euseb. Eccl. Hist.
cap. 13.

they said, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over Taurus, and adventuring upon the calamity threatened by Sibyls verses, unto those that should passe the fatal bounds.* What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* prophetic threatned the *Roman* Captaine or Armie, that should passe over *Taurus*, I doe not conceive. *Pompey* was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, & had before-hand won, in a sort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophetic, fell out neere about one time, with the restitution of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seeme to have had reference unto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *sowed at random in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolomy* to his Kingdome by *Gabinus* the *Roman*, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour: as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers have bene well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that prophetic. Of the *Sibylline* predictions, I have sometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke few men know) yet following the common believe and good authority. But observation of the shameful Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in *Rome* by the bookes of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent worke of Master *Cassaubon* upon the Annales of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, That not only those prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein Christ fo plainly was shewed, but even the bookes of *Hermes*, which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever devised them) by the undiscreet zeale of such, as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forein proofs. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable History, reported by *Eusebius* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should have bene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it bene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criusisme*, taken amiss in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title four hundred yeeres older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Pitrucius* a Rebél, had many ages before bene consecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old *Roman* letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true History. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historical, than was conceived by the Authour. But it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which ought to stand firme upon a sure foundation) leane over-hardly on a well painted, yet so rotten post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richest, which ever the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasury, was made the last payment of those monies which the common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the second *Punicke War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even so long as he well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the Citie, untill the

the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after other, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Posterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him, of purloining from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargain for his Country. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the midst of the Assembly, and offered himselfe to speake. Having audience, he told the people, That upon they same day of the year he had fought a great battaile with *Hannibal*, and finished the *Punicke War* by a signall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visite the *Capitoll*, & there give thanks to *Jupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well & happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-wealth. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, *That if ever since the seventeenth yeer of his life, untill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age; yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might still be like to him.* These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, even the Officers of the court, followed *Scipio*, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne slaves and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, untill for very shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the City, and his unthankfull *Romans*, that could suffer him to undergoe so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at *Luternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing *Rome* againe. How many yeers he lived, or whether he lived one whole yeere, in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopemen*, as also of his private behaviour at *Luternum*, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Collegues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio* the *Africke*. They propounded a Decree unto the people, touching mony received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, & instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of singular industrie; frugal also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde he was even faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmercifull and unconcionable, in seeking to increase his owne wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice, which being poisoned with envie, troubled both himselfe and the whole City, whilst he lived. His meane birth caused him to hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own ranke, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabbrio*, whose Lieutenant he had bene at *Thermopyle*, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carry it, he took an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjurie. That he had not brought into the common Treasury some vessels of gold and silvers, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio's*, grew partly, (besides his generall spight at the Nobility) from his owne first rising, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from some checke, that was given unto himselfe, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lyes he published, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the vertue that was farre above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue reports against his Generall; whose noble

noble deedes confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio's*, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was soone condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non payment*, his body should have beene laid up in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the *African* to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the use of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his having beene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and Clients, made such a Collection for him, as would have set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his neerest friends.

And thus began the civill warre of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, untill now, since the *Punicke Warre*. Security of danger from abroad; and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helps to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold upon that great Worthy, to whose vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while containe themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves over-matched by their adversaries at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first, with clubs & stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frays & murders in the streets, unto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio the African*, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sons was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons, whilst they were but yong, slaughtered in *Rome*, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senators began to take upon them authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Consuls all the whole power of the City, under this forme, *Let the Consuls provide, that the Commonweale receive no detriment*. By this decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought to have wonne a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saurinus* a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way: it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the civill warres; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himselfe absolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cesar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soveraign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any Consul had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in need of a Sovereigne Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by voyces in the House, did compell *Cesar*, or give him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he tooke such order, that neither Senate nor people, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the *Romans* consuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedom, and became subiects unto the arbitrary government of one: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to doe even what they listed. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat greatnesse, nor beleevd of her selfe as if she had, whilst a King late crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes, How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian Warre.

S. 1.

- 10 The Conduition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the warre with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrell with Philip. They deale insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his son Demetrius; of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.



30 AFTER the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweale of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrivall of the *Romans* in those parts: yet in very truth (the publique declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the People of *Rome*. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Sovereign power, in whomsoever it rest; namely, To make Laws, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie, &c. to reserve (as the French call it) *le dernier Ressort*, or the last Appeals, the *Romans* had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, The Appeals, or last resort, as every petty injurie offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places wherence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within *Rome*; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and informed to obedience, or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither the Lawes were of force, when the *Romans* interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

40 And to such degree of servitude the severall Estates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankfull for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving; or, as being more fearefull of displeasing the strongest than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, & being most obsequious unto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of war & peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his owne even as he listed, untill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him, that his Kingdome bordered upon the Nations, by them not thoroughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his owne high deserts) were they very loving unto *Masaniissa*, and to his House, untill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion seated in *Africke*: as likewise afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in subjection unto themselves, by the Ministry of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were useful and obsequious unto them.

50 Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; & shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But such magnanimity was none otherwise continued by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not indure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull to transport them over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, against *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Thessalie* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ezus* and *Maronea*,

Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the *Romans* themselves.

These townes of *Enus* and *Maronea* had beene part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the North-west, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of *Transylvania*: in which Province it is said, * That innumerable Medals of gold have beene found, in the age of our Grand-Fathers, each of them weighing two or three Crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Vishoria*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title, for he lived not to settle his estate in *Europe* fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolemy Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gauls*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not sustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that crowne, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Anigonius* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the *Gauls* being over-past, those Countries which lately had beene oppressed by them, recovered their liberty; and not onely held it, but learned, some of them, especially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to finde their advantages, and make use of them, even upon *Macedon*: Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King *Philip* did provide the most convenient remedies: by shutting up the wayes, where-
by the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Lysimachia*, with some other townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarks of his owne Countrey, against the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behooved him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the *Etolians*, of wrongfull usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied *Lysimachia*. Hereto hee made a good answer. That his Garrison did only save it from the *Thracians*: who, as soone as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching *Enus* and *Maronea*: That they were places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not availed him, in the disputation about *Lysimachia*: & in the present question, the *Romans* were not without their owne title: since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Countrey thereabout, whilst *Philip* was busied in his former warre: and since they, by their victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it unto their disposition, Whether *Enus* & *Maronea* should be set at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lysimachia* and *Chersonnesus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceive, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Judges betweene him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversie. Nevertheless, he sent Embassadors to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right unto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the *Etolians*: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadors: and would they now deprive him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either he was likely to prevaile, or at leastwise to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had beene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the *Maronites* had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, he tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gave order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these *Maronites* in such sort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thracians*

* Hist. of Hion-
gari by Mart.
Eumene lib.

Thracians by night, that they might sack the Towne, and use all cruelties of War. This was done: but so ill taken by the *Roman* Embassadors, who had better notice, than could have beene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Majesty, to an account. He would have removed the blame from himselfe, and layed it even upon the *Maronites*: affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embassadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themselves: as well knowing, that they who survived, were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the *Romans* more severe, and more thoroughly informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor neare to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour so lightly to give away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because he should tell no tales; Hee tooke order to have him paysoned by the way. By this wee see, that the doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischiefe, was not of his owne invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policie, the latter having bene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth, here in England, can beare good witness; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same unjust Law that himselfe had devised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the Warre which he feared, before he was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his younger son *Demetrius* as Embassador unto the Senate: giving him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints, and withall to deliver his own grievances in such wise, that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that he had been strongly urged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate; as having been well approved by them, when he was Hostage in *Rome*: and therefore seemed the more likely to prevaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne unto his person.

Whilst this business with the *Macedonian* hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himselfe some other way the *Roman* armes: the same Embassadors, that had beene Judges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of *Greece*; and tooke notice of the controversies which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished *Lacedaemonians* against the *Acheans*. It was objected unto the *Acheans*, That they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedaemon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the City: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycurgus*, then Pretor of the *Acheans*, made answer, That these banished *Lacedaemonians*, who now tooke upon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamefully they laid the blame upon others: the *Acheans* having onely called those unto judgement, that were supposed to be chiefe Authors of a Rebellion against both them and the *Romans*: and these Plaintiffs having slaine them, upon private, though just hatred, as they were comming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the Walles of *Lacedaemon*, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibit unto them all kinds of fortifications: as the Rerails and Nets either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedaemon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Usurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walls

T E T T

and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had also quite abolished *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and governed the City by their owne lawlesse Will. As for the *Acheans*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, unto the *Lacedemonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, *Lycurtus* plainly told *App. Claudius*, the chiefe of the Embassadors, That hee and his Countreimen held it strange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to see themselves thus constrained, to answer and give account of their actions, as vassals and slaves unto the people of *Rome*. For if they were indeed at liberty: why might not the *Acheans* as well require to be satisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did busie themselves, to take account how things went at *Lacedemon*? for if the *Romans* would stand upon their greatness; and intimate as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the *Acheans* have recourse unto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answer of *Lycurtus*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking state upon him; he pronounced more like a Master than a Judge, That if the *Acheans* would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thanks whilst they might; they should be compelled with a mischiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This alteration was in the Parliament of the *Acheans*, which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet feare prevailed above indignation; and it was permitted unto the *Romans* to doe as they listed. Hereupon the Embassadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very soone after, did make voyd all judgements of death or banishment, that had beene layd by the *Acheans*, upon any Citizen of *Lacedemon*; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of *Lacedemon* should be suffered to continue a member of the *Achean* Common-wealth; or, taken from them, and made as it had been an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend upon their owne will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councell of *Achaia*, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-wealths whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsell and perswasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking Patronage, made mere Vassals; to instruct them, what in the like case they should expect: yet could not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so prevail with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearfull servility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he saw the *Greekes* very farr from daring to stirre against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Countrey would be his, whensoever he should take Armes, as shortly he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, comming home from *Rome*, brought with him the desired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignity soone following. Hee had beene lovingly used at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to reade such briefe notes as hee had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne sake, as they then said, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodnesse in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increase in *Philip* his

his hatred unto *Rome*, and breed in him a jealousie of his too forward sonne. To set him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadors from *Rome*, some bringing one commandment, some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things, which had beene imposed upon him by their fore-goes. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors young *Demetrius* was conversant: rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him; than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perseus*, the elder son of the King, should not succeed unto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by some other pretence, yet by mere favour of the *Romans*. This offended not onely *Perseus*, but *Philip* himselfe: who suspected his younger son, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly mis-constructed all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousie; it will not be amisse to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

§. II.

The death of Philopemen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the Militarie profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to prove the contrary.

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late beene so preemprory with the *Acheans*; that they seemed nor unlikely to take part against them, in any controverfie that should be moved. Hereupon the *Messenians*, who against their will were annexed unto the *Achean* Common-wealth, having long beene of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themselves from that Society, with purpose to set up againe an Estate of their owne, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their City; who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpose; and not overstrongly affected in the businesse; were careful to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the *Achean* League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostility; whereby it was probable that blood should be drawne, and either side so farr exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopemen*, then Prator of the *Acheans*, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the *Acheans*, especially of the *Megalopolitans*, were soon in a readinesse to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part, Horse; he had some Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the *Messenians*, whom he charged, and forced to runne. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chase; there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from *Messene*, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies beganne to make head againe: and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopemens* Horsemen to turne backe. *Philopemen* himselfe had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the Retreat: and suffering his Horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the *Messenians*, whom the reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching over-near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall off his Horse, and being with all in very weake plight of body, he was unable to get up againe. So the Enemies came upon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleeveth their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to *Messene*, was so farr from being beleeveth, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranke forth to meet him,

him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertues, and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliverie. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates* and his faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace, or injury, done to him, unrevenge. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong Vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heave stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe unto him, with a cup of poyson, which *Philopamen* took in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horfmen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a chearfull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seventy yeares old, and weakened with long sicknesse, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The *Achaens*, vvhen they missed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindefull to preserve their owne lives, than to looke unto the safety of so excellent a Commander. Whilst they were devising what to doe in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadors were forthwith dispatched unto *Messene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire means would not serve. *Lycortas* was chosen General of the Army against *Messene*: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of *Philopamen* that were carried home in solemne pompe to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them flaine at his funeral, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a Roman Embassador, was then in *Greece*; vvhen, upon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldome absent. He vvould have entemedled in this businesse of *Messene*, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassador to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the War against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the most spitefull enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein unworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Livie* thinkes) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the first conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging vvhere *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine having found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had devised some secret fallies under ground to save himselfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: vvhich he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to save himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he saw no vvay to escape, nor counsell to resort unto, he tooke the poyson into his hand, vvhich he alvvays preserved for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; vvhen being ready to swallow downe, he uttered these vvords: *I will now (said he) deliver the Romans of that feare which hath so many years possessed them, that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius, over me, vvhen am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbred among the rest of his heroicall deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how farre the ancient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their forefathers, as vvhen Pyrrhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them battell as their owne doers, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyson:*

son; whereas these of a later race, have employed *Flaminius*, a man who hath heretofore beene one of their Consuls, to practise with *Prusias*, contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Law of Hospitality, so slaughter or deliver up his own Guest. He then cursing the perion of *Prusias*, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his infidelity, dranke off the poyson, and dyed.

In this year also (as good Authors have reported) to accompanie *Philopamen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the African: these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the World had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, vvho's Tragedy we have now finished, had he beene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one vvho by his authority might have commanded such supplies, as the War vvhich he undertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, vvanting public force to sustaine it, did lastly dissolve it selfe in his owne, and in the Common misery of his Countrey and Common-weale.

Hence it comes, to vvit, from the envie of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weales, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For besides the envie and jealousie of men, the spoyle, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, vvith a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as vvith good reason did *Marcus* the Marshall of *France* confesse, That, were not the mercies of God infinite, and vvithout restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite. Howsoever, this is true, That the victories vvhich are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardise of the Nation against vvhom they serve. For the most of others, vvho's vertues have raised them above the levell of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envie: yet have they beene rewarded in the end, either vvith disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans, we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Aemilius*, and this our *Scipio*, vvhom we have lately buried. Among the *Greekes* we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that *David* bequeathed unto his vvictorious Captaine *Joab*. With this fare *Alexander* feasted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour invited *Artius*: vvho, after many other victories, overthrew *Attilia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greatest battell for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was stricken in the World; for there fell of those that fought, beside run-awayes, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Artius*, he had cut off his owne right hand vvith his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by vvho's perswasion *Valentinian* slew *Artius*) murdered the Emperour; vvhich hee never durst attempt, *Artius* living. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That vvith *Artius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a farre worse, had *Belsarius*; vvho's undertakings and vvictories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Justinian*: and hee died a blinde beggar. *Narses* also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgraced by *Justin*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well observed in every age since then; to vvit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, vvhich standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and indeed, a Turkish one: That every warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre, than suffer his owne glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Bajazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Armac*; *Selim*, strange *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes vvho vvould to ruine the most of their *Fislers*. Of the Spanish Nation, the great *Gonsalvo*, vvho drove the French out of *Naples*; and *Ferdinando Cortese*, vvho conquered *Mexico*; were crowned vvith nettles, not vvith Lawrell. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Born* had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations have beene paid vvith this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of Warre: This I confesse. Yet must it be had vvithall

in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military vertue; though many have usurped them, by the helpe and favour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traitorously cast downe their Masters, and stepped up into their seats; were not all of them good men of Warre: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undeservedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertues, is farre more in seeming than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldier, and by helpe of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than Cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him againe by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the imperiall Crowne, unjustly gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Leonius* laid hold upon the Emperour *Iustinus*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge he had left his owne men of Warre, *Iustinus*, having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus* commanding the forces of *Iustinus*, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. *Anastasius*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surpris'd his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse and needlesse worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others have bene repayed with their owne cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Capitaines to make themselves Kings, have by Gods justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberality of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by *Salomon*, of unthankfulness in this kinde, hath bene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: A little *Citie*, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore and wiseman therein, and he delivered the *Citie* by wisdom: but none remembred this poore man. Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have bene indebted for great benefits: which the unwider sort of them think to favour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes censured and abused; which proves that weaknesse to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giving thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Capitaines have made, by enriching themselves with the spoyle of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings: yea most injuriously to rob them of their owne, upon a false supposition: that even they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, have purloyned somewhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being so lately recited.

In my late soveraignes time, although for the Warres, which for her owne safety and safety she was constrained to undertake, her Majesty had no lesse cause to use the service of Martiall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many years had: yet according to the duty of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldest, and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured for any service by them performed. And that her Majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperity of her affaires did well witness, who in all their daies never received dishonour, by the cowardize or infidelity of any Commander by her selfe chosen and employed.

For as all her old Capitaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drenwrie*, *Read*, *Willford*, *Tyson*, *Pellam*, *Colbert*, *Countess*, *Bourchier*, *Burkeley*, *Bingham*, and others:

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to those of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Noirice* and *Vere* were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did: those (I say) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the *L. Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie*, *L. Willoughby of Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Majesty in the advancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleve other men than her selfe a dis ease unto which many wife Princes, besides her selfe, have bene subject; I say that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weaknesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Advers are so unprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are nerest the person of Princes (which Martiall men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a profession far more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their Masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving lesse honor and reward to men of far greater deservings, and of far greater use than themselves.

But his Majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieving by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honoured more Martiall men than all the Kings of England have done for this hundred yeers.

He hath given a Coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable service, as well in the yeere 1588. as at *Calix*, the Ilands, and in our owne Sea; having first commanded as a Captain, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chief. His Majesty hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldomes; and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knolles*, *Ruffell*, *Cavens*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their governments and services in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elsewhere.

§. III.

Philip making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own Subjects. His negotiation with the Bassarne. His cruelty. He suspecteth his son Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slain by his fathers appointment. Philip repenteth him of his sons death, whom he findeth to have bin innocent: and intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Quintius Marius the Roman Embassador, who travelled up and downe, seeking what worke might be found about Greece, had received instruction from the Senate, to use the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedonia. At his returne home, that he might not seeme to have discovered nothing, he told the Fathers, That Philip had done whatsoever they enjoyed him; yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than mere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was so indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnesse to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands; with safety of their honour, if they could finde convenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what means soever. He was in an ill case: as having bene already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could devise, against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gave him cause to suspect that they would doe but bad service against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emacia*. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured against

against those enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he devised upon alluring the *Bastarnæ*, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river of *Danubius*, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who besides other great rewards, would helpe them to root out the *Dardaniens*, and take possession of their Country. These were like to doe him notable service against the *Romans*, being not onely fowt fighting men, but such, as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrivall, must be the utter extirpation of the *Dardaniens*; a People alwayes troublesome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those *Bastarnæ*, by hope of spoyle, and other incitements, 10 unto a more desperate Expedition, through *Ilyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italy* it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordisci*, and peradventure some others, through whose Countries they were to passe, would accompanie them against the *Romans*, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remove of these *Bastarnæ* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardaniens*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, 20 nor were knowne unto them; since he was not like to finde assistance from any civill Nation, about the whole compass of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But these devices were long ere they tooke effect: so as the *Bastarnæ* came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the trayning of his mento war, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wild people that bordered upon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much agitation their wils to forsake their ancient 30 dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meet for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himselfe over-ruled by necessity, that seemed apparent. This evill therefore would soone have beene determined, had not his cruel and vindicative nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow: but imputed all to traiterous mallice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the 40 people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall, when the King in a barbarous and base furie, mistrusting all alike whom hee had injured, thought himselfe unlike to be safe, untill hee should have massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragically than perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heaven, hee felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger sonne. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissension 50 betwene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreme jealousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparell, or the unsightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were jest at in ordinary discourse and table-talk, *Demetrius* was fure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadors, as often as they came, gave his father cause

cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsell held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder son *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his brother should step betwene him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty yeeres old, of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five yeeres, more open and unwarie in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out; that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was wont 10 to be made at certaine times with great solemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft in twaine a birch, and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailles, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to passe. This done, the armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very first originall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King betwene his two sonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Armie was divided into two parts: which, under the Kings two sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, using poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this 20 present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did over-earnestly seeke each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, untill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himselfe was sorry for this, as it had been some bad preface: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort: who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courtes of *Demetrius* led unto his owne ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heate of his ambition had carried him 30 beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaved himselfe so indiscreetly, that he was taken & well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doores. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet hee would leave none of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet 40 was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doores, as if he stood in feare to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondered to see himselfe excluded, and fared very angrily with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose malicious purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger unto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, & in effect the same that hath bin here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his father, and was sorry to see him spoiled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they fought how to winne unto *Demetrius* the love of the 50 *Macedonians*. For prooffe hereof he cited a letter, sent of late from *Titus Quinctius* to the king himselfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that hee should yet further doe well to send him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counsell was given by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that should

should wait upon his brother to Rome; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become servants to this young Traytor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them; and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that converted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he fought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did beare him, he said that it grew, if not by his owne vertue, at leastwise from their opinion thereof: so as by any impious practice, he were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffs and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one houres audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seeme to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to *Perseus*: using so little conference with his younger son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him present, nor neere unto him. Above all, he had especial care, to learne out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintus*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way interferred in the quarrels between the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. The se brought home with them a letter, said to be written by *Timm* (whose seale they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires, had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should never take effect: for that *Timm* himselfe would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King to thinke his son a dangerous Traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in custodie, made shew as if he had pitted the estate of the unhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to flye secretly to Rome; where he might hope not only to live in safety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reversion unto the Crowne of *Macedon*. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the faithfulness of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, and in the meane while revealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolved to put his son to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behovefull to make him away privily, for feare lest the *Romans* should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proove sufficient, at least of the Kings delight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings unadvised sentence, first gave payson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of *Russians*, to finish the tragedie: who villainously accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Anigonius* there had not bene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne blood. The houses of *Lyfsmachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselves, or even upon their heeles; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of soveraigne rule, or feare of losing it. By the like unaturall hatred, had almost bin cut off the lines of *Ptolomee* and of *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously disordered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raised it selfe to marvellous greatness, in very short space, from the condition of meere slavery: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to have propounded the last of them to his owne children, as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to doe: not

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more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, where with King *Anigonius* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himselfe of an unmercifull nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perswader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers, and subjects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonne, he too late began to examine the crimes that had bene objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriver of the whole processe. His only remaining son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no lesse to bee feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of minde, and carefulnesse of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with suspicious imaginations; the like whereof he had never bene flow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Anigonius*, continued fo true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hartfull to *Perseus*: and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against *Perseus* would not vent it selfe, and give ease to the King, untill the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadors which had brought from Rome that Epistle of *Flamininus*, that served as the greatest evidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the businesse: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In this doing, he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented unto the King: saying, That this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for feare of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himselfe, that he had bene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No marvel, if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one sonne, he had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himselfe, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first newes of this discoverie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into *Italye*; *Philocles* was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not denie it when *Xychus* confronted him, yeelded himselfe guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flye the Countrey: yet not so stout as to adventure himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdome towards *Thrace*, whilest his father wintred at *Demetrius*. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious sonne, tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it upon *Anigonius*. But his weake body, and excessive griefe of minde, so disabled him in the travell thereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yeeld to nature. He had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himselfe with continuall warres; of which that with the *Romans* was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befell him, he might thanke his own perverse condition: since his Uncle, King *Anigonius*, had left unto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happinesse of a Tyrant, which he affected, and

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the life of a King, whereof he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, even whilest yet it was onely drawing neere, was fore-signified unto *Perseus*, by *Caligene* the Physician; who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So *Perseus* came thither on the sudden, and rooke possession of the Kingdome: which in fine he no lesse improvidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IV.

How the Bastarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behavior of Perseus in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the Romans: and how they suffered Masaniſſa cruelly to oppress the Carthaginians. They quarrell with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Achæans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring upon him.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Bastarnæ* into *Thrace*: where order had beene taken, long before, both for the free passage, and for the indemnitie of the Country. This compact was friendly observed, as long as no other was knowne than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard without, that he took any care what became of the enterprise: then was all daft and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer afford to good markets unto these strangers, as formerly they had done. On the other side, the *Bastarnæ* would not be contented with reason, but became their owne carvers. Thus each part having lost the rich hopes reposed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriving in the present; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows; and the *Bastarnæ* had the upper hand, so as they chased the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little use of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in assaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It seems that by the carelesse using of some victories, they drew losse upon themselves: and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their own Country.

As for *Perseus*, he thought it not expedient, in the noveltie of his reigne, to embroile himselfe in a war so dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his minde to the settling of his Estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himselfe, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Amintor*. To win love of his people, he sate personally to heare their causes in judgement, (though herein he was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of justice to be no better than feined) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all necessity of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his first work, to send Embassadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate saluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to pitchcase good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein so excessively bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder how in few yeers, to his utter ruine, he became so griping and tenacious. His feare was indeed the maitring passion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into so many shapcs, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proove of this, there is requisite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, busie in warres against the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered *Africa*; subdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had some quarrels, though to litle effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever since the victory) a heavy hand: & suffered *Masaniſſa* to take from them what he

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lifted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vassals to *Rome*, were affraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Masaniſſa* therefore had great advantage over them; and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining Embassadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and so did he use them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwise, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Masaniſſa* had wonne some land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, restored to the right owners, for love of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Asdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Masaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whose judgement the case was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to use all manner of submissive obedience to *Rome*. They had scarcely digested this injury, when *Masaniſſa* came upon them againe, and tooke from them above seventy Townes and Castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embassadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in their League: That they should not make Warre out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were so that they might lawfully withstand the violence of *Masaniſſa*, invading their Country, howsoever he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durst not presume to beare defensive armes against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for feare of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that either they might have fairer justice; or be suffered to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth *Masaniſſa* should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they, that the *Romans* would let them understand, wherein they had offended since the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment as they themselves in honour should thinke meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Judges; than continually to live in feare, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithall the Embassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to move compassion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envie to that valiant house of the *Barchines*; of their irresolution in prosecuting a war so important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half penny-worthing in matter of expence, when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they servants, even to the servants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, slain, taken & sold as bondslaves in the streets of *Carthage*, and in all cities of *Africa* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* so often and so earnestly desired. Only they want peace with *Masaniſſa*, once their mercenary, and now their master, or rather their tormentor, out of whose cruell hands, they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might have beene their owne. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who lost the battell at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal*, that wan it was used by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Commonwealth; and employed their labours for the publique, without craving recompence: as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to set out an Armie into *Spain*, at what time the enemy lay under their owne walles. These were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitifull behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their teares may seeme to have beene misstrusted, as proceeding no lesse from envie to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their owne calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with *Masaniſſa*: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisuns with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no such leave as they sought,

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of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leave obtained, they presumed so farre, the destruction of *Carthage* was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends. *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masanissa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his comming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* against his father. He answered, That his Father not being thoroughly aware of any Embassadors thither sent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him instructions, how to deale in that business. Onely it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had held Councell divers nights, in the Temple of *Asculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was dispatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of *Rome*. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replied, that for *Masanissa*'s sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their justice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* those Lands, which by the covenants of the League, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*, bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should doe well to send Embassadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* Warre was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for feare of urging them unreasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Masanissa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better usage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished; he made none other account, than that all *Africa* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, should be his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindfull of *Perseus*. They visited him daily with Embassadors; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, untill (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any satisfaction, untill the *Bastarnæ* were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done, to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any; they called it, making War upon their friends: Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The *Dolopians*, his subjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the *Macedonian*; and therefore unlikely to have presumed so farre, unless either they had been extremely provoked; or else were secretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them: *Perseus* did soone allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the *Romans* took very angrily this presumption of the King; even as if he had invaded some Countrey of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his owne rebels at home. Faine they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his necke, they could themselves have done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Emmenes*, or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were such as made it unlawfull, both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents, even such as had entred into league with them upon equal termes: whom usually they rewarded with a frowne, whenever they presumed to fight themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Acheans* had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne carvers, and whose hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* caused them

them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the *Messenians* by War; *T. Quinius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, even with Lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance by their owne power, without standing unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheless upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of Armes, which belonged only to the Imperial City. In learning this hard lesson, they were such untoward schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharpe correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the *Roman* Senate, being desirous to humble the *Acheans*, refused not only to give them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League between them; but further, with a careless insolencie, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemy might not be supplied from *Italy*, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians* would revolt from the *Acheans*; they themselves would thinke it a business no way concerning them.

This was presently after the death of *Philopamen*: at what time it was beleevied, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much distresse; were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Acheans* had utterly subdued the *Messenians* farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no towne rebelled from the *Acheans*, but many entred into their corporation: then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same Embassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had strictly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to *Messene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have served their owne turnes, they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected; and also to assume unto themselves a Sovereigne power, in directing all matters of Warre, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against mere strangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*: unless peradventure, sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these *Roman* Arts, howsoever many (for gainfull or timorous respects) would seeme to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the most turbulent Citie in *Greece*, having neither subjects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherin to practise their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flatteringe the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, untill the Warre of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratuulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for those other Common-wealths and Kingdomes that with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands, from consuming by peice-meale: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the *Macedonian*, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greekes* began to have assistance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to breake.

Neither *Perseus* nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greekes* at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopamen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subjection, wherein *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves

themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestick conspiracies would soone beat an end; when honestie, and love of the Common-weale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not thoroughly advertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors (of whom every Citie in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the Embassadors themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The *Acheans* being to send Embassadors to *Rome*, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choice of such a man, one may perceive the advantage, which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plaine sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition, that he chose much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authority than himselfe therein. Wherefore in stead of well discharging his credence, and alledging what was meetest in justification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppresse both the *Acheans*, and all the rest of *Greece*, with a far more heave hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the settling of their authority, among his froward Countreymen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken up a custome, to stand upon points of confederacy, and lawes: as if these were principally to be had in regard; any injunction from *Rome* notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Acheans*, both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the *Romans* with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if hee, and some other of his opinion, might have their wills: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columns, or Monuments erected, nor no solemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the observance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themselves, that the multitude refused to give ear unto such persuasions. For howsoever in popular Estates, the found of libertie used to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase apace, & they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange how the *Fathers* could so neglect the advancement of those, that fought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the *Greeks*: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for having uttered some brave words against the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolved to follow this good counsell, in every point; yea to depreesse all those that held with the right, and to set up their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Acheans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of *Lacedemon*) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callicrates*, they advised all men to be such, and

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and so affected, as he was, in their severall common-weales. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyfull man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himselfe into the way of preferment. Nevertheless he forbore to vaunt himselfe of his eloquence used in the Senate. Onely he so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the *Romans*. By such arts he obtained to be made Prator of the *Acheans*: in which Magistracie, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousnesse unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatening termes won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promises, to assure unto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honestier than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* distracted with factions: some holding with the *Romans*, some with the *Macedonian*, and some few, respecting only the good of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable, That a King, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make warre upon him. *Perseus* having finished his businesse among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever, done by his father, might be buried with his father; since his owne meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have beene pleased better, if he had behaved himselfe after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to have taken such a journey, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Acheans*: which his father had so lost, that by a solemne decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arats*, given them cause to abhorre him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficiall, that not without much ado, and at length, without any generall consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was needfull, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Warre, and when all danger of innovation was past, was uncivill, if not inhumane; as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Acheans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the kingdom of *Macedon*: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ranne daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaves very profitable use. But *Perseus* tooke hold upon this occasion: as fitly serving to pacifie those, whose enmity faime he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives, to send them home againe: and wrote unto the *Acheans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken paines to restore back their servants, so should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater party; being openly rehearsed by the Prator, before the Council. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angrily; and bade them be advised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine device, to make them depart from the friendship of the *Romans*. Herewithall he tooke upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the *Acheans* beforehand acquainted with the Warre, that was coming upon *Perseus* from *Rome*. Hee

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told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the same Warre; how *Demetrius* had beene made away, because of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perseus* had since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, He heard all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invasion of the *Bastarna*, upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey against the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good answer was made by the Pretors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perseus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that he had lovingly entertained their Embassadors: This being so: why might not the *Acheans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Thessalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheless *Callicrates* was growne a man so terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durst not over-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and answer made the whilest, That since the King had only sent a letter without an Embassador, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when *Perseus* herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, & deny to give audience: which was proofe sufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived. For harkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were soone after highly commended by a *Roman* Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonians*; though hitherto no cause of War was given.

§. V.

How *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* was busied with *Pharnaces*, the *Rhodiens*, and others. His hatred to the *Macedonian*: whom he accuseth to the *Roman* Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the *Rhodiens*, with the causes thereof. The unsuccessfull journey of the *Macedonian* Embassadors. *Perseus* his attempt upon *Eumenes*. The brotherly love between *Eumenes* and *Attalus*. *Perseus* his device to poison some of the *Roman* Senators: whereupon they decree war against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.

Eumenes King of *Pergamus* had beene troubled about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mitridates*, his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promise. That they, by their authority, would end the business to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings, *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himselfe; and brought his Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure; he began to consider how the affaires of *Macedon* stood under *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus*, was very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greeks*, prodigall in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to waxe every where stale: whilst *Perseus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envie borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despite of this indignity, He stirred up the *Lycians* against the *Rhodiens* his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open Warre. But small pleasure found he in these poore and indirect courses of revenge. The *Lycians* could not be saved by his Patronage, from severe and cruell chastisement, given to them by the *Rhodiens*. This rendered him contemptible: as like wise, his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not only continued falling

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Acheans*, as too unmeasured, misbecoming them to give; and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not beene too vainly ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome; which if fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof, he thought it vaine to strive any longer with bounty; against such an Adversary, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the generall favour. And therefore he resolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularity, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdome, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; & perhaps to be recompensed with some piece of the kingdome, as he had bin rewarded, for the like service, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to *Rome*: where though hee had little to say; which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with great attention, as if they had contained some strange noveltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Bastarna* into *Dardania*, that of *Perseus* himselfe against the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*, the great estimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermeddling in business of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spie. Hee said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse, of his owne money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand Mercenaries for ten yeeres, armes to furnish a number thrice as great; The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as hee should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoyle, or to take from his owne Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to consider, that King *Seleucus*, the sonne and successeur of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Prusias* of *Bithynia*, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly) That even the envie to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne marvellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his kingdome, or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplify unto the most; saying, that he thought it his duty to forewarne them: since it would be to himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in *Italy* making war upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleieve that the *Romans* stood in feare of *Perseus*, lest he should set upon them in *Italy*. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thanks were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intentment. Now though it were so that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seeme greater. For if upon any relation made by their owne Embassadors, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have beene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from *Asia*, to bid them looke to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and securitie? Toward this justification of the warre, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usuall curiositie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand

was well knowne; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors were at *Rome*, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, or of some about him, seemes to have disclosed all: when the weariness of the *Faithers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearfull apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore careless audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embassadors; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublefome to *Asia*, than *Antiochus* had ever beene, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pompe conveyed by sea unto *Perseus*, his bride *Lao-dice*; which friendly office, as the *Macedonian* bountifullly requited, so the *Romans* despihtfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquished, were settling themselves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embassadors came from *Rome* with strange newes, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquished: and that the *Lycians* were by them assigned unto those of *Rhodes*, not as meere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For prooofe hereof, they referred themselves unto the commentaries of the ten Embassadors; whom they had sent to dispose of things in *Asia*, after the victory against King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masaniass*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to *Rome* for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to finde themselves agrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might easily be made their fellows, whensoever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perseus*, by setting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Faithers* could therefore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embassadors; which indeed more neerely touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to *Rome*.

But the *Macedonian* Embassage they heard not so carelessly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to finde cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had beene taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perseus* desired much to give them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might favour of hostilitie; but that, if his travell in this kinde proved vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These bigge words may seeme to have proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the *Roman* servitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weaknesse of spirit, unanswerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heart, it appears by his daring to adventure soone after, on a practice that more justly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer shew of reason to make warre upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to doe the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mud wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being

being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. *Eumenes* was conveyed away to the little Ile of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Asia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Antalus* took upon him as King, and either rooke or would have taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Siratonica* the daughter of king *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly love, That when the king returned alive home, *Antalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other check than, that he should forbear to marie with the *Queen*, until he were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, *Eumenes* never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the same brother, both his wife and kingdom. As likewise *Antalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in especiall favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to have transferred the kingdom from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren was the kingdom of *Pergamus* raised and upheld: as might also that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad, when he understood that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discoverie. But as he was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* lived; so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealment; which he vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For he had writtento one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he sent about this businesse: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embassador, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius*, a Citizen of *Brundisium*: who coming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, laden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. *Brundisium* was the ordinary Port for ships passing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire house; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, and other honourable personages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whose many courties to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his coming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the Kings secrets. The summe of all was, That he must needs doe a turne, in giving to such of the *Romans* as the King should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durst not refuse to accept this employment: for feare lest the vertue of this medicine should be tryed upon himselfe. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the rightfulnessse of making warre upon him; but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But howsoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of stronger prooofe (which might have beene easie) than any that we finde by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very temper to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make warre upon *Eumenes* their confederate, that is, if hee might not send men to waste the kingdom of *Pergamus*, or to besiege the Townes: might he send Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword, was it lawfull for him to doe it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadors

douts to denounce it unto him, unless he would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to have beene so confident in the generall favour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances, that if he desired not war, yet he did not fear it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies more calm. He caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearfall of all matters, which they had long bin collecting against him, and wherewith *Enmenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference in the Ile of *Samos* with Embassadors sent to him out of *Asia*, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, wel-beloved, and well friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage, calling the *Romans* greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meere spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league made between them and his father, and renewed by himselfe indeed only for fear: but wished them to defend to more equal conditions: whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also doe for theirs.

Polyb. Legat. 9.

Liv. lib. 33.

In the form of the league between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is set down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Livie* inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is most likely, that all the *Roman* confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entering shortly into league with *Rome*, did so bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had bin restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and say, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defensive arms, without their permission: then had *Perseus* very just reason to find himselfe aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controule, to make war in *Thrace*, (whilest they themselves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawfull for him to chastise his own Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as unjust, he ministered occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdome in three dayes. But either he should have bin lesse vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serve him to undertake the war, he should courageously have managed it, and have fallen to worke immediately, whilest the Enemy was unprepared; not have lost opportunities, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

§. VI.

§. VI.

The *Romans* solicit the *Greeks* to joyn with them in the war against *Perseus*. How the *Greeks* stood affected in that war. The timorourfulness of *Perseus*. *Martius* a *Roman* Ambassador deduces him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of *Thessaly*. The forces of *Licinius* the *Roman* Consul: and what assistants the *Romans* had in this war. Of *Tempe* in *Thessaly*; and what advantages the *Macedonian* had, or might have had; but lost by his feare. *Perseus* braves the *Romans*, fights with them, knows not how to use his victories, sues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquished. *Perseus* having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Countrey lying without *Tempe*. The *Bæotians* rebell against the *Romans*, and are rigorously punished. The *Roman* Commanders unfortunate in the war against *Perseus*. They vex the *Greeks* their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes provision, having heard their complaints. The flattering *Alabanders*.

SO long had the *Romans* beene seeking occasion to take in hand this *Macedonian* war, that well they might have beene ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to beleve, that their owne strength was such as would prevaille in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the *Greeks* and others; who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to feare, that all of the *Greeks* or other Eastern people should conspire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: such was the dissention betwene their severall Estates; howsoever the generalitie of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless Embassadors were sent to deale with them all; and to crave their helpe against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors used as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had stood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now growne well acquainted with such *Roman* courtresie: and understood that not only such as made refusall, but even they who might seeme to have granted half unwillingly, were like to heare other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the *Romans*: the *Acheans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtful, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their durie. It is strange, that men could be so earnest to set up the side, whereof they gladly would have seen the ruine. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to *Perseus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chiefe of Historians was one: who though he judged the victory of *Perseus*, like to prove hurtfull unto Greece, yet wished he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that so the *Greeks* might recover perfect liberty: for his endeavours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that an extraordinary feare, and not only reverence of the Imperiall City, made the *Acheans*, and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occasion of this their feare, may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of *Perseus* himselfe. He had undertaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdome, but unto all that were oppressed by the *Romans*. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought over-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy faire, and sue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would serve to terrifie him; and consequently, that it should at all times be in the *Romans* power,

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by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had afflicted him: little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition some few Townes, and soliciting all to joyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he fought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit unto the *Roman* Embassadors. *Q. Marius*, the chiefe of those Embassadors, and a man of more finess in cunning than was usual among the *Romans*, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the King increased, and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Marius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereunto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which 10 they could have made for him, yet the Embassadors, and especially *Marius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith satisfied: and advised him to give the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Marius* his desire; which was to make the King lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readinesse, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Armie could have bene then in Greece. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; hee suffered a most convenient season, of winning upon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bin with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation between him 20 and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to understand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He sent Embassadors also to the *Rhodians*, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not only to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences between him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodness of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poore helpees. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than mere vanity: his owne safety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearfulness might seeme excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine unto the *Greekes*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessitie, that was partly 30 their owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke upon him as their Champion, to give such a manly beginning to the warre, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averse from him; and were careful, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might seem to doe against the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Boeotians* also, who had entred of late into a strict societie with the *Macedonians*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a fort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was *Marius* contented to accept their submission under a general forme; but caused their severall Townes to make covenant apart, each for it selfe; to 40 the end, that being thus distracted into many little Common-weales, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the Citie of *Thebes*. This work, of separating the *Boeotians* from *Thebes* their head, was more than *Agessilas* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedaemonians*. So far more available to *Thebes*, being destitute of help from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few brave Citizens, than was the societie with King *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the *Lacedaemonians*.

Marius brought this to effect, whilst the King sat still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadors which *Perseus* had sent, audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serve their turne; the Senate being resolved before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the Citie, and had thirty daies respite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the usual place of giving audience to open

open enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had onely the short warning of eleven daies, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courtesie serve alone to hide the craft of *Marius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely meane, both to keepe a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when hee should need it most time.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Roman* Consull, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as soon, as the *Macedonian* Embassadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to have rouzed *Perseus*, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon, yet was hee content to deliberate a while, Whether it were 10 ly better to offer himselfe tributary to the *Romans*, & to redeem their good will with some part of his Kingdome, that so he might enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsell prevailed; which also was the wisest, and so would have proved, had it bene stoutly and wisely followed. He now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne untill now, to doe what should have bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendezvous at *Cittium*, a Towne in *Macedon*. All being in readinesse, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to *Cittium*. His army 20 he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry nations, most part *Thracians*; the rest his owne *Macedonians*. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestours, the insolencie of the *Romans*, the goodness of his cause, the greatness of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cherefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of *Macedon* there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their severall abilities. He gave them thanks: but answered, That his own provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his 30 engines and munition.

Out of his owne Kingdome he issued forth into *Thessaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to passe through that Countrey, in their journey towards him. Some Townes of *Thessaly* opened their gates unto him, without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wan by force. Of these last was *Myle*; a Towne thought impregnable, & therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a fall; which the Townesmen rashly made, and being driven 40 backe, received the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here: to the greater terror of the obstinate. So *Vetula* and *Connus* (townes of much importance, especially *Connus*, which stood in the frights of *Osia*, leading into *Tempe*) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the King marched onwards to *Sycurium*, a towne seated on the foot of mount *Osia*; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consull brought with him only two *Roman* Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Thessaly*, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from every part of *Greece*, such aide as the severall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masanissa* sent thither his sonne *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many 50 horse; and two and twenty Elephants. *Antiochus* the *Cappadocian*, by reason of his affinity with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had sent to Rome his young sonne, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had bene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*, and yet fearing the *Romans*. *Antiochus* and *Proton* (though *Proton* was then young, and under Tutors) had businesse of their owne; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promised helpe to the *Romans*, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*,

yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for feare. It was a pretty trick, wherewith *M. Lucernus*, the *Roman* Admirall brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good wil. This King had foure and fiftie ships, riding in the haven of *Dyrachium*, uncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucernus* tooke away, after a very kind sort; making shew to beleve, That for none other end to serve the *Romans*, their good friend *Genius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoever *Genius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdome and himselfe, in the end of this war; by offering, rather than giving, his helpe to *Persus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the sea, *Licinius* came into *Thessalie*: so tyred with a painfull journey, through the mountainous Countrey of *Atthamania*, which stood in his way from *Epiru*; that if *Persus* had been ready, attending his descent into the *Plaines*, the *Romans* must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied army, by the river *Penew*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Persus*. Therefore he resolved, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Countrey. The land of *Thessaly*, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* besides: as having been freed by them from a more heave yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines *Ossa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poesie) with their Spurres or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of *Thessaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unless they would make an hungry journey, thorow the countrey of the *Dassareians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Persus* therefore had no small advantage, by being master of the streights leading into *Tempe*: though farre greater he might have had, if by mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worke; yea to winne upon them (for a while) every yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might have done farre greater things, had he seized upon the streights of *Aon*, which his father once kept, and defended all the Countrey behinde the mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreme difficulty, must the *Romans* have eicher travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or else have committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, unto the mercie of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have sought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courses they once devised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps bee said, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King must have left on his backe, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Thessalians*, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Etolians*, upon whom the *Atthamanians* depended, grew into suspicion with the *Romans* (as we shall finde anon) even as loone as they met with *Persus*. The *Boetians*, how politickly forever *Marius* had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the *Macedonian* quarrell: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best? The *Rhodians*, *Ilyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after a while began to waver, when they saw things goe better with *Persus*, than they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his well-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as he might have done) some of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which otherwife was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have bin expected

expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some river stay their flight; are there compelled by mere desperation to doe such acts, as done, while the battell lasted, would have won the victory: so fell it out with *Persus*. In seeking to avoid the danger of that warre, whereof he should have fought the honour; he left his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their owne safety: yet being overtaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his backe to the mountaines of *Tempe*, & defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driven into such miserie, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that hee kept his footing in *Thessalie*, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul having no desire to fight, untill such time as all his forces were arrived, kept within his trenches, & lay still encamped by the River of *Penew*, about three miles from *Larissa*. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter unto a hasty triall. Wherefore he invited the *Romans* into the field; by waisting the land of the *Phereans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his advantage in horse would make the victory his owne. At his coming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terrified; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, a while together, *Persus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldnesse much increased; and much more his reputation: to the griefe of those who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell upon them by their enduring these bravadoes. The Towne of *Sycorium*, where *Persus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romans*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in cars, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging, seven miles neerer to the enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His coming at such an unseasonable houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though he brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were unfit to assaile the trenches, yett the Consul thought it necessary, and resolved to give checke to his pride. Wherefore hee sent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Atalus*, and many brave Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: he himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the *Thessalians* made a good retreat) with little losse of his owne. But he discovered his weakenesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile given by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great feare lest he should assault their campe; and to that purpose, upon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captaine, though unfit for: he nevertheless tooke it for found advice, which indeed was timorous and base. To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which means it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it beene greater, and had he wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would have beene the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, even when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaime unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the *Romans*, whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. He had slaine of the *Roman* horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand: loosing of his owne no more than twenty horse and forty foot. The *Roman* Campe, after this disaster, was full of heavinesse and feare: it being much doubted that

the enemy would set upon it. *Eumenes* gave counsaile to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the River *Penem*. The Consull, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud termes, to draw upon himselfe a greater calamity. So hee passed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The *Æoliens* were forely blamed for this losse: as if rather a traiciterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of especiall marke, had bene observed to be the first which turned their backs: an observation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leisure. As for the *Thebians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the *Greeks* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would shunne indignation, or incurre favour, then must they adventure no lesse for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne liberty. Thus fared it with the Consull and his Armie. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes error; which how great it was, he nor untill then found. The *Romans* were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have routed them whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of *Penem*. But it was vaine to tell what might have bene done, since there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generalls themselves, *Prætors*, *Consuls*, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoiles of them without resistance, as yeelding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the glory of his action; dividing the spoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honor found. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopselus*, a place in the mid-way betweene *Tempe* and *Larissa*: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily perswaded to use the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent unto the Consull, and offered to yeeld unto the same Conditions, wherein his Father had bene bound to the *Romans*; if the warre might so take end. It were needlesse here againe to shew the folly of this course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consull no greater power than to grant a truce, whilst Embassadours might goe to *Rome*: it resting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Marius*, he had lately found no small discommoditie redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; save that *Perseus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be so resolute in adversitie. On the other side, it argued a very faint heart in *Perseus*, that having received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vaine offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the King withdrew himselfe backe to *Sycorium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the coming of *Misagene* the son of *Masaniassa*, with the aide before mentioned. This distance betweene the King and them, caused the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their harvest: about which busines they ranged over all the fields. Their carelesse demeanour gave him hope to doe some notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Campe, and upon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to have fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it, and given over in time. But whilst he strove to force a guard, he was vifited by the Consull; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is divers) in a great battell, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to feare danger, even where none was; whereby what losse he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, save onely *Tempe*, weakly guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the *Romans*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight unto *Comus*, hoping to have taken it,

it, and so to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe unto the *Perrabians* and others; from whom he won some townes, & among the rest, *Larissa*. There were sundry townes thereabout, bearing the same name of *Larissa*: so that this which the Consull tooke, may seeme not to have belonged unto the *Thebians*; unlesse, perhaps, after his victory, *Perseus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got some part of *Thebaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the *Boeotians*, whom a *Roman* Embassadour could terrifie, and bring altogether to his owne will, should not be afraid of a *Roman* Armie, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navie on their coast. But more strange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Marius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty townes, which by that same distraction of the *Boeotians*, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had bene. The causes hereof were to have bene fought among the changes, happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were thoroughly punished by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got so much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreme oppression he could have driven them so farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Consull undiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in general; That in the warre which he made, he cruelly and covetously demeaned himselfe.

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hosilius* the Consull, and *Hortensius* the Admirall, or *Prætor* of the Fleet. *Hosilius* shewed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of *Rome*, than in prosecuting the war against the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* warre upon his Kingdome, after that the Consull had sought passage in vaine over certain mountaines, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that side which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consull sent thither with an Armie of foure thousand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Armie. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uscana*, a border towne of *Illyria*, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; sallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Uscana* shortly after became *Romane*: which howsoever it happened, *Perseus* very soone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Corys* a *Thracian* King, securing him on the one side of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epiror*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painfull journey into *Ætolia*: where he was promised to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the *Romane* faction, yet in his returne home, he tooke in *Aperania*; and shortly heard good newes, that *Ap. Claudius* was againe throughly beaten by *Cleues*, one of his Lieutenants. Such successe had the *Macedonian* war under *Hosilius*. The same Consull offended much the *Greeks*, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadours made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For these Embassadours travelling thorow all the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, gave out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who fought not by might and maine to advance their businesse, than of those which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycurias* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopæmen*; & together with him, his son *Polybius*, who soon after was Generall of the *Achaean* horse, but more notably by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The summe of the accusation should have bene; That these were not heartie friends unto the *Romans*, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitee than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, & give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Æoliens*: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approved the motion: as also among the

the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to have *Roman* garriſons beſtowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not only ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good Patriots; making it no leſſe than a matter of treaſon, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe pick-thankes of their baſe flattery; rating them openly, in ſuch ſort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, even in preſence of the Embaſſadors. Thus was all full of accuſations, and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadors carried themſelves, as men that could beleve none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed, to this effect: That it ſhould be free for all men, to reſuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, impoſing any burthen for the preſent warre, unleſſe it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meete. Of this decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that ſtanding on privilege hereof, reſuſed to fulfill every commandement, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this warre, proved little better, if not worſe, than to have bene Traitors. The Senate was driven to ſet downe this order; by reaſon of the many & vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great ſum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their ſubjects oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſſe of injuries, or to offer their ſervices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a towne of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flatterie. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred horſemen targets, and a crowne of gold, to beſtow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be ſingular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Towne *Rome*, & appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that goddeſſe. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Amigonus*, *Pyolomy*, & the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhameleſſe flattery of ſuch as beſtowed upon men, and not the moſt vertuous of men, divine honours; when he ſees a towne of houſes, wherein powerfull men dwell, worſhipped as a goddeſſe; and receiving (without ſceme of the givers, or ſhame of the Preſent) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of ſuch a rascal Citie as *Alabanda*?

§. VII.

Q Martius the *Roman* Conſul, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into *Tempe*. The cowardize of *Perſeus* in abandoning *Tempe*. The towne of *Dium* quitted by *Martius*; repaired and fortified by the King. The *Romans* attempt many places, with ill ſucceſſe. Their affairs in hard eſtate. *Martius* a cunning and a bad man. *Polybius* ſent Embaſſadour to *Martius* from the *Acheans*. *Polybius* his honeſt wiſedome beneficiall to the *Acheans*. King *Eumenes* grows averſe from the *Romans*. *Perſeus* negotiates with *Antiochus*, and *Eumenes*. His falſe dealing with *Gentius* King of *Illyria*; whom he draws into the *Roman* warre. He ſends Embaſſadours to the *Rhodiens*; who vainely take upon them to be arbiters betwene him and the *Romans*. *Perſeus* loſeth a mightie ſuccour of the *Babarnas*, by his wretched parsimonie.

After two yeeres of the *Macedonian* warre, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the warre began; which had bene thought likely to reforme all thoſe Countries, and bring them to what paſſe the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, tooke courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the warre might prove, and thereupon to become wiſe for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius*, & *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the

the other ſpent their time in vaine, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterpriſe of conqueſt, by many loſſes received. The *Roman* Admiralls had ſo demeaned themſelves, that many Townes, even of the beſt affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Roman* ſide; and the Armie much leſſened, not only by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſul himſelfe (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licenſing the ſouldiers to depart. *Quintus Marius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded unto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheleſſe was more than he knew how to doe; though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. He began hotly to ſet the warre on foot, which a long time had ſlept. And he began the right way: not ſeeking to force the ſtreights that were ſurely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains which were thought able to forbid all paſſage over them, without helpe or need of any cuſtodie. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertaine what way he meant to take, diſtributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be diſcovered by the Enemy, or to breake through all oppoſition, or at leaſt wiſe, to fight on as convenient ground, as they ſhould have that lay to ſtop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him foure thouſand of his moſt excredit ſouldiers, to diſcover the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had fight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe peece of ground; and ſent backe word to the Conſul, where they were; intreating him to haſten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmayed at his arrivall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little loſſe on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gave ſcarcely room to three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe, it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to returne. Wherefore *Marius* tooke the onely courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt: Part of his men he left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whileſt hee, with the reſt, ſercht a compaſſe about, and fought out wayes that never had bene troden. Herein he found extreme difficultie: which notwithstanding hee overcame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch journeyes, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea, where Nature might ſeeme to have intended, that none ſhould be. So ſteepe hee found the deſcent of the mountaines, in this way which he rooke: that of ſeven miles, which they travelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to towle themſelves downe; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with rockes, that ſtood one over another, ſo upright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were afraid of the giddy proſpect, and caſting their governours, made a terrible noiſe, which affrighted the horſes, and bred great confuſion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more deſired by the ſouldiers, than that they might be ſuffered to creepe backe againe, the ſame way which they had come. But ſhift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliſſe; the other ſuſtained by two long poſtes, ſtained in the ground below. Upon theſe two poſtes, or poles, (which indeed, not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould be either cut or broken) were ſlained two rafters, answerable in length to the diſtance, betwene the higher and the lower fall: ſo as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. Theſe were covered with planks and turfe; that they might ſeeme continent with the ground; ſo to make the beaſtes adventurous to goe upon them. If there were a plane of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downefall; then might the bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of theſe; the poſts upholding the frame were cut aſunder; thereby cauſing him to ſinke downe unto the next bridge; whence hee was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill to the verie bottom. Thus went they downe ſliding, ſome on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appeares, how thoroughly provided the

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Romans used to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occasions: as also what inestimable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested; staying for *Papilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps never, should have overtaken them, if the *Enemie* had followed, and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth dayes journeyes were like unto the first: save that custome, and the needesse to their wayes end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the *Romans* comming towards him: since they fought with his men upon the passage three daies together; he lying so nigh, that he might well heere have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that he neither stirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the *Consull*, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counsaile, sat hearkening after the event. Four onely passages there were, leading into *Tempe*: the first by *Comus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the second and third were the same which *Marius* had attempted in vaine, and another like unto it: the last, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All these were sufficiently guarded: and whosoever would seeke any other way, must be faine to take such paines as *Marius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley it selfe, into which they must first pierce another way. *Dium* stood upon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the sea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becoming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the middle of *Tempe*, a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where the spurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neere to the very bankes of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe river which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had bene more easie, than to make the *Consul* repent him of his troublesome journey: if *Perseus* could have seene his owne advantages. For the *Roman* Army was not onely in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travaile: but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or bin enforced to returne the same way that it came, if the King had made good the freight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get downe, it seemes a matter of impossibilitie: especially considering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the side of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdome had often bene invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no meane to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaird to winne. But the cowardise of *Perseus* did commend the counsell by them followed, as wise. For hee no sooner heard that the *Enemie* was come over the mountaines into *Tempe*; than hee fared like one out of his wits; saying, That hee was vanquished, and had lost all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what hee could carry away in haste; and straightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, he sent a strait commandment to *Thessalonica*, that the Arsenall there should be set on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the *Romans* were like presently to be masters of these two Cities. *Nicias*, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could: though soone after, his master grew sorie for the losse; and it was all, in a manner recovered by Divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire on the Kings Arsenall, deferred the execution; foreseeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the damage. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their service, was this. *Perseus* growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hastie direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the Sea by their diving, were payed their wages after the same sort: that so there might be no witness of the Kings base folly. Such end must they feare, who are

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privie to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perseus* would have gone surely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must he so royally have behaved himselfe, that no man might believe him to be the author of any unworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had stopped the *Consull* on the top of the mountaine) & *Astlepiodorus*, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed unto the *Enemy* the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have sped

as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The *Consull Marius* had great cause to rejoyce, for that the King so hastily relinquished his possession of *Tempe*, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the *Roman* Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without resistance; and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a dayes journey, and gotten one towne that yielded, he was compelled by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Thessaly*. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the warre: but having left behind, at *Magnesia*, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had bene careful to occupy the Castles about *Tempe*, which were forsaken by the *Macedonians*: for by those wayes onely might come be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this corne, which was most desirously expected, he forsooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had bene worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines: for otherwise it had bene madnesse to put himselfe on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the *Enemie*, he should be faine to quit it. Howsoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a badde man of warre; since he thus recoyled and gave off, when it most behooved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of *Marius*; the King recollected himselfe, understood his owne error, fought to hide it by such poore means as have bene shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the towne of *Dium*, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to stop the *Enemies* proceeding all that Summer. Lesse diligence, more timely used, would have bene enough, not onely to have delivered *Marius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to have given him such a noble victory, as might cause the *Romans* to seeke a good end of the warre upon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the *Consull* an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Onely the towne of *Heraclea*, standing on the River of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could, and was not given up for feare. After this, *Marius* did set a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it againe, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like so great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. He sent the Admirall to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demeirias*, and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Thessalonica* were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the Towne, were still put to the worke. As for the Town it selfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or sea; by reason of the engines, which shot from the walls, and reached unto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall setting saile from thence, ran along by *Enia*, and *Anigonea*, (landing neere to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Cassandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyined with him, bringing twenty shippes of Warre: and five other were sent thither from King *Prusias*. With this assistance of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Cassandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by *Perseus*, before the towne: which while the *Romans* were filling up, question was made, what became of the earth taken thence

thence, for that it lay not upon the banke. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town-wall filled up with that earth, & covered with one single row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the town, by fapping the walls. To this worke he appointed such as he thought meetest: giving an alarme to the other side of the town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soone made. But whilst the *Romans* were shouting for joy, & ordering themselves for the assault: the Capitaines within the towne perceived what was done; and fallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they slew about five hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good successe on that part of the town which King *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the meane while entring the towne by sea) caused the siegeto breake up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Capitaine, was gotten before his coming, with such forces, as were not onely sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoile; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibæa*; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without worke) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever since their Confull (whether dastardly, or carelessly) most unlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of *Macedon*, by forsaking *Dium*. Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Marius* perswaded the *Rhodians* by *Agessipolis* their Embassador, who came to him at *Heraclæa* about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Marius*, craftily seeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeite. And so were the *Rhodians* moved to thinke of him; not onely for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, coming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did set out their businesse at *Rhodes*, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherein he had lately slaine great numbers of the *Roman* horse. Thus much we finde intimated: though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from *Rome* to view the estate of *Marius* his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prator, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, so unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had beene taken on the *Illyrian* side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the *Romans* with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had beene driven from some of the Townes which they besieged.

Now although it were so, that *Marius* in very few of his actions, behaved himselfe like a man of warre: yet in exercise of *Cunning*, which one hath most aptly termed, a crooked or sinister kinde of wisdom, he dealt as a craft-master, with a restless working diligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiencie, nor comended his honestie: since thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neverthelesse, out of envie, vaine glory, or such delight as weak and busie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Countrey. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hosilinus*, had gotten much reputation, and

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was thought likely to invade *Thessaly*; *Archo*, *Eycorias*, and other good Patriots among the *Acheans*, judged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romans*, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree, which passed: That the *Acheans* should send their whole power into *Thessaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all danger. So the Armie was levied; and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadours unto *Marius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure. *Polybius* found the Confull busie in finding passage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Armie; and awaited the Confulls leisure till they came to *Heraclæa*; where finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein soever it should be commanded: *Marius* took this very kindly; but said, That he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Marius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the *Acheans*, five thousand men, to be sent him into *Epirus*. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might doe notable service, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the *Labyrinthian* head of *Marius* could not allow of such plaine reason. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the *Acheans* be put to such needlesse charges. Away went *Polybius*, musing, and unable to resolve, whether it were for love to the *Acheans*, that the Consul was so earnest in this businesse; or rather for envie; and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Councell touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Marius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders should require, unless by speciall order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Confull: by whom it was sure to bee made frustrate. Hereby the *Acheans* were fayers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polybius* himselfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countreys behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long yeers imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Marius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to stand in feare lest the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to overway all other passions: it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as give any helpe to *Marius*: but coming to have joyned with him, in such friendly manner as hee did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behinde him certaine horse of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requested to have done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Antalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the *Romans* good service: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, & the love to *Antalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing care to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meere desire of gaine. And it might well be, that covetousnesse drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befall, *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that hee was bold to sollicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his advertisements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love betwene a King and a free Citie: that the *Romans* had quarrell a like to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the helpe of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Antalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed,

assailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Asia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the *Romans* to surcease from their warre upon *Macedon*; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more neerely toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should give answer; he began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no lesse weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remaine a Neuter therein; and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the *Romans* to condescend unto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receive the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samoisbrace*: whence it should be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of *Samoisbrace* was *Perseus* his owne; and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in prest. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the same manner delt *Perseus* with King *Genius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stirre. Hereunto *Perseus* loved not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast, to deliver him from all his feares. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his feare urge him to prodigality; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Genius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*, to the end that all his Armie might have comfort, by such access of strength to their partie. Presently upon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perseus* and *Genius*: who desired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them, as arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Marius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the same effect, from the *Rhodian* Embassadors; gave an answer as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vaine glory of the *Rhodians* was thoroughly chastised; and more thoroughly should have bene, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of *Genius* his friendship, made *Perseus* without laying out one ounce of silver. Now faine he would have hastened this young and rash *Illyrian* to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embassador, who remained with *Genius*, exhorted him daily to begin the Warre by land and sea, whilest the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed up with the seale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too fast. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Genius* had layed hands upon two *Roman* Embassadors, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their load to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of necessity to make warre with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time, through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perseus*, under one *Clondicus* a petty King, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the *Gauls*, which were

were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarne*. These had before-hand made their bargaine; and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Capitaines to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to give the souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy Master, That the *Gauls* will not stirre one foot further, untill they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* hereupon tooke counsell: if to utter his owne opinion before men so wife that they would not contradict him, were to take counsell. He made an invective against the incivillitie and avarice of the *Bastarne*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fivethousand horse of them he sayd would be as many as he should need to use; and not so many, that he should need to feare them. It had bene well done, if any of his Counsellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them, since without any danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perrabia*, into *Thessaly*: where waisting the Country, and filling themselves with spoyle, they should make the *Romans* glad to forsake *Tempe*, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable service, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deale more, might have bene alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had bene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmur of those many thousands that had bene drawne so far to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether he had brought the money along with him to pay those five thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifting excuses, the *Bastarne* returned presently towards *Danubius*, waisting the neighbour parts of *Thrace*; yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the *Romans*, without diminishing the sum. But of this painfull Office he was very soon discharged by *L. Æmilius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteen daies after his setting forth from *Italy*, brought the kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

§. VIII.

Of *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul. His journey. He forceth *Perseus* to discompe. He will not hazzard battell with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone. *Æmilius* his superfluous. The battell of *Pydna*. *Perseus* his flight. He forsakes his Kingdome which he yieldeth to *Æmilius*. *Perseus* at *Samoisbrace*. He yieldeth himself to the Roman Admirall, and is sent prisoner to *Æmilius*.

BY the Warre of *Macedon*, the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either they decreed that Province to *L. Æmilius Paulus*, that in this without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. He refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; untill by Embassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the *Roman* forces, and the *Macedonian*, at the present remained. This being thoroughly knowne to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, not onely to the Consul, but unto the Navie, and likewise to the Army that lay betweene *Illyria* and *Egyptus*; from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmilius*, before his departure from *Rome*, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much gravitie and authoritie. He requested those that thought themselves wise

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enough to manage this warre, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there assitt him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearesay, and censure by idle reports: for hee told them plainly, That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Æmilius*, who died valiantly in the Battell of *Cannæ*, might well be living in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Æmilius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journey; with an especial hope of men, that he should finish the war: though that he should finish it so soon & happily, was more than could have bin hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundisium*: whence, when the wind came faire, he set saile at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi*: where, having done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Camp, and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fifteen dayes remaining, in which he finished the war.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at *Dium*; having spared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the banks of *Enipeus*, where it was soordable in drie weather: so as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much disabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lacke of fresh water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea shore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that side. But *Æmilius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Marius* from taking up his lodging any neerer to the enemy, than the Towne of *Heraclea*, on the river of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleasure, but could performe no service of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Campe had such means to lye close to the *Macedonian*, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath been shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquire was soone found out. There was a narrow passage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perræbia*; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. *Marius* either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of worke as had beene their march over *Ossa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and abilitie to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the souldiers among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about five thousand men to this enterprize; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sons by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a son of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him some light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretians*; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance they might doe notable service against those that should climb up unto them; yet when the darke night took away their aime, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way towards the Fleet; where victuals were provided for their journey: it being noised, that they were to run along the coast of *Macedon* by sea, and waste the country. All the while that they were passing the mountains (which was about three daies) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set upon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprize, than upon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channell of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-neer all dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Æmilius* employed none save his *Felices*; of whom the Kings light ar-

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mature had advantage at farre distance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perseus* had rayed on his own bank, did also beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Æmilius* persisted as he had begun; & recontinued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the *Macedonians*, that some greater worke was in hand: since otherwise a good Captaine, as *Æmilius* was known to be, would not have troubled himselfe with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked only unto that which was before his eyes: untill his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the camp, That the *Romans* were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Campe was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to *Pydna*. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept untill the *Romans* came somewhat neer to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrowes and slings could doe little service, were beaten at handie-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them have beene true. Thus was an open way cleared into *Macedon*: which had bin effected by *Marius* in the yeere fore-going; but was closed up again, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunity.

Perseus was in an extreme doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: having beene taught by the last yeeres example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But farre worse counsell prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazard of battell: fearing belike to put himselfe into any one Towne, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even the same that *Æmilius*, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen neerer unto *Pydna*, that served well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemy; who stayed not long behind him. As soone as the *Romans* had sight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had halted away from them, forsaking the Campe that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to give battell immediately: doubting lest otherwise the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul, praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmilius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trode. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himselfe unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battell, gave charge to have the Campe measured out and entrenched behind the Armie; where, in at good leisure, he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardness of the enemy; who advanced no further; but kept upon ground serving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere bene Prætor, foretold unto the Consul, and (with his good liking) unto the Armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to be the same night: willing the souldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was seene. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Brass, and Basons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moone great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* converted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they saw it verified. Contrariwise,

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trariwise, the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyse, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause any alteration in civill affaires, and matters that have small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the wisdom of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing 10 his duty to this Moon, and congratulating with sacrifice her deliverie, as soon as she shone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any Sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrailles of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to *Æmylius*: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. *Hercules* was a *Greek* and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had bin better to call upon the new goddesse, lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the *Romans* had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authentically) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of war.

Now concerning the Battell; *Æmylius* was thoroughly perswaded, that the king meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at *Pydna*, when as, a little before, his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consull thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sun was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hindrance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over-earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the *Roman* souldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank; whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blowes, as in a private quarrell; and one of the *Thracians* was slain. 40 His Countymen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had slain him over the river. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, untill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battell, accordingly as the manner of his country, and the Arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat levell, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number, the *Romans* the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Consull encouraged their men with lively words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew 50 himselfe into *Pydna*: there to doe sacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the lesse marvell, that he durst adventure battell, since he had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme, whereby to save his owne person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better than hypocrisie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battell, he found it no better than lost; and he, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the fight.

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The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did so stoutly presse onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was therewith much affrighted; That the *Peligns* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-borne, many of them slaine; and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the *Romans*; and which the Consull beholding, is said to have rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have beene his owne: That which turned the fortune of the battell, was the same which doubtlesse the Consull expected, even from the beginning: the difficultie or almost the impossibilitie of 10 holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilest some of the *Romans* small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessarie (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon those which were put to the worfe) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to passe, admonished the Consull what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little use, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targetiers; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he saw the front of the Enemies great battell become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the *Phalanx* proved unavailing against many small squadrons, as it had beene formerly in the 20 battell of *Cynoscephale*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though here were little such inconvenience of ground, as had beene at * *Cynocephale*.

Perseus, when hee saw his battell begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne amaine towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poore foote, they were left to the mercy of the Enemie: who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in that battell, only some fourescore, or fixscore men at the 30 most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to raying at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that dayes misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrink away from him, how they could. At 40 his coming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and household servants, ready to attend him, as they had beene wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battell, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischiefe, he stole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had beene employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. *Cretians*, more for love of his money than of him. To these he 50 gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fiftie Talents, though shortly he coozed them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battell he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Towne-men to fidelitie, with teares: and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Evander* to speake what himselfe would have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chiefe care to looke vvell to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow; they had emptied their towne of two thousand *Thracians* that lay there in garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainfull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly

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bad *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the river *Strymon*, passed over to the Isle of *Samothrace*: where he hoped to live safe, by privilege of the religious Sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the Kingdome fell into the power of *Amyllus*, within few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna*, which was neereest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About fixe thousand of the souldiers, that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battell into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius*, who had kept the passage over *Ossa* against *Marius*, with *Panauchus*, who had bene sent Embassadour to *Genius* the *Illyrian*, were the first that came in: yeelding themselves, and the Towne of *Beraa*, whither they had retired out of the battell. With the like message came others from *Theffalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereaving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of *Pydna* stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates upon such termes, that the lack of it was granted to the *Roman* Armie. *Amyllus* sent abroad into the Countrey, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: he himselfe marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he shall have more.

It was soone understood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuary in the Temple at *Samothrace*: his owne letters to the Consul confirming the report. He sent these letters by persons of such mean condition; that his case was pitied, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire favour: which though he begged in termes ill becomming a King, yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retain the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that some might be sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this conference, hee was marvellous earnest, that hee might be allowed still to retain the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preserved his Treasure, unto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and to be called King. Yea, it seemes that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this Isle of *Samothrace*: both for that in one of his consultations about the Warre, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for * such a paltrie Iland; and for that he offered to lay up the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he findes it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and, without more ado, to yeeld to the discretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arrives at *Samothrace* *Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admirall, with his fleet: who assayses, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had now already imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being so now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and send word to the King, That *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unless he can cleere himselfe in judgement, he must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence borne to his Majesty, now past, makes them forbear to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged with the same crime. But what will this avails, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author: *Perseus* therefore willet *Evander* to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Romans*.

mans hand; who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgement: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cause; where though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Evander* seemes to like well: and either kill himselfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get payson where with to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had stucke to *Perseus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, save his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the
 10 *Romans* will ascribe so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and event that also lyable to dispute, which preserves him from captivitie; he purpoeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, unto *Corys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship; who easily was persuaded to waite the King thence. With all secrecy the Kings money, as much as could be so conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the King himselfe, with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him only * *Philip* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his * brother by nature) *Philip* in *oily* with much ado got out at a window by a rope, and over a mudd wall. At his coming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian*
 20 trick, and was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilst *Perseus* was searching all along the shoure: who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne up and downe making inquirie; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoever, abiding with their master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Iona* the *Theffalonian*, to whom the King had given the custodie of his children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe, with his son *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendered himselfe, and made the *Roman* victory compleat. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this war to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdome by arms, and himselfe by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have bin wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to *Amyllus*; before whom
 40 he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory over himselfe, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed. *Amyllus* used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with so hostile a minde, made War upon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearfull silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul rearmed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people of *Rome*. After these good words, being invited to the Consuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Quintus*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after four yeers continuance: and such end thereto: withall had the Kingdome of *Macedon* the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated unto *Rome*.

§. IX.

Gentius, King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

* Called now
Scutari.

About the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicim* the Roman Prætor, who succeeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like successe against King *Gentius* the Illyrian. *Gentius* had an Armie of fifteene thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, whereof he had received onely ten Talents. But *Anicim* arrested him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into * *Scodra*. This Towne was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, assisted with the Kings preference, made it seeme impossible to be wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicim* was confident in his late victory; and therefore presented his Armie before the walls, making countenance to give an assault. The Illyrians, that might easily have defended themselves within the Towne, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than courageous: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The King sent Embassadors; by whom, at first, he desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layd violent hands on the Roman Embassadors, to have recourse to such meditation. But he thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadors into prison, where they were still alive. Having obtained three dayes respite, he passed up a River, within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caracianus* was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scodra*. He sent messengers craving access to the Prætor: before whom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) he fell downe humbly, and yielded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were presently given up. So this war ended in thirty daies: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, untill *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had bin imprisoned, brought word from *Anicim* how all had passed.

§. X.

How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedonia after their victory over Perseus.

Now began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically upon those that had beene unmanly toward them before, whilst the War with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The Rhodian Embassadors were still at *Rome*, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace, saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; so far as much as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grievous to the Romans themselves, than to the Macedonians and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the Rhodians did congratulate with the Senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the Rhodians had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the Macedonian; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have Warre proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparel, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great Ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance, for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had beene any

any whit worse from the Romans in the late Warre of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to *Rome*; excepting some that slew themselves for feare, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would have done, if *old M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde sentence, and advertised the Senate, That in decreeing war against *Rhodes*, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedy to ransacke, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the Rhodians: among whom, none of any make remained alive, save those that had beene of the Roman Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the societie of the Romans: a favour which till now they had not esteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

With the like, or greater severitie, did the Romans make themselves terrible in all parts of Greece. *Emylus* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chiefe Citizens in *Demetrius* were slaine at one time by those of the Roman faction, and with help of the Roman souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Consul, the redresse was such, as required not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the Romans the liberty of their Countrey, he sealed like a King, with excessive cheere; yet so, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from *Rome*; some, to give order for settling the estate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate, than was usual in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The kingdom of *Macedon* was set at liberty by *Emylus* and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans used to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had beene payed unto the King, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest, the Countrey was divided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent captive into *Italy*, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new given by *Emylus*. Such mischiefes the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not subjects to *Rome*, the things done to them could deserve no better name than meere tyranny, yea, and shamelesse perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadors that were sent to visit the *Greekes*, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to *Rome*; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the Romans hands: and in that respect, though they were no subjects, yet wanted there not colour, for using them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the Macedonian side; and since it is confessed, that the good Patriots were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the *Achaens* these Embassadors were to deale more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong, (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the *Achaens* could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither *Callistarches*, nor any of his adherents, had bin employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their service to the Romans; but onely such as were the best Patriots. Yet would not therefore the Embassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the season served fitly to ranke the *Achaens* with the rest.

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And hereto *Callierates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadors came among the *Acheans*: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callierates* had before instructed him. He said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perseus*. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given (cried out the whole assembly) what justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, we will soone condemne them. Then said the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise have beene friend to *Perseus*: whereof if any man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon these words of *Xenon* the Embassador laid hold, and said that even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not untill he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appeare and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivitie of *Greece*; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause, than their love unto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure that vertue, and regard of the publike liberty, should dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the *Acheans*. Many Embassages were sent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondered, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honestie had bin thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the *Acheans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countie, that these men should returne into *Achaia*. Neither could any solicitation of the *Acheans*, who never ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, prevail at all; untill after seventene yeeres, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being desirous to preserve the *Macedonian* Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, That the whole Country of *Epyrus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Æmylius* with mischievous subtiltie. Having taken leave of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; hee sent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every Citie. These he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and sent along with them, into every of their Townes, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gave secret instructions to the Capitaines, that upon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, every one the Towne wherein he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, spoyled by the *Roman* souldiers; and besides other acts of hostilitie in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the *Epirots* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had beene already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had even in this warre done good service to the *Romans*: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleieve it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the lesse marvellous, that God was pleased to make *Æmylius* childelesse, even in the glory of his triumph, how great soever otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*.

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad, it will appeare by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we speake, we must say somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

§. XI.

The War of *Antiochus* upon *Egypt* brought to end by the *Roman* Embassadours.

A *Niochus* the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reigne and life. He died the fixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of *Protonie Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Justine*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three sons, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Protonie Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sons, reigned in *Syria* twelve yeeres, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpicius*: though *Iosephus* give him but seven. A Prince, who as he was sloathfull by nature, so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had received, tooke from him the means of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeeres before his birth, *Daniel* gave this judgement, *Et stabit in loco ejus vilissimus & indignus decore regio*. And in his place (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) shall start up a vile person, unworthy the honour of a King. Under this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of Onias the Priest, it came to passe, that even the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Maccabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliadorus* sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his successeur *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reigne of this King, that the books of the *Maccabees* take beginning. Which books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successeurs, til the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother & successeur of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Maccabæus* (who died in the hundred threescore & seventeenth yeere of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that first book treateth. The Author of the second book, although he take the storie somewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeer of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slain by *Judas*: remembering in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jafon* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successeur, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Jansenius*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius*, King of the *Spartans* sent Embassadors to the *Jewes*, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and successeur of *Judas*, remembereth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Namenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereto *Iosephus* adds, that the name of the *Macedonian* Embassador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and so were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.*

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succceeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seven and thirtieth yeer of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the second son of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his kingdom by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers son.

Protonie Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about seven yeeres King of *Egypt*.

Protonie Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* foure and twenty yeers, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of

of Macedon, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdome between them, whilst he was a child. But they found such other businesse, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gave with his daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolomie*, the Provinces of *Cælosyria*, *Phœnicie*, and *Judea*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopas*, that was generall of the *Egyptian* forces in those parts. Nevertheless, *Ptolomie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater securitie. He left behind him two sonnes; this *Ptolomie Philometor*, and *Ptolomie Physcon*, with a daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these *Egyptian* Kings.

Ptolomie Philometor, so called (that is, the lover of his mother) by a bitter nick-name, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chafed out of his Kingdome, his younger brother being set up against him. *Physcon* having a strong party, got possession of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himself in *Memphis*, craving succour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, fought by all means possible to possess himselfe of that Kingdome. He sent *Apollonius* the sonne of *Mnefthem* Embassadour into *Egypt*, and under colour to assist the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to perswade the governors of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the king his Nephew, with the principall places of that Kingdome, into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephewes safety and well doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of *Syria* to *Jappe*, and from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards *Jerusalem*; where, by *Jason* the Priest, (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) he was with all pompe and solemnitie received into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Selencus*, the brother and predecessor of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traytor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Governour of *Cælosyria* and *Phœnicia*, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heaven; the said *Apollonius* being stricken by the Angell of God, and recovering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of *Selencus*, this *Jason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain the Priesthood for himselfe, offered unto the King three hundred and threescore talents of silver, with other repts and summes of money. So he got his desire, though he no long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jason*, and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achaens*, when as that mischievous *Callicrates*, who had bene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
One Wolfe than other Wolves does bite more sore,
One Hawke than other Hawkes more swift does flye,
So one most mischievous of men before,
Callicrates false knave as knave might be,
Met with Metalcidas more false than he.

And even thus fell it out with *Jason*: who within three yeares after was betrayed, and overbitten by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Jason* thereupon being forced to flye from *Jerusalem*, and to hide himselfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jerusalem* *Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a mighty array of land-forces, He went about to reigne over *Egypt*, that he might have the dominion of two Realmes, and entered *Egypt* with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navie, and moved warre against *Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt*; but *Ptolomeus* was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong Cities, and tooke away the spoyle of the Land of *Egypt*. Thus was fulfilled

Prophecie of *Daniel*. He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he shall doe that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Fathers. Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* to great a victorie over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them so great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolomie*, between *Pellusum* and the hill *Cassius*, after which he entred and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus* had smitten *Egypt*, hee turned againe, and went up towards *Israel* and *Jerusalem* with a mighty people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and took away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Pwring Vessels, and the Bolles, and the golden Basons, and the Vails, and the Crowns, and the golden Apparell. He took also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian war that *Antiochus* took in hand this *Egyptian* businesse. At what time he first laid claime to *Cælosyria*, justifying his title by the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffly averring, that this Province had not bin assigned over to the *Egyptians*, or given in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achaens*, *Rhodian*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, pressed him, by severall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the war be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw, that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terror of his arms, threatening destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak estate, the younger almost ruined by his invasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weak soever these *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at *Jerusalem* or elsewhere. So after the sacke of *Jerusalem*, he rested him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to suppress the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and others in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowrie, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochus*. For Governour of *Syria* in his absence he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Jason* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an In-come, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoining. This he did, as it seemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Sistratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Jason*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeale, and detesting the sacrilege of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuary at *Daphne*.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoining as a suburb to *Antioch*. In compasse it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, sweet Springs, banqueting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust & other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim privilege, from the holinesse of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Only I say for mine owne opinion, that the inconvenience is farre lesse, to hold this booke as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearfull thift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not save the life of the poore old man: for *Menelaus* taking *Andronicus* apart, prayed him to slay *Onias*. So when he came to *Onias*, hee counsellled him craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary; so he slew him incontinently without any regard of rightconnesse. Hereof

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2 Mac. 4. 38.

when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, He took away *Andronicus* his garment of purple, and rent his cloaths; & commanded him to be led through out the Citie; and in the same place where he had committed the wickednesse against *Onias*, he was slaine as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Justice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolomie*, a Traytor to *Ptolomie Philometor*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outrageous will, and not by any regard of justice: since he revenged the death of *Onias*, yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; who, had they told their cause, yea, before the *Scythians*, they should have bin heard as innocent. By reason of such his unsteadinesse, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, in stead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

Versic 47.

2 Mac. 5. 1.

After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into *Egypt*, and then were there seen throughout all the Citie of *Jerusalem*, fortie daies long, horsemen running in the aire with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troupes of Horsemen set in array, encounting and coursing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of God, all Histories have delivered us, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*, a star in the form of a sword appeared in the Heavens directly over the Citie, after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of *Evens* directly over the Citie, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, *Plinie* tells us, that Armies were seen fighting in the ayre from the morning till the evening.

Pline l. 2. c. 57.

Mence. V. para de prodig. lib. 2. V. para de Ptolemae & Jacobi influentia.

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountaine powred out bloud in stead of water, in or neare the Citie of *Genoa*; soon after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperor *Nero*, the Off-spring of the *Caesars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable signe gave warning.

Sueton Galba.

When *Livia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Livia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: of the Hen came a faire encrease of white Poultrie; and from the little Branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to carrie in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; & after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they hapned to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Caesars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the Jewes did not thinke such strange signs to be unworthy of regard; it appears by their calling upon God, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Now as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomie* being left in *Memphis*, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* against all the power of their Uncle, thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by armes. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former siege: the *Alexandrines* though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worse to live in scarcitye of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme) since no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helps, and above all these, the loving disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor*, in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Armie; yet had he left behind him a strong Garrison in *Pelusium*; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Egypt*; to his owne

own use. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadors; yet he now prepared to make a sharpe warre upon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Navie towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Armie into *Cælosyria*, ready to enter *Egypt* the 10 Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embassadors sent from *Ptolomie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That he would neither call backe his Fleet, nor withdraw his Armie, upon any other condition, than that *Ptolomie* should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of *Pelusium*, the whole Territorie thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Ile of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entered *Nilus*, and recovered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolomie* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it selfe; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to resist him. The King having now no stop in his way to *Alexandria*, passed on thitherwards by easie journeyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein *Egypt* stood, the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a civill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iust cause. Yet they gave signification, that it would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdome of *Egypt* taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to provoke *Antiochus* too farre. Nevertheless, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in need of helpe against their Uncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. *Rome* had beene sustained with food from *Egypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when *Italie* lying waste, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the *Egyptian* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the *Achaens* attained. And by the like helpe had *Rhodes* beene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolomies* had done for sundrie people abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requittall: but with continuance of futable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde; especially to the *Rhodian* and *Achaen*, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the *Romans* *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeere since: but their Embassadors lay still in *Rome*. Of the *Achaens* they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave warrior might be sent unto them, as Generall of all the Auxiliaries, and his sonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the *Achaens* readily consented: and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had 30 not interposed his mischievous art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnesse to the *Romans*; or much rather envying those noble Captaines whose service the Kings desired; withstood the common voice; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be ayding unto the *Ptolomies*. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld unto the *Romans* what helpe soever should be required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this sentence, he, with those of his faction, obtinately persisted: terrefying others with big words, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* Zzzzz 2 the

the late Confull had signified unto him, that the *Romans* were past all need of help: adding further, that a thousand foot and two hundred horse, might well be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any service to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achaens* could without trouble, raise thirty or forty thousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callierates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Achaens* were desired to conforme themselves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadors to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadors to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achaens* should doe any good in the same kinde. Yet *Polibius* and his friends durst not gaine-say the *Roman* Council, which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much distresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* overcome: and then might the Embassador, sent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could have done.

Audience had beene lately given by the Senate, unto those Embassadors of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having stayed more than a whole yeare in the Citie, brought nothing of their businesse to effect until now. The Embassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no lesse than his brother and Sister.

In this ambassage of *Protonie*, now requesting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had beene before three or foure yeares last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Eumenes*, or *Lenaus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon *Antiochus* for *Celestria*, but would have interposed himselfe betwene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embassador was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by attonement with his brother and subjects, he might have seemed to stand in noneed of such protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his kingdom & life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed it selfe, even in the habit of those Embassadors. They were poorly clad; the haire of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entered into the Senate, and there fell groveling and prostrate upon the floore. Their garments were not so mean and mournfull, nor their looks and Countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pittifull and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly & faithfull to the *Romans*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadors, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his Armie out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or used any delay; then should *Protonie* and *Cleopatra* be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate & people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes; they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimus* and *A. Hosilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the war betwene those Kings. In commission they had first to find King *Protonie*, and then *Antiochus*, and

to let them both understand, that unlesse they surceased, and gave over Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadors, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellows were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had transported his Armie over *Lusine*, some forty miles from *Alexandria*. So neer was he to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*; but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and having a little while considered of the businesse, he told *Popilius*, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadors their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moved out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after he had stayed and pawed a while, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe whatsoever the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; even in such manner as * *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to *Jerusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather bin historified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed awhile, and settled the kingdom of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they felt, as it had beene, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

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§. XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Mafanissa, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the Conclusion of the worke.

BY this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had bin well contented, a year before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, & to give good language to the *Achaens* and *Asolians*, when he went Embassador to those people of *Greece*, that were of far lesse power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadors which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse used any menacing termes, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratefully acknowledge the victorie over *Perseus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo-greeks*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who had him be confident, and request of the Senate his brothers kingdom for himselfe; for it should surely be given him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithfull counsell of *Serapius* a Physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keep his brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had bin sent; recounting his own services done to the *Romans* in the late war, * where withall he forgot not to make of his brother as good * *Libani*

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mention

Polyb. l. 2. §. 3.

Polyb. l. 2.

mention as he could: and finally requested; That the Townes of *Enus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed upon himselfe. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone. Wherefore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was his custome to Embassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. Neverthelesse *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in *Italie*, they gave order for the libertrie of *Enus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-greekes*, which were about to invade the kingdome of *Per-gamm*; they sent Embassadors to them, with such instructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest; *Eumenes* thought it worthe of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the follie of his second voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third: since, by his malice to *Perseus*, he had layd open unto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No sooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in so doing, have avoided the note of singular inconstancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, so as they deemed it would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

Prusias King of *Bithynia* had bene at *Rome* somewhat before; where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himselfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or desire. For entering into the Senate, he lay down, and kissed the threshold, called the *Fathers* his gods and saviours: as also he used to wear a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumitted, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himselfe safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith *Perseus* had bene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his son *Nicomede*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have some Towns added to his kingdom: whereto, because the grant would have bin unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his son; it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately dobe to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Masaniassa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endlesse with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendship of the *Romans* to him the more assured. In all controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to him, for having hindered him of his due so long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leasure to devise upon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Masaniassa* himselfe was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He sent to *Rome* one of his sons, to congratulate the victorie over *Perseus*; and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the Capitol. His good will was lovingly accepted; his son rewarded; and he entertained to stay at home.

Cotys the *Thracian* sent Embassadors to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him given to *Perseus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hostages; and to intreat, That his sonne, which was taken with the children of *Perseus*, might be set at libertie, for convenient ranfome. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to *Perseus*, by giving hostages without necessitie: Yet was his sonne given backe to him ranfome free; with admonition, to carry himselfe better toward the

Romans

Romans in time following. His Kingdome lay betwene *Macedon* and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire termes.

As for those unhappie Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Emilius* and *Anicius*. *Perseus* had often made suit to *Emilius*, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one scornfull answer, That it lay in his owne power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himselfe. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercie than he found, he would rather have sought his death in *Macedon*, than have bin beholding to the courtserie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the *Roman* clemencie, whereof *Emilius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow King, had bene led in chaires through the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the Capitol, there to doe sacrifice, he should command the captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto *Perseus*: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himselfe, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sons, two died; it is uncertaine how. The youngest called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In such poverie ended the Royall House of *Macedon*: and it ended on the sudden; though some eight-score years after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth seemed too narrow.

If *Perseus* had knowne it before, that his owne son should one day be compelled to eame his living by handie-work, in a painfull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Sovereigntie, have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have bene very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most undertraden wretches, are all subject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsel, *Do as ye would be done unto*, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity; we entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the most High*: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truly:

—Et qui nolunt occidere quinquam
Possunt volunt.

Juv. sat. 2.

Even they that have no murderous will,
Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vaine desire of abilitie to doe evil without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Sovereigne authoritie to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne sonnes or nephewes to root up all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other neerenesse in blood, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governes one, the most unworthie of his whole house, yet reigning over all: the untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flatterie; and the common practice of the *Turkish* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereunto may be added, That the heire of the same *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered most traitorously and barbarously King *Edward* the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemy, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are subject;

subject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie gods of Kingdomes, nor to authorize by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posteritie: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happie that COUNTRY is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That "God is the forest and sharpest Schoolemaster that can be devised, for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controulement to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure.

* The true Law
of free Monar-
chies.

Chap. 3. §. 5.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Aemilius Paulus*, it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quinctius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was led along therein, as part of his owne spoiles; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasurie, that from thenceforth, untill the civill wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Caesar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have bin hindred by the souldiers; who grudged at their Generall, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could give. Nevertheless, it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not given in adoption: of which, the one dyed five dayes before the Triumph; the other three dayes after it. This losse he bore wifely: and told the People, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the joy of his victorie was required with his owne private calamitie, in stead of the publike.

About the same time, *Octavius* the Admirall, who had brought *Persus* out of *Sarmathrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their severall triumphs. The glorie of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enow to say unto *Rome*, *Sume superbiām, Take upon thee the Majestie that thy deserts have purchased.*

BY this which we have already set downe, is scene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beautie it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have bin the subject of those ancient Histories, which have bin preserved, and yet remaine among us; and withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerful Princes, and other mightie men have complained against infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these undertakings, these great Lords of the world have beene stirred up, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth up the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainly, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so is it to the dead of no use at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargaine of buying this lasting discourte, understood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have wished, to have stolne out of the world without noyle, than to be put in minde, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and crueltie: by giving in spoyle the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearefull in the East, but that

of the *Turk*; nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his wings far over his nest, but the *Spaniards*; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moores* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, &c. by the many kingdoms which they possesse in *Europe*, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoised by the *Persian*, so in stead of so many Millions as have beene spent by the *English*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeares, or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streames may be brought back into their naturall channels and old banks. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to joyne all *Europe* to *Asia*, the other the rest of all *Europe* to *Spain*.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath beene already said; That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwaies laid before them the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwaies transported with the glorie of the one, but they never minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beloved; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwaies deferred. I have considered (saith *Salomon*) all the works that are under the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie and vexation of spirit: but who beleeves it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charles* the first, made him enjoyne his sonne *Philip* to restore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the first of *France*, to command that justice should be done upon the Murderers of the *Protestants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tels the proud and insolent, that they are but Abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complaine, and repent; yea, even to hate their forpast happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just, and mightie Death! whom none could advise, thou hast perswaded, what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it selfe, *The first part of the General Historie of the world*, implying a *Second* and *Third* Volume; which I also intended, and have hewne out; besides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; to whom it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never enough lamented losse hath taught me to say with *Job*, *Versa est in Luthum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

FINIS.

TO THE READER.

The use of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: since they cannot, like Annales, yeerely set downe all occurrences not coherent. This here following, may serve as an Index to the present part of this worke, pointing unto the severall matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far dis-joined in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither doe I thinke that any can bee. For howsoever the yeeres of the first Patriarchs may seem to have beene well neere complete, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Juda and Israel, we finde many fractions, and the last yeer, or yeeres of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the yeere, which were in use among sundry nations, causing the ^{Sabbat.} Sum- ^{chap 3 s. 6.} mer months, in proceſſe of some ages, to fall into the winter; and so breeding extreme confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chooſe out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alledged, in excuse of such error, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde herein. It may serve to free the booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane judgement) from any notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The booke indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for some errors of the presse, in the numbring of yeeres, but for some hastie mis-reckonings of mine owne, which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

The titles over the Columns, have reference to that which followes under them, as will readily be conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as ^{Rome} ^{Nabonassar} there doe the numbers underneath proportionably answer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319. yeere from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be understood, That Jehosaphat began his reigne in the 3774. of the Julian Era, in the 3092. of the world, and in the 99. yeere of the Temple. This needs not more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To avoid prolixity, I have forborne to insert those yeeres, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident, as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings reigne; some change of Governement; some battaile fought, or the like. So of the 13. yeeres wherein Syllivius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note onely the first, that is, omitting all betwixt the 4. of Jehosaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17. wherein Syllivius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram first reigned with Jehosaphat his father. For I thought it vaine to have filled up a page with 12. lines of idle cyphers, numbring forth 2. 3. 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus, and the 17. of Jehosaphat. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place hee held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fift, seventh, or so forth, in ranke of those that reigned in his countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeer of his reigne; at the end or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned, in the spaces following underneath, are those yeeres of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeere of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to bee understood, that the same yeere belonged not onely to the King then beginning, but unto some one, or more of his foregoers: as the first yeere of Jehoram King of Israel, was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. So where two or three names are found in one space, as in the 3077. yeere of the world, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri, it is meant that every one of them reigned in some part of the same yeere, which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, under the reignes of the Egyptian Kings are set downe the yeeres of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the month, upon which Nabonassars yeere began, which, how it varied from other yeeres, may be found in the place last above cited.

To the Reader.

Concerning the *Æra*, or account of yeeres, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads from Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the likes as much as was thought convenient hath bin said, where due place was, in the booke it selfe: so as it remaineth onely to note, that under the title of Olympiads it set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeer of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeer thereof.

first yeere thereof.

Now, for that the yeeres of the world, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and others, had not beginning in one moneth, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their severall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their severall Columes, opposing parts of the one yeere to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overting parts of one straight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more trouble some than usefull, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needfull to observe that hitherto the Æra of the Olympiads be 24. yeeres older than that of Rome, and 29. than that of Nabonassar: yet the reigne of some king may have begun at such a time of the yeere as did not suite with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficulty. One familiar example will easily suffice. Elizabeth began her reigne the 17. of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1558. She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw downe Images, and reformed 20 many things in religion, all in her first yeere, yet not all in that yeere 1558. but the greater part in the yeer following: whether we begin with the first of January, or with the 25. of March. The like may be otherwise found in this Table, and so, as the difference is never of a whole yeere.

The Julian Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the yeeres of the world, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned Joseph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Julian yeeres, now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980. yeeres, which results from the multiplication of 19. 28. and 15. that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeeres of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaveth the number of the present yeere, or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last yeere of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great battell of Cannæ, the Prime or golden number was 14. the Cycle of the Sun, 18. and consequently the Dominicall letter F. as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian Period 4498. by 19. for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sunne. This Julian Period, after the present account, always exceeds the yeeres of the World by 682. Besides the former uses, and other things redounding, it is a better Character of a yeere, than any other Rule (as, From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertaine position. More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite so such as are conversant in workes of this kinde: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

A
CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

Yeeres of the Julian Period, VVorld,
Patriarches, &c.

[illegible]

(a)

	Julian The world.	Enos.	Cainā	Meha- lateel.	Jared.	Methu- lah.	Lamech.	Noah Sem.												
Enos dyed.	1823 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84												
Cainan dyed.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	351	179												
Mahalaleel dyed this year.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234												
Jared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	356												
Flood threatened, Gen. 6.3.	2219 1537					850	663	481												
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. Sem. 600											
Lamech dyed.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93											
Methuselah died this year a little before the Flood. Noah enerveth into the Ark. C. 7. 8. 8. & 9 The Flood. The Flood ceaseth. Noah issued out of the Ark.	2338 1656 2339 1657					969		600	98											
	Julian World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. Ar- phaxad 438																
	2341 1659	603	101																	
	2376 1694 37	638	136	36	1. Sa- lab. 433															
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. He- ber. 464														
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. Pe- leg.		Kings of As- syria.											
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. Reu. 239	1. Nim- rod. 114											
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. Sa- rug. 230	Kings of E- gypt.									
Vide lib. 2. c. 2. §. 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1. Cham 161									
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Na- hor. 148								
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30								
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	1. Be- lus. 65	83	55	53								

	Julian World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arpha- xad.	Salab.	Heber.	Pelag.	Ren.	Assy- ria.	Sarg.	Egypt.	Nabor	Terab	Kings of Sicyo						
	2618 1936 279	880	378	378	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1. Ar- gus. 3						
	2649 1967 316	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	1. Ni- nus. 52	148	120	118	89	32						
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2 1. Eu- ropas						
The last year of Noah's life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9						
The death of Na- hor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10						
Noah died this year	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19						
The 16. Dynasty Egypt. Vid. L. 2. 3. 3. 4. 5. & c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	1. Mi- ram or Ophis.		131	22	1. A- bram. 275					
	2701 2019 362		451	361	326	296		232	44 1. Semir- amis.	200	11		141	32	11					
The last year of Ren	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18					
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	3 1. Tabin of Sal- omon.	25					
The last year of Sarg.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41					
	Julian World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salab.	Heber	Assyria.	Egypt.	Terab.	Sicyon	Abram.										
	2735 2053 396	495	395	360	330	35	45	175	4 1. Apis.	25			45							
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 2. Ninias.	53	183	9				53							
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18	70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelxion.	52			70							
Abraham receives the pro- phets in Haran. 1. 1. 5. 1. 2. 2.	2765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23	75	205	6				75							
	Julian World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salab.	Heber.	Abram.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.											
Abraham enters into Canaan. He enters into Egypt. He first of the 430. years lives.	2766 2084 427	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7											
Abraham returns into Canaan.	2767 2085 428	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8											
Abraham's victory over Melchizedek, and other kings. 1. 5. 8. 9. & c.	2775 2093 430	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16											
	2777 2095 432	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18											
Arphaxad dyed.	2778 2096 433	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19											

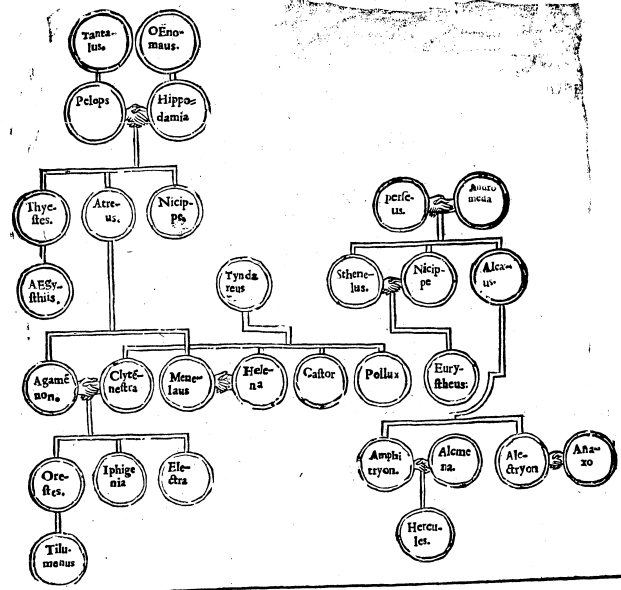
	Julian World, promise	Sem.	Salab.	Heber.	Abra- ham.	Aff- ria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	
	1781 2099 16	541	405	376	91	6 1. Ari- mus, 30	91	22	
Isaac borne when Abraham was 100. yeeres old compleat. 101. current.	2791 2109 15	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. Isaac 180
The last yeere of Salab.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Ara- lius, 40	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	1	122	6 1. E- gir, 34	22
Sarai the wife of Abraham dyed this yeere.	2827 2145 62	587		422	127	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. yeeres old compleat.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last yeere of Sem.	2840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50
	2846 2164 81		441	156	56		156	1. Thiri- michus, 45	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1. Jacob 147	8 1. Ba- lams, 30	161	6	1. Daz- chais, 50
Abraham dyed this yeere.	2864 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber dyed this yeere.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepherds, be- ginning this yeere, lasted 103 yeeres.	2881 2199 116			91	31	1. Arma- millect, 31	191	36	31
	2891 2109 126			101	41	11	201	11	1. Leucip- pus, 53
	2901 2119 136			111	51	21	211	11	1. Phor- matus, 60
The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twenty yeeres before the Olympias. See lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	1. B. In- cus Pri- cus, 35	229	29	19
	2942 2260 177			152	93	24	252	52	42
	2944 2262 179			154	94	25	254	1. Mo- pous, 47	44
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	2 and 4. 1. Tiphon, and after him Herodotus, 72	9	52
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Bala- mus, 52	3	11	54

	Julian World, promise	Isaac.	Jacob.	Af- siria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194	169	109	6	1. Orus, 79. 115.	16	59	18
The last yeere of Isaac.	2961 2279 196	171	111	8	3 81	18	1. Apis. 35	20
Israel into Egypt.	2970 2288 205	180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
The eighteenth Dynastie in Egypt, which lasted 118 yeeres.	2980 2298 215		130	27	22 100	37	20	39
	2984 2302 219		134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226		141	38	32 8	1. Pera- mus, 46	31	50
Jacob dyes in Egypt.	2996 2314 231		146	43	38 13	6	1. Argus. 4	55
	2997 2315 232		147	44	39 14	7	2	
	3006 2324 241	Joseph	Assiria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades, 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. Plem- neus, 48	42		
The last yeere of Joseph.	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamitus, 30	80 55	2	43		
	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	1. Pirafus, or Crisus, 54.		
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancaletus, 30	110 85	31	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	1. Sefphris the Great, 91	33	9		
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1. Ortho- pous, 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus, or Iphereus, 20.	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10	1. Sefphris the cond., 114	14	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Mo- sus, 120	19	10 133	32	51		

	<i>Julian World.</i>	<i>Moses.</i>	<i>Affyria.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>	<i>Argives.</i>	
	3118		16				
	2436	3	1. <i>Mamilas, or Mamilus, 30</i>	12	34	53	
	353			135			
	3130					6	
	2438	5	3	14	36	1. <i>Phorbas, 35</i>	
	355			137			
	3121			8			
	2439	6	4	1. <i>Orus, or Buff. 38, 138.</i>	37	2	<i>Athe-</i>
	356						<i>nians.</i>
	3148		17		13		
	2466	33	1. <i>Sparetus, 40</i>	28	1. <i>Mara-</i>	29	
	383			165	<i>thius, 30</i>		
	3151						
	2469	36	4	31	4	32	1. <i>Ce-</i>
	386			168			<i>topi. 50</i>
<i>Moses visits his brethren the Israelites; kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.</i>	3155						
	2473	40	8	35	8	7	
	390			172		1. <i>Tripas, 46</i>	5
	3159						
	2477	44	12	1. <i>Thematia, or A-</i>	12	5	9
	394			<i>encherts, 20. 12. 176.</i>			
	3171			10			
	2489	56	24	1. <i>Kathoris, or Atho-</i>	24	17	21
	406			<i>nis, 188.</i>			
	3178				14		
	2469	63	31	8	1. <i>Mara-</i>	24	28
	413			195	<i>thius, 20</i>		
	3180						
	2498	65	33	1. <i>Chencres, 16</i>	3	26	30
	415			197			
	3188		18				
	2506	37	1. <i>Asatades, 40</i>	9	11	34	38
	423			205			
<i>Moses his wandering into Egypt.</i>	3195						
	2513	80	8	16	18	41	45
	430			212			
	<i>Julian World.</i>	<i>Moses.</i>	<i>Affyria.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>	<i>Argos.</i>	<i>Atbæ.</i>
	<i>Exod.</i>						
<i>The Passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The first of the 40 years from Exodus to the building of the Temple.</i>	3196			12			
	2514	81	9	1. <i>Acherres, 8</i>	19	42	46
	1			213			
<i>The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.</i>	3198				15		
	2516	83	11	3	1. <i>Echi-</i>	44	48
	3			215	<i>reus, 55</i>		
	3201						
	2519	86	14	6	4	8	2
	6			218		1. <i>Crotopus, 21</i>	<i>Cranaus, 10</i>
	3204			13			
	2522	89	17	1. <i>Cherres, 15.</i>	7	4	4
	9			221			
	3211						
	2529	96	24	8	14	11	3
	16			228			<i>Amphi-</i>
	3219						<i>tryon, 12</i>
	2537	104	32	14	22	19	9
	24			1. <i>Armenus, or Danaus, 5, 236</i>			
	3222						
	2540	107	35	4	25	9	12
	27			239		1. <i>Sthenelus, 11</i>	

	<i>Julian World.</i>	<i>Moses.</i>	<i>Affyria.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>	<i>Argos.</i>	<i>Atbæ.</i>
	<i>Exod.</i>						
	3223						
	2541	108	36	5	26	2	4
	28			240			<i>Enellu-</i>
	3224			15			<i>nus, 50</i>
	2542	109	37	1. <i>Rameffes, 68</i>	27	3	2
	29			241			<i>Troy</i>
	3228		19				
	2546	113	1. <i>Amyntas, 4</i>	5	31	7	6
	33			245			
	3229						
	2547	114	2	6	32	8	7
	34			246			1. <i>Dardanus,</i>
	3231						
	2551	118	6	10	36	10	11
	38			250		1. <i>Danaus, 50.</i>	5
<i>The last yeere of Moses.</i>	3235						
	2553	120	8	12	38	3	13
	40			252			7
	<i>Julian World.</i>	<i>Israel.</i>	<i>Affyria.</i>	<i>Egypt.</i>	<i>Sicyon.</i>	<i>Argos.</i>	<i>Atbæ.</i>
	<i>Exod.</i>						<i>Troy</i>
<i>The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.</i>	3236	1					
	2554	1. <i>Joana</i>	9	13	39	4	14
	41	18		253			8
	3253						
	2571	18	26	30	1. <i>Co-</i>	21	31
	58			270	<i>rax, 30</i>		25
	3254						
	2572	1. <i>Orbo</i>	27	31	2	22	32
	59	<i>met, 40</i>		271			26
	3273		20				
	2591	20	1. <i>Belochus the</i>	50	21	41	5
	78		<i>second, 25</i>	290			1. <i>Pan-</i>
	3283						<i>dion, 40</i>
	2601	30	11	60	17	11	11
	88			300	1. <i>Epo-</i>	1. <i>Lyncus, 41</i>	55
	3292						
	2610	39	20	1. <i>Menophis, 40</i>	10	10	20
	97			309			64
	3293						
	2611	40	21	2	11	11	21
	98			310			1. <i>Enphus</i>
	3294	3					
	2612	1. <i>Ehud</i>	22	3	12	12	22
	99	80		311			2
	3298		21				
	2616	5	1. <i>Belopares, 30</i>	7	16	16	26
	103						6
	3313		16				
	2631	20		22	31	31	6
	118			330			1. <i>Enell-</i>
	3318						<i>nus, 50</i>
	2636	25	21	27	1. <i>Lame-</i>	36	6
	123			335	<i>don, 40</i>		26
	3324						
	2642	31	27	33	7	12	32
	129			341		1. <i>Abbas, 2.</i>	
	3328		22				
	2646	35	1. <i>Lamprides,</i>	37	11	5	16
	133		32	345			36

The 19. Dynastic: of the Lathes, 194. years, See L. 2. c. 26. §. 4.		3332 2050 137	39	5	17 1. Zeleus, of Ste- lithis 1	15	9	20	40
Tantalus in Phrygia.		3339 2057 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	1. Tra- 16
		3347 2065 152	54	20	16 16	30	1. Pre- ins, 17	35	9
		3358 2076 163	65	31	27 27	19 1. Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
		3360 2078 165	67	23	29 29	3	14	48	22
		3361 2081 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	1. Cropt. the second 40	25
Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.		3364 2082 169	71	5	33 33	7	1. Acro- ins, 31	2	26
Ion and Xuthus the sons of Hellen. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 6.		3374 2091 179	1. Dehora 6. Ba. 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
		3380 209 185	7	24 1. Lampares. 30	49 49	23	17	18	41
		3387 2705 192	14	15	18 1. Ramfes. 66. 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that of Myce- na, whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pe- lops, as in the Pedegies following.		3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Julian World. Exod.	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Myce- na.	Arche.	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	1. Iliad, 55. 4
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. Eur- stheus. 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. Poly- bus. 40	2	8 1. Pandie the 2 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Panias, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. Gede- on. 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Athenians called out of his Kingdom, which is received by his son Aegaeus, in few years after. The omission of this inter- regnum, and reckoning the years in the forty eight of Aegaeus, or the omitting them apart by themselves, breeds an error in the differ- ence of the times of the Athenians following, as of Mintheus, Ca- py, and the rest.		3417 2735 232	14	28	41 96	25	26	25
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	1. Age- us. 40	34
Oedipus in Thebes.		3443 2751 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Ina- chus. 4	42	12
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. Aeneas and Ty- phes. 69	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 120	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Abne- lech.	45	2 123	12	8	23	1. Lacedaem- 36
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. Sofarmus 19.	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Tho- las, 23	3	5 125	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 379	18	27 1. Alcibiades. 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. Iair. 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. The- seus. 10	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Pho- bus. 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	1. Priamus. 40
	3493 2811 298	14	20	40 162	23 1. Adra- stus. 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Poly- phides. 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tautanes, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Julian World Exod.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Myce- na.	Athen.	Troy.
	3502 2820 307 ⁱⁿ 6	9 1. Jeph 2	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313 ^{cap. 7}	10 1. 1b- 8	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	1. Mne 11 ^{he} 24	21
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1. Age- menon 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	25
The warre of Troy began this yeere.	3519 2837 324	5	19	1. Thoris, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330 ^{don} 8	13 1. Ab- 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called of the Diopolitani, began this yeere in Egypt, and lasted 178. yeeres, See lib. 2. cap. 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	25	1. Dynastie, 20 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	1. Petel- gon, 20	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. yeeres before the beginning of the Olympiades. See lib. 2. c. 14. §. 4.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40. Troy in ken.
	Julian From World, Troy Exod. taken.	Israel.	Affyria	Egypt.	Sicyon	Myce- na.	Athens.	The Kingd of the Lat
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Agyl bus, 6.	21
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Sampson, 20	29 1. Ten- tus 40	8	6	4	24
	3534 2853 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	1. Dema- phon, 33
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1. Ore- stes, 70	3
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. Eli, 40	21	28	6	18	20
	3567 2885 372	38	35	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxin- tes, 12
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thy- nem 30	48	26	38	7
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8

	Julian World Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Affy- ria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	Myce- na.	Athens.	The Kingdoms of the Latines
The Sycionian Kings ended in Zenippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Apbi- nos, 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Tama- tes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melan- tibus 37.	15
	3593 2911 398	64	1. Samuel, & af- ter him Saul, 40.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Doci- lus, 40.	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius A- eneas, 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1. Tylam- nus, 2	19	4
Indigent of the Heracleida into Peloponnesus, & so end to the house of Mycene, and beginning to the Kingdoms of Spar- ta, and Messene, the Kings whereof I forbore to insert in the table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Co- drus 221	23
	Julian World. Exod.	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Affy- ria.	Egypt.	Athens.	Latins		
	3633 2951 438		104.	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2952 439	105	2	32	109	10	5 1. Syl- Latus 90		
	3643 2961 448	114	11	33 1. Eupha- tes, 38	118	19	10		
Medonida succeeds unto the Athenian after the death of Codrus. lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1. Me- don, 20	13	
	3666 2984 471	137	34	24	141	2 1. Aga- stus, 36	33		
Pharaoh reigneth in Egypt, See L. 2. c. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	144	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40		
Dauid began to build the Temple 480. yeeres after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	147	4	34	151	11	43		
	3681 2999 3684	6	152	9	33 1. Leaph- bens, 45	156	16	48	
	3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl- Alba.	
	3692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. So- fac 26 167	27	9	
	3702 3020	27	173	30	22	11 1. Archip- pus, 19	19		

	Julian World.	Temple Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt.	Athē.	Latins
<i>The 21. Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 130 years.</i>	3704	29	175	32	24	13 1	3 21
<i>The Ionick migration after the saking of Troy, 180 years. See L.2.c.17.8.6.</i>	3709	34	180	37	29	18 6	8 26
	3713	148	1. Rehoboam. 17	1. Jeroboam. 12	33	22 10	12 30
	3718	189	6	6	38	1. Chem- misso. 15.	17 35
	3721	192	9	9	41	4 18	1. T. aff- pus, 41. 38
	3723	194	11	11	43	6 20	3 39
	3726	197	14	14	1. Pyrrhiades. 30	9 23	6 4
	3730	201	2 1. Abijam, 3	18	5	13 27	10 8
	3733	204	3 1. Asa, 41.	21	8	16 30	13 11
	3734	205	2	22 1. Nadab, 2.	9	17 31	14 11
	3735	206	3	3 1. Baasha, 24.	10	18 32	15 13
	3749	220	17	15	24	32 46	29 1. 4 Cap.
	3756	227	24	22	35 1. Ophratens. 20	39 53	36 8
	3758	229	26	24 4 1. Ela, 2.	3	41 55	38 10
<i>Of those Israelish Kings, See lib. 1.c.19.5.5.</i>	3759	230	27	2 2. Zimri 1. Tibni 7. Omri. 11	4	42 56	39 11
	3762	233	30	4	7	45 59	2 1. Phor- bas, 31. 14
	3768	239	36	10	13	1. Chro- ops, 56. 65	7 20
	3770	241	38	12 8 1. Abub, 22.	15	3 67	9 12
	3774	245	4 1. Jehuaphas. 25	5	19	7 71	13 14

	Julian World. Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Assy- ria.	Egypt.	Athē.	Latins
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	30 1. Ophra 12-30.50	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1. Syl. Ca- petus, 13
Of Jehoram his sundry beginnings to reign. See lib. 2.c.20 §.1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Jehoram.	21 9 1. Abazis, 2	15	23 87	29	10 1. Syl. Ty- berius, 8
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 10 1. Jehoram.	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. Mero- dis, 30	4
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. Jehoram a- gain, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6
Jehosaphat dyes, and Jehoram reigns alone.	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. A- grippa.
	3802 3120 127	273	6 1. Abazis 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia.	11 7 1. Jehu, 28.	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3127 134	280	8 1. Joas, 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12
Carthage built. L. 2 c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 1. Disome- lus, 28	26
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1. Cephe- mis, 50. 121	2	27
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	57 1. Oera- phus, Or- phidius, 50. 123	3	4	29
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Jehoahaz. 17	6	8	9	34
The end of the 21. Dynasty. The Dynasties following I omit.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1. Syl. A- tadius, 19
Joas reigned with his Father. L. 2 c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Joas.	20	22	23	7
Joas reigns alone.	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. Joas, 16.	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amazias, 20	2	23	25	26	10

	Julian World Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affy- ria.	Egypt.	Athē.	Latins	
	3851						8		
	3269	322	4	3	26	28	1 Ptoe. dus. 19	13	
	176								
	3858								
	3756	329	11	12	33	35	8	1 Syd. A. ventura 37	
	183								
	3862			16					
	3180	333	15	14	37	39	12	5	
	187			1. Jeroboā. 41					
	3868								
	3186	339	21	7	18	45	18	11	
	193				18	1	Sarda nap. l. 20		
	3870								
	3188	341	23	9	3	47	9	1. Ari- pion. 20	12
	195								
	3874								
	3192	345	27	13	7	1. Mi- cerinus. 6	5	16	
	199								
	Julian World Temple	Troy.	Juda.	Israel.	Affy- ria.	Egypt.	Athē.	Latins	Media
L. 2. C. 22. §. 11.	3877								
	3195	348	1 Interregnum 11. years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	202								
	3880								
	3198	351	4	19	13	1. Eec- chorus. 43	11	22	
	205								
L. 2. C. 22. §. 12.	3887								
	3205	358	11	25	10	8	18	29	
	212								
	3888								
	3206	359	10	27		9	19	30	1
	213		1. Uzzia, 0 Azaria. 52						1. Ar- baceus
	3890								
	3208	361	3	29		11	10	32	3
	215								
L. 2. c. 23. §. 4.	3892								
	3210	363	5	31	1. Belsa- or Phul. 48	13	3	34	5
	217								
	3895								
	3213	366	8	34	4	16	6	1. Syl- Pruas. 23	8
	220								
L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3903								
	3221	374	16	1. Interregnum 23. years.	12	24	14	9	16
	228								
	3916								
	3234	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	1
	241								1. Sili- mus
	3917								
	3235	388	30	15	26	38	1. Agam- emnon. 20	23	2
	242								
	3919								
	3236	389	31	16	27	39	2	1. Syl- A. malia. 44	3
	243								
	3924								
	3242	395	37	22	33		8	7	9
	249								
Zacharia began at the very end of the year. L. 2. c. 23. §. 1.	3925								
	3243	396	38	1. Zacharia for Mi- nach. 18	34	2	9	8	10
	250								

	Julian World Temple	Troy.		Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Media
	3926									
	3244	397		39	16	35	3	10	9	11
	251				17					
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927	398		40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3245				10					
	252									
	3930									
	3248	401		43	4	39	1. Salu- cus the Ethiopi- an. 30	14	13	15
	255									
	3937									
	3255	408	Iphit.	Olym- piadi.	50	18	46	8	12	20
	262					1. Peka- bia. 2.				
The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2. c. 23. §. 5.	3938	409	I	I	51	2	47	9	2	21
	3256									
	263									
	3939									
	3257	410	2	I	52	19	48	10	3	12
	264					1. Peka- Romelie 20				
L. 2. c. 23. §. 6.	3940	411	3	I	11	2	1. T. Ptole- my. 21	11	4	23
	3258									
	265									
Julian World Temple	Iphit.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Latins	Media	
	3946									
	3264	9	3	7	8	7	17	10	29	3
	271									1. Medi- dus. 40
	3955									
	3273	18	5	16	17	16	26	19	38	10
	280									
	3959									
	3277	23	6	5	1. Inter- regnum 7. years.	20	30	23	42	14
	284									
	3960									
	3278	23	6	6	2	21	31	13	43	15
	285									
Julian Rome. World Temp. Nabon	Iphit.	Olym.	Juda.	Israel.	Affyria.	Egypt.	Athens	Romans	Media	
Rome built, Lib. 2. chap. 24. §. 1. Crops the first, governing in Athens for ten years: the whom succeeded six, chosen each after other for thirteen years and thence the Office became Annual.	3962									
	3280	1	25	7	8	4	23	33	1. Ca- rops. 10	17
	287									
	3966									
	3284	5	29	8	12	20	27	37	5	5
	291									
The Era of Nabonassar. Lib. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3967	6	30	8	13	2	38	6	6	22
	3285									
	292									
Ezekia began in the very end of this year. L. 2. c. 25. §. 1.	3968	7	31	8	14	3	39	7	7	23
	3286									
	293									
This year concurs with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.	3969	8	32	8	15	4	40	8	8	24
	3287									
	294									
The beginning of the first Messianic year. Whereof see L. 2. c. 27. §. 4. It lasted 20. years.	3971	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10	26
	3289									
	296									
Samaris is besieged by Salmanassar.	3972	11	35	9	4	7	6	43	11	27
	3290									
	297									

	Julian Rome. and World	Nabon	Iphis.	Olymp.	Juda.	Chal- dea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	Jen.
Nabuchadnezzar recovers his sense and kingdom.	4131	170	194	49	25	1. Labo- sardab. 9. mon.	21	33	16	36	
L. 3. c. 1. s. 6.	3449	165		2							
The 37. of Joecia his captivity complete, and he enlarged.	4133	172	196	49	27	2. Euphrat- indich. 26	23	35	18	38	
	3451	167		4							
	4137	176	200	50	31	3. Servus Tullus. 44	27	22	42		
Forty years after the conquest of Egypt, Ptolemy reigns; this being inclusively the 41. and therefore the next years seems con- current with Amasis his first.	4151	190	214	54	45	4. Amas- is. 34	19	15	56		
	3459	185		2							
	4153	192	216	54	47		2	17	3	5	1. Cræ- sus. 14
	3471			4							
	Julian Rome. World, Nabon										
	4154	193	217	55	1. Cyrus in Persia. 33	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The seven Sages in Greece.	4159	198	222	56	6	1. Baltha- sar. 17	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2							
Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant in Athens.	4164	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3482	198		3							
	4166	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Caldean Empire.	4175	214	238	60	22	17. Bal- thasar flame.	24	39	25		69
	3493	209		2							
	4176	215	239	60	23	1. Dari- us the Medes.	23	40	26		70
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.	3494	210		3							
	4177	216	240	60	24	1. Cy- rus. 7	2	26	41	Yerres from Cyrus	Zoro- babel
His Edict of liberty to the Jewes.	3495	211		4							
	4181	220	244	61	5		30	7	5		
	3499	215		4							
	4184	223	247	62	2	1. Cam- byses. 7	33	4	8		
The 2. first year of Psammetichus 3. and part of the third may be added to the years of his father, if it be true that Camby- ses was 23 years old at the death of Amasis, L. 3. c. 4. s. 2.	3502	218		3							
	4186	225	249	63	3		1. P. Am- metichus. 3	6	10		
	3504	220		1							
The conquest of Egypt by Cambyſis.	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12		
	3506	222		3							
	Julian Rome. World, Nabon										
Cambyſis reigned seven years & five months, so as his last year was filled up by the Magi, and (as may seem) a good part of the next, L. 3. c. 4. s. 4.	4191	230	254	64	2	1. The Magi one year.	11			15	
	3509	225		2							
	4192	231	255	64	3	1. Darius Hystaspis. 36	12			16	
	3510	226		3							

	Julian Rome. World, Nabon	Iphis.	Olym.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jen. & from Cy- rus.
	4197 236	260	65	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens.	21
	3515 231		4					
	4204 243	267	67	11		42		28
	3522 238		3	12				
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L. 4. c. 7. s. 1.	4205 244	268	67	14		25		29
	3523 239		4					
The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L. 5. c. 1. s. 2.	4206 245	269	68	15		Brutus & Publius	30	
	3524 240		1					
L. 3. c. 5. s. 4.	4211 250	274	69	16				35
	3529 245		2					
	4212 251	275	69	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.	36
	3530 246		3					
	4222 261	285	72	31		Sp. Caffius & Publius Cornelius	The battle of Marathon	46
	3540 255		1					
	4226 265	289	73	35				59
	3544 260		1					
	4228 267	291	73	4				50
	3546 262		3					
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for divis- ion of Lands : which bred great commotion.	4229 268	292	73	2		Egypt recon- quered by Xer- xes.	Proc. Vir- ginis. Sp. Cassius	52
	3547 263		4					
An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. c. 6. s. 2.	4233 272	296	74	6.	The great mis- ter of Xerxes his armie at Sardes.			57
	3551 267		4					
L. 3. c. 6. s. 3. & 6.	4234 273	297	75	7			The battles at Thermopylae, Ar- temisium, and Sa- lamina.	58
	3552 268		1					
L. 3. c. 6. s. 9. 10. & 11.	4235 274	298	75	8.	Xerxes his tragicall fall.		The battles of Plataea and My- cale.	59
	3553 269		2					
L. 3. c. 7. s. 1. & 2.	4237 276	300	75	10			The Athenians re- build their walls, & lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	3555 271		4					
	4244 283	307	77	3			The great cati- sies of Simon, at Enaymedon and elsewhere.	68
	3562 278		3					
L. 3. c. 7. s. 3.	4248 287	311	78	21	The death of Xerxes by the treachon of Artabanus.			72
	3566 282		3					
	4249 288	312	78	22			The battles being battled, by the Athenians.	73
	3567 283		4					
	4251 290	314	79	3	Inarus set up as King by the Egyptians.			75
	3569 285		2					
L. 3. c. 7. s. 5. & 7.	4253 294	318	80	7.	Inarus van- quished by the Persians.			76
	3573 289		2					
	4264 303	327	82	16		The death of Inarus. The death of Inarus.		77
	3582 298		3					10

The Account from the solution of the Captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian, Rome.	World	Nabon.	Ipsus.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	From Cyrus Daniel.
	4265	304	328	82	17			The de- composi- tion of a second year, & the place of a 10 years.	89	
Nehemias comes to Jerusalem.	3583	299		4				Simon's voyage to Cyprus, in which he died.	11	
	4268	307	331	83	20			A league for 46 years, between Athens & Sparta.	14	
	3586			1				Triumvir Mithridates first enter- ed in the East of Con- stantinople.	96	
	4272	311		84	24			The conquest of Sparta by A- lexander the Great.	18	
	3590	306	335	3				The Athenians against the co- rinthians.	97	
	4273	312		84	25			The conquest of Sparta by A- lexander the Great.	97	
	3591	307		4				The Athenians against the co- rinthians.	19	
	4278	317	341	86	30			The Athenians against the co- rinthians.	102	
	3596	312		1				The Athenians against the co- rinthians.	24	
The walls of Jerusalem finished.	4280	319		86					104	
Nehemias returns to King Artaxerxes.	3598	314	343	3	32				26	
Lib. 3. c. 8. §. 1.	4283	322		67	25			The first year of the Pelopon- nesian War.	107	
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	3601	317		88					29	
L. 3. c. 8. §. 4.	4289	328		88				The victory of the Athenians at Salamis.	113	
	3607	323	352	4					33	
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1.	4290	329		89					114	
	3608	324	353	1					36	
L. 3. c. 8. §. 5. & 6.	4292	331		89					116	
	3610	326	355	3					38	
L. 3. c. 9. §. 1. & c. 8. §. 8.	4301	340		91					125	
	3619	335	364	4					48	
Cap. 8. §. 9.	4302	341		92					128	
	3620	336	365	1					50	
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an Army of 300000. L. 5. c. 1. §. 4. & 5.	4304	343		92					129	
	3622	338	367	3	15				50	
L. 3. c. 8. §. 10.	4306	345		93					130	
	3624	340	369	1	17				52	
	4307	346		93					131	
	3625	341	370	2	18				53	
	4308	347		93					132	
	3626	342	371	3	19				54	
L. 3. c. 8. §. 12.	4309	348		93					133	
	3627	343	372	4					55	
	4311	350		94					134	
	3629	345	374	2	3				57	
L. 3. c. 10. §. 1.	4313	352		94					137	
	3631	347	376	4					59	

After this, the years
from Cyrus and Da-
niel are too few, by

Julian, Rome.	World	Nabon.	Ipsus.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	From Cyrus Daniel.
	4318	357	381	96	10			Agesilaus war- reth in Asia.	142
L. 3. c. 11. §. 4.	3636	352		1					64
	4320	359	383	96	12			The victory of Cimon at Onidus &c.	144
L. 3. c. 11. §. 7.	3638	354		3					66
	4321	360	384	96	13			Xenophon and Plato flourish.	145
	3639	355		4					67
	4323	364	388	97	17				149
L. 4. c. 7. §. 1.	3643	359		4					71
L. 3. c. 11. §. 9.	4326	365	389	98	18			Rome taken & burnt by the Gauls.	150
	3644	360		1					72
	4327	376	390	98	19				151
	3645	361		2					73
	4332	371	395	99	24				156
	3650	366		3					78
L. 3. c. 11. §. 11.	4336	375	399	100	28				160
	3654	370		3					82
	4340	379	403	101	32				164
	3658	374		3					86
L. 3. c. 12. §. 1.	4343	382	406	102	35				167
	3661	377		2					89
L. 3. c. 12. §. 4.	4345	384	408	102	37				169
	3663	379		4					91
	4351	390	414	104					175
	3669	385		2					97
L. 3. c. 12. §. 8.	4352	391	415	104					176
	3670	386		3					98
	4354	393	417	105	3				178
	3672	388		1					100
L. 3. c. 1. §. 4.	4359	398	422	106	8				183
	3677	393		2					105
	4364	403	427	107					188
	3682	398		3					110
	4368	407	431	108	17				192
L. 4. c. 1. §. 6.	3686	402		3					114
	4369	408	432	108	18				193
L. 3. c. 1. §. 4. & 5.	3687	403		4					115
	4370	409	433	109	19				194
	3688	404		1					116
	4375	414	438	110					199
	3693	409		2					121

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	Julian and World	Rome and Nab.	Iphit.	Olym- piads.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Jews From Cyrus Daniel.
	4376	415	439	110	2			The battle of the Marston. Philip slain. Capitaine General of the Greeks.	2
	3594	410		3					139
	4378	417	441	111	12	Nabon.		Philip slain by Antiochus. Alexander the great, 12-30 years and 30 months.	121
	3696	412		1	1. Darius 6. years & summer more.	Novemb. 15.			201
	4379	418		111					123
			442	2	2			Thebes razed by Alexander	202
	3697	413		2					124
	4380	419		111				Alexander pas- sage into Asia.	203
	3598	414		3					125
	4381	420	444	111	4	The battle of Issus.			204
L.4.c.2. s.4.	3699	415		4					126
L.4.c.2. s.5.6. & 7. & L.5.c.2. s.8.	4382	421	445	112	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romans.	Alexander ruins Tyre and Egypt.	205
	3700	416		1					127
		Julian World, Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.					
An Eclipse of the Moon.	4383	422	446	112	6				206
	3701	417		2	The battle of Arbela.				128
L.4.c.2. s.13.	4384	423	447	112	7				207
	3702	418		3	Darius slain by Belshazzar.				129
					Macedon.	Egypt.		Greece.	Rome.
	4385	424	448	112	8. Alexander changes conditions: be- comes to death. Ex- amines and Philotas.				210
	3703	419		4					130
	4380	425	449	113	9. Alexander passes into India: kills Cy- rus and Callistene.				131
3704	420		1						132
Alexander died 17. days before the summer Solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 414. years: and hence the reign of Augustus, 29.4. The summe is, 718. years, which agrees with this account. P. colon. Almagest. 13. c. 8.	4390	429	453	114	13. Alexan- der dies at Babylon.	Novemb. 12.			133
	3708	424		1					134
	4391	430		114	1. Artaxerxes, 5.1. Ptolemy and 4. months. Lagi. 39.	L.3.c.2. s.1. 2. & 3.	The Lamiar Warre.		135
	3709	425		2					136
	4394	433	457	115	4	4. Ptolemy 5. Nab- onassar 12. Nov.	L.4.c.3. s.8. & 9.	Victories of Enmenes.	137
	3712	418		1					138
	4395	434	458	115	5. Antigonus sent against Enmenes.	5			139
	3713	429		2					140
Artaxerxes slain by Olym- piads. Antigonus be- sides by Enmenes.	4397	436	460	115					141
	3715	431		4	7	7			142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. An- tigonus perishes headless. Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12. from Alexander, by which ac- count he reigned 30. years.	4398	437	461	116	1. Cassander.	19.		Thebes reedi- fied by Cassan- der.	143
	3716	432		1					144
	4402	441		117	5	Nabonassar.	Novemb. 9.		145
3720	436		1						146
4403	442	466	2		6	13			147
3721	437								148

	Julian and World, Nabon	Iphit.	Olym- piads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdom of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Jews Daniel.
The Era of the Kingdom of the Jews.	4404	443	467	117					14
Alexanders Cap- tivity and the name Kings.	3712	438	3	7	14	1. Seleucus, 30	Lib.4.c.5. s.7		149
	3724	440	469	118	16	3	Alcibiades first by Demetrius the son of Antigonus.		16
Lib.4.c.6. s.4.	4413	452	476	119		3			151
	3731	447	4	16	23	10. The battle of Issus, where An- tigonus was slain.			23
	4414	453	477	120		10			158
	3732	448	477	1	24	11. Seleucus makes alliance with Dem- etrius.			159
	4417	456	480	120		11			160
	3735	451	480	121		14			162
Lib.4.c.6. s.7.	4421	460	484	121	1. Demetrius	18			166
	3739	455	4		31				
		Julian World, Nabon	Iphit.	Olym- piads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.
	4427	466	490	123	1. Pyrrhus, 7 Months.	37	24		Daniel
	4745	461	490	123					172
	4418	467	491	123	1. Lysimachus	38	25		173
	3746	462	492	123	39	9	25		174
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	4531	570	594	2	41	24	6	130	278		278	Marcellus.
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	3859	575	604	151	7	8	8	138	290		290	P. Licinius.
	4543	582	606	152	11	10	10	140	290		290	C. Cossinius.
	3861	577	606	152	11	10	10	140	290		290	Martius.
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	3864	580	609	153	12	14	14	144	290		290	Tarquinius.
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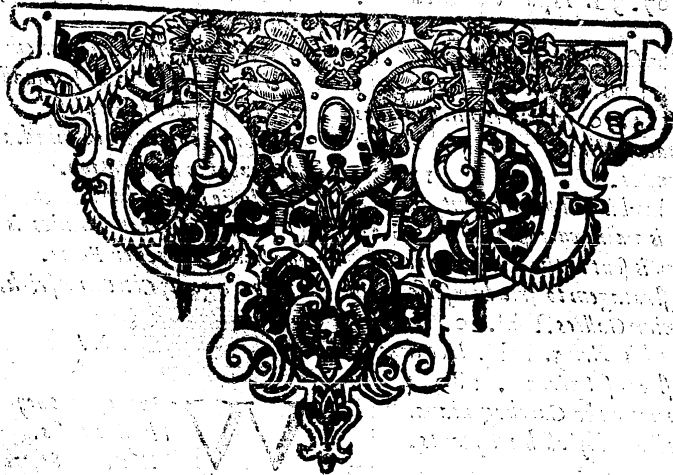
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FINIS.



LONDON,
Printed for G. Latham, and R. Young.
M. DC. XXXIV.